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THE  
QUARTERLY  
CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

CONDUCTED BY  
AN ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN.

VOLUME X.—1838.



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\* By mistake printed V.



THE  
QUARTERLY  
CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

VOLUME X.—NUMBER I.

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FEBRUARY, 1838.

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ART. I.—DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF CONVERTING THE  
HEATHEN.

**THASAWALAMY:** *or the Laws and Customs of the Malabars of Jaffna.* Revised, abridged and arranged by ROBERT ATHERTON, Esq., C. S.: with the assistance of John Rodrigo Mootiar Modeliar, Government Assessor; Sigevaganader Ayer, Vala Supermanier Ayer, and Senaderaya Modeliar, Proctors, of the District Court of Jaffna. Press of the American Mission: Manepy, 1835.

*Annual Report of the Jaffna Religious Tract Society for the year 1834-5.*

*Annual Report of the Jaffna Religious Tract Society for the year 1835-6.*

*Annual Report of the Jaffna Bible Society for the year 1835.*

WE have here some of the fruits of the mission press in the island of Ceylon. In addition to these works, the titles of which are given above, we have also before us several tracts and small books in the Tamul language, and a Tamul almanac, which, besides a variety of useful and customary information respecting the eclipses and position of planets, and a Hindoo calendar, contains selections from the scriptures, and other moral and religious instruction. The scripture selections seem to be arranged on opposite pages to the calendar; and thus many who might resort

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to it merely for the purposes of information respecting the seasons and weeks, might have their curiosity excited and their attention arrested by the truths which are fraught with life to their souls. A description of this work is given in one of the Tract Reports, which we quote :

‘A *Tamul* almanac of fifty-two pages, adapted partly to the taste of the Indian public, and partly to the inculcations of christianity and the principles of true science. This is much sought for, and appears to be very popular. The native calendars, heretofore in use in the district, are wholly subservient to astrology and other delusive and superstitious purposes. These it is one object of the almanac to supplant, by showing, that while the astrologer has no knowledge of several of the planets discovered of late years by the astronomers of Europe, his calculations, even on his own principles, must be incorrect. Proofs are adduced that astrological science is altogether false and illusory. The following *Table of Contents* will best explain the character of the work : Names of the *Yugas*, Planets, Constellations, &c. : Supposed results of an astrological view of the heavens for the current year : Refutation of the prevailing system of astrology, which is founded on a partial view of the planetary system, while several planets, both primary and secondary, are wholly unknown to Hindoo astrologers : Eclipses calculated on the principles of Hindoo astronomy : Position of the planets for the year : Hindoo calendar : Parable of the rich man : Scripture selection on the creation and the flood : Parable of the sower : Parable of the wheat and tares : The prodigal son : Instruction for the learned and the unlearned : The thirty verses of the sage Agastya : On idolatry : Precepts of christianity : Proofs of the spherical form of the earth : Errors of the Puranic system of astronomy : Fundamental principles of the solar system.’

Besides this work, numerous tracts are specified as having been issued during the year, showing that the mission press is by no means idle, but that it is an efficient instrument in the dissemination of the truth. In the Report for 1835-6, it is said :

‘The total number of tracts issued during the year, including the report of the committee for the previous year, is 210,000, (making 3,815,000 pages,) which, added to the number reported at the last annual meeting, makes a total of 903,642, since the formation of the society, in addition to the tracts received from year to year from the parent society and other sources.’

Of the general series, sixty-two are on the list ; of the miscellaneous series, fourteen ; of the children’s series, eighteen : besides handbills, tracts in Portuguese, and two occasional works. The following description of some of these tracts is gathered from the two Reports now before us,—commencing with that for the year 1834-5 :

No. 53, the first in order, is a paraphrase of the Sermon on the Mount, called *The Admonition*; being a reprint, with some verbal modifications and a short application, of a tract printed a few years ago at Madras, under the sanction of the Church Missionary Society. It fills twenty-four pages, and has been spoken of as well received. Ten thousand copies were printed.

No. 60, the first of the new scripture series, is entitled *The Notification*; being a reprint of a tract of twelve pages, (then recently published in the district,) with an introductory address to different classes of persons, as Brahmins, headmen, parents of children who have received christian instruction, &c., inviting their attention to the important subjects contained in the word of God, several of the most interesting and instructive of which it adduces; as the new birth, John iii.; the marriage-feast, Luke xiv.; Dives and Lazarus, Luke xvi., &c. &c.; each extract being followed by explanatory or practical remarks, introducing another portion in elucidation, confirmation, or otherwise, of what is previously quoted or stated. Eight thousand copies were printed.

No. 61, *Marriage Alliances*, a tract of twelve pages, intended chiefly for native christians, consists of extracts from different parts of scripture, prohibiting the union of the people of God with heathens and unconverted persons, as the passage in 2 Cor. iv. 14—18: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers," &c.; also pointing out some of the evils resulting from such connections in the old testament history, as in the case of the sons of God uniting with the daughters of men, which so tended to the increase of wickedness, as at length called forth the anger of God, and resulted in the destruction of the world by the flood;—that of Solomon, Samson, and others, whose character, though eminent in the annals of the church, is nevertheless tarnished by their marriage with women of other nations, who had forsaken the worship of the true God.

No. 62, another tract of the scripture series, of twelve pages, called *Idol Worship*, contains a selection of the most striking historical passages recorded in the sacred volume, on image worship: as the graphic description of the idolater given in Isaiah xlv. 9—20; Elijah and the worshipers of Baal, in 1 Kings xviii.; Daniel's being cast into the den of lions, and Shadrach and his companions into the fiery furnace, with the deliverances wrought for them by Israel's God, in whom they put their trust. Of this tract, which is still in press, 20,000 copies are to be printed.

Of the miscellaneous series, Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9, tracts of four pages each, called *Dissuasives against the use of Ardent Spirits*, were intended to aid the efforts making in the district to check the prevalence of intemperance. They contain anecdotes on the pernicious and destructive evils of intoxication, and arguments in favor of temperance, with warnings, cautions, advice, &c. Of each of these, 6,000 copies were published.

No. 10, a tract of twenty pages, called *The Marriage Vision*, a translation from English, in the form of an allegory, shows the evils that result to christian pilgrims from contracting marriages with the daugh-

#### 4     *Difficulties in the Way of Converting the Heathen.*

ters of Babylon, and the benefits to be experienced by selecting as partners those who will prove fellow-travelers and helpers on the road to Zion. Four thousand copies were printed.

No. 11, a tract of twelve pages, called *The Good Example*, is a brief memoir of the late Mrs. Winslow, chiefly intended to aid the promotion of female education in the district. Mrs. W. having been, in connection with the female boarding-school under her care, and with the village schools of the station, much engaged in this department, and thus extensively known and deservedly esteemed by the youth of her sex, it is hoped that much good may result from the publication. Six thousand copies were printed.\*

The following is from the Report for the year 1835-6 :

'No. 54, the first publication of the general series, is called *Devout Inquiries*, written in the form of a conversation between a convert to christianity and his minister, by one of the native catechists of the district. It takes as its groundwork, Luke x. 27, and shows the duties of christians, as inculcated in the bible, toward God and their neighbor, enlarging on the conduct which true piety in the heart will induce.

No. 55, *Bible Doctrines*, is an amplification of the decalogue, and of other chief doctrines of holy writ, being a reprint, with modifications, of a tract previously printed in the district. It is mainly calculated for usefulness among native christians, and such as acknowledge the truth of revelation.

No. 56, called *Festivals*, describes in brief the parade and show of the many annual heathen festivals of the district, held at different temples of greater or less celebrity, and lasting from ten to twenty or more days each; enlarges on the numerous evils and demoralizing practices attending them and resulting from them, and gives an estimate of the probable expense they are to the district,—not less, it is believed, than 10,000 Rds. annually,—and all this is worse than thrown away; the practices being, as it is shown, abhorrent to a God of truth and holiness, and greatly prejudicial to the temporal as well as destructive to the eternal interests of those concerned in them. It also shows how much the temporal happiness of the district might be advanced by the appropriation of such a sum to charitable purposes, as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, instructing the rising generation, &c. &c.; brings the instructions of the divine word to view, and urges the reader to reflect on his conduct and embrace the Savior as the hope of his soul.\*

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\* The above estimate is wholly exclusive of the ordinary support of the temples, the numerous priesthood in its various gradations, and the numberless daily superstitions prevalent among the people, which last item alone leads to the employment of a host of magicians, astrologers, soothsayers, conjurers, and fortune-tellers, of every name and description; and these, not as a set of strolling vagabonds, regarded as a nuisance to the district, and excluded from good society, but forming a regular, acknowledged and integral part of the community, the objects of universal reverence and esteem, well supported, and living in respectability by their craft. To these might be added great numbers of religious

No. 57, a tract of twenty pages, *On Caste*, addressed to professors of religion, points out the evils of caste, and the great inconsistency and wickedness of Christians thus conforming to Brahminical institutes, which are so diametrically opposed to the principles and true interests of Christianity. The substance of the tract is taken from an article which appeared in the 13th No. of the Madras Tamul Magazine.

No. 58, called *Improper Marriage Alliances*, is a translation of No. 318 of the publications of the American Tract Society, containing the history of a man who, by contracting marriage with an unconverted woman, was gradually seduced from the paths of piety and a walk of consistency and godliness, into the vortex of pleasure and worldly amusement, became a confirmed infidel, and died a miserable death. The object of the tract is to caution professors of religion against forming marriage alliances with persons destitute of piety.

No. 59, called *Evils of Comedies*, points out the pernicious, demoralizing and destructive consequences, to individuals, families, and the community at large, from taking part in, supporting or sanctioning the performance of village plays; by which young persons are allured into the worst of company, contract habits of drunkenness, idleness, profligacy, and every species of vice and debauchery, ruin themselves, and prove a bane and a pest to society at large. The tract closes with an account of a respectable family reduced to wretchedness and total ruin by the dissolute conduct of the head of it, brought on by his joining in the nightly performance of the village comedy.

No. 63, *The Evils of the Tongue*, (the only publication issued during the year, of the scripture tracts,) refers to the various kinds of evil speaking prevalent in the district, as lying, swearing, slander, backbiting, abuse, &c.; shows that such talk is vain and foolish, and by large quotations from scripture, proves it to be contrary to the revealed will of God, and urges its discontinuance.\*

Of the children's series, Nos. 9, 10, and 12, have been reprinted, and one new tract, No. 18, has been added to the list. This, entitled *An Account of the Savior*, may excite interest from its having been written by a youth in one of the mission village schools in the district, from a perusal of the gospels. It was somewhat condensed for publication.

No. 13, of the miscellaneous series, contains *The Happy Death*, a tract of eight pages, and is a brief account of the devoted life and happy death of the late Mrs. Hall, of the Madura mission.

No. 14, of the same series, is *The Mother's Manual*, a tract of twenty-four pages, and contains much instruction of a simple, interesting and useful character, addressed chiefly to Christian mothers, on the mode of

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mendicants, itinerant or stationary, (many of them probably base impostors,) greatly venerated and well supported by the credulity of the people, contributions to them being deemed, by the populace generally, exceedingly beneficial in reference to the interests of the soul in a future birth, or as aiding the accumulations of such religious merit as directly leads to its final emancipation from the thralldom of moral evil and consequent transmigrations, and to its union with the deity.

\* All the above tracts, except No. 57, are twelve pages each.

training children, in order that, by the divine blessing, they may grow up in the fear of God, be a comfort and help to their parents, and prove useful members of society. Several anecdotes are subjoined by way of example, showing the influence of religious instruction on the infant mind, adopted from a little publication issued some years since by the Church Mission press at Madras. The tract is understood to have been first written (though afterwards enlarged) by one of the missionary ladies of the district.'

The Report of the Bible Society is also an interesting document, evincing the advances which have been made in printing and distributing the word of life among the perishing heathen. It is surely a matter of rejoicing to know, that bible societies, tract societies, and Sunday schools, are in operation in countries which but a short time since were wholly heathen; and to the philosophical observer it must furnish satisfactory proof that the money which has been expended in conducting missionary enterprises has not been wasted or used in effecting trivial objects. Let those who are ever ready to inquire, as the ancient objectors, 'For what purpose is all this?' let them read and learn. But we must just notice the pamphlet which stands first at the head of this article. The laws and customs of which it is a compend, are arranged under the heads of *Dowry and Inheritance; Adoption; Possession; Gifts; Mortgage and Hire; Purchases; Loans of Money on Interest; and Slaves*. The first title contains a variety of provisions respecting the descent of estates and the condition of orphans. Some of them are singular, but we pass them without specification. We are not indeed sure, that these laws, after all, are not the product of British jurisprudence; but if they are the genuine enactments of the natives of India, it would seem, that the lot of the female among the Malabars is far better than in most of the eastern countries. Under the title of *Adoption*, we notice the following provisions:

'Persons wishing to adopt a child, must first ask leave from their brothers, sisters, or nearest heirs; having gained which, they must, in presence of those heirs and other witnesses, including barbers and washermen, drink saffron-water, in which the before mentioned heirs, and also the parents of the child to be adopted, have dipped their fingers.

An adopting father drinking saffron-water alone, the child will succeed to the property of its own mother: if the adopting mother drink alone, the child likewise succeeds to the property of its own father.

If only part of the near relatives consent and dip their fingers in saffron-water, whilst others refuse, a child may still be adopted, though it will only inherit the share of those heirs who so consent; unless the non-consenting heirs for ten years forget to take possession, when they forfeit their claim.'

The title of *Possession* contains a number of specific regulations, in regard to fences, planting trees, and their fruit; in which a proper distinction is made between trees which require care and oversight and those which do not. Under the title of *Slaves*, a curious case is stated, in the following articles:

‘A married couple having children may emancipate any of their slaves at pleasure.

A man having no children may emancipate any slaves, by proclaiming it at the church any three Sundays.’

But we must dwell no longer on these productions of the Ceylon press. We have adverted to them as prefatory to some thoughts in connection with East Indian missions, and for the proof that is furnished us of the success which has so far crowned the exertions of christians at the present day. There are many bright rays which dawn through the darkness, giving promise of the glorious day yet to come. The whole aspect of the field of missionary labors has much that is cheering; and willingly would we linger, and mark the progress of that gospel which brings salvation to perishing men. Our readers, we trust, will accompany us in a train of reflections more immediately suggested by the desire of bringing them acquainted with the particular obstacles yet lying in the way of converting the world to God.

It is pleasant to contemplate the *success* of our labors,—to see the desert converted into a fruitful field, and the parched and barren earth smiling with a bounteous harvest. It is pleasant to stop and rejoice over *what has been done*. We are pleased with our reveries, when, looking through the eye of faith, we see Ethiopia stretching out her arms to God, and India prostrate at the foot of the cross, and the vast empire of China waiting to receive the law of her God. All these are grateful topics of contemplation. There are others less so, which demand our present notice. It is easy to convert the world in prospect,—to talk of the waning systems of paganism, the crumbling thrones of idolatry, and the glorious superstructure of christianity reared on the ruins of deluded ages. It is easy to take a part for the whole, and to please ourselves with the delusion, that the world is almost converted, when in fact the work is but partially *begun*. But it is quite another thing to look at the work as it is, in all its difficulties and discouragements, and in all its claims and responsibilities. It is another thing to set ourselves *about the work*, as the faithful and untiring servants of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We may be willing to talk and to direct, to give to the great and good cause with our benevolent wishes, and to dream by night and by day of the immortal victories and the splendid triumphs of the gospel. In self-complacent declamation we may be willing to send the beatifying streams from the living fountain through the great desert of the world, till the whole is made as the garden of the Lord. We may cheerfully and zealously convert the world at this cheap rate, and still the world may be as far from being converted as it was before it was blessed with our extraordinary efforts. "This kind goeth not out" by such means.

We do not expect to see the world converted, till the entire energies of the church are employed in the work,—till her sober judgment, her sound common sense, her cool and deliberate calculation, her utmost stretch of activity and benevolence, and her most ardent piety, are brought to bear on this great object. When the pious energies of God's people shall be brought out, then may we look expectingly for the consummation so devoutly to be wished. While the conversion of the world is suffered to remain a *minor* or a *secondary* object in the minds of the people of God, we must expect that its progress will be slow and doubtful.

We propose to notice some of the *difficulties* that obstruct the work of missions to the heathen. Our remarks are not made at random, but are the result of personal experience on the part of the writer, while employed as a missionary in India. Nor do we mention these difficulties as subjects of discouragement, but rather as motives to more constant and fervent prayer, to increased labors, and to perseverance in every department of the work.

It is hoped, that the presentation of this subject will serve to moderate and rectify the inconsiderate expectations of many christians, in reference to the immediate success of missionary labors. It seems to be expected by some, that a given amount of labor or expenditure in a heathen land, will be productive of more immediate good than is realized or anticipated from the same in a christian land. In this it is assumed, without examination or reflection, that the heathen, debased, hard-hearted, ignorant and polluted, as they are well known to be, are really more easily convinced of the truth, more susceptible of good impressions, and more easily converted, than nominal christians. We need simply say, *this is a mistake!* The heathen of India are no better than nominal christians. Their minds are as blinded, their hearts as hardened, and they believe a lie as read-



ily, as any class of impenitent, sceptical or infidel men in this country. They can cavil as adroitly, defend error as manfully, and resist the truth as obstinately, as a similar class of men do here. And what is still more to the point, they can read the bible and religious books with as much indifference, and hear the blessed gospel preached from sabbath to sabbath, and from day to day, with as much apathy as the majority of ungodly men do in this highly favored land.

It is a fact not to be contradicted, that a christian minister among the heathen may go into one of their villages, and, having taken his station under the shade of some wide-spreading tree, or in a temple, or in some chief place of concourse, may refute the errors of idolatry, portray the excellencies of christianity, contend with their priests like an apostle, unveil to them the mysteries of the atonement by a divine, a *crucified* Savior; he may set life and death before them; and they remain as stupid, as unconcerned, and as unmoved, as impenitent sinners do in an American assembly.

Hence it must be conceded, that the missionary, to say the least, must come in contact with the same aversion to divine truth, the same enmity against God, the same perverseness of heart, the same obduracy and corruption, that are to be encountered in a nominally christian country. And not only this, but all these obliquities and moral corruptions are fostered by the prevailing ignorance and the mental debasement of the people. They are sanctioned by immemorial custom, and sustained by the prevalent system of religion. There is not a sin in all the dark vocabulary of heathen abominations, for which the idolater may not apologize and excuse himself, on the broad sanction of custom, or the practice of his forefathers, or on the authority of his sacred books, or from the character of his gods, or from the precepts and practices of his priests, or for which he cannot plead his own ignorance, or his *fate*. And thus the *guilt* of his sin is nullified, and becomes, in his estimation, a *foible* for which he is scarcely if at all accountable.

Our first difficulty there, as well as here, is with *human depravity*. You know the nature of this difficulty. You know what a fertile soil the human heart is, and how rapidly the seeds of depravity will there germinate, and how luxuriant is the noxious growth, and how abundant are the fruits of unrighteousness. But when these germs of evil are nurtured by the hand of ignorance, supported by sturdy custom and the sanction of caste and superstition, and protected by the power of a supposed divine origin, how much harder is it to eradicate them from

their native soil ! how much more difficult to reclaim this soil from such influences, and to make it the receptacle of the good seed of divine truth, and a field that shall wave with the golden harvest of truth and righteousness !

To reject the truth in a christian land, a man must often do violence to public sentiment, to custom, to propriety, to his own conscience. In a heathen land, he feels nothing of the kind. He regards his own system of religion to be of divine origin. The doctrines and precepts of his sacred books, as well as the instructions and conduct of his priests and the character and reputed practices of his gods, go to prevent the dictates of reason, to silence the voice of conscience, and to extinguish the light of nature. His religion is made up of rites and observances, of pilgrimages and penances, prostrations to dumb idols, offerings, sacrifices, usages of caste, common customs, and the traditions of olden times. Hence the neglect of these is *sin*. The liar, the thief, the adulterer, may be very holy, if he repeats the names of his gods, goes through the mummery of a few unmeaning sentences, and performs a certain round of ceremonies. But let him neglect to bathe according to the prescribed rules, or let him eat with a man of another caste, and he is an abominable sinner. The writer has often, in argument with Brahmins, proposed the question, "What is sin?" and has almost as often received for answer, "To change one's religion, that is sin." This answer may at first appear to be a cavil, and sometimes it may indeed be so. But as it is generally used by a Brahmin in controversy, it has a show of truth, and a plausibility, which, in the minds of an ignorant, superstitious people, amount to a great degree of satisfaction.

The truth is this: the Hindoo does not deny the divine original of christianity. When we talk of the excellency of the christian religion,—of its beautiful consistency with the divine nature, its suitableness to the circumstances of man as a sinner, and its universal adaptation to the wants of men; he says he has no doubt of its divine origin, or of its excellence. But its origin or its excellence, he contends, is no concern of his. If christianity is really thus excellent, and if we are convinced of its truth, he says, we ought to be very thankful for it, and ought cheerfully and religiously to practice accordingly; for God saw fit so to deal with the white man. But for himself, and for the black people of India, he affirms, God saw fit to establish a different system of religion,—whether better or worse, is not for him to say: so it seemed good in the sight of God. The supreme Providence consulted climates, constitutions, habits,

and national circumstances, and gave to the several nations of the earth such a religion as he foresaw would be best suited to their respective conditions. The Brahmin disclaims any right or inclination to censure the ordinances of the Almighty, or to call in question the wisdom of his counsels in appointing for the different portions of mankind such systems of religion as he pleases. He accepts with satisfaction what is given him, and advises the christian to do the same. He never attempts to make proselytes; Hindooism forbids it. For a Hindoo to become a christian, or for a christian to embrace Hindooism or Moham-medanism, is, in his estimation, equally to distrust the wisdom of Omnipotence, and to show dissatisfaction with his wise allotments. Hence the *sin* of changing one's religion.

The difficulty of producing *conviction in the mind of a heathen*, is greater than may at first be supposed. The common people—under which term is included four-fifths of the population of India—are in a most degraded state of mental bondage. Not only is the mind of this numerous class of the people *pre-occupied* by notions the most unworthy, extravagant, and debasing, so that if they would exercise their own reason in matters of religion, they need greater illumination than they now have, before they can begin to feel their way through the mists and darkness of paganism, and to emerge from its abyss and come to the glorious light of the truth; but they are crushed down and ground into the dust of intellectual abasement. The Brahmins exercise an almost unbounded control over the minds of the common Hindoos, and especially over their religious belief. In matters of religion, a common Hindoo may not *think for himself*. He is continually taught, that everything which appertains to religion has been discussed, determined, and unalterably fixed, by the priesthood, thousands of years ago, when men were far wiser and better than they now are; and that all his own reasonings on the subject are not merely futile, but absolutely wrong. He regards religion as the peculiar business of the priests and the different classes of mendicants and devotees.

This fact develops to us the true bearing of *caste* on religious belief and practice, and we see in what way it hinders conviction in the mind of a heathen. Caste is a tremendous engine in the hands of the priesthood. The institutions of caste, in order to clothe them with infallibility, are made to claim a divine origin. Forced on the people with the sanction and authority of divine oracles, they assign, as by the hand of ruthless fate, to every man, before he is born, his own peculiar business or profession. The Brahmins, to whose exclusive guardianship are

committed the keeping and the expounding of their sacred books, possess the authority and entire guidance in all matters of religion; while the practice of it is more peculiarly the business of mendicants and devotees. The mass of the people have little to do with religion, except the mechanical performance of a few rites and ceremonies. The idea, everywhere so prevalent, that religion is a business or a calling to be disposed of by hereditary right or the usages of caste, like any secular business or profession, presents a formidable obstacle to the producing of conviction in the mind of a Hindoo.

Were a common man to begin to concern himself on the subject of religion, (suppose it were in reference to the salvation of his own soul,) he would be instantly and severely reproached as an intermeddler or as a busybody in other men's matters. He would be treated as a disorganizer and a stirrer up of sedition. He would be tauntingly asked if he had grown wiser than the Brahmins,—yea, wiser than the gods,—that he should abandon his hammer or his spade, and assume the profession of a godlike Brahmin. The Brahmins would need only to threaten such a man with the power of their enchantments, or to predict that the wrath of the gods would fall on him, and in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, the desired effect would be produced on the too superstitious mind of the presumptuous man; for a Brahmin may work on the fears and superstitions of the people to almost any extent he pleases. The writer has known a boy, twelve years old, terrified almost out of his senses, on being told by a Brahmin, that he would die, if he kept the book that had just been given him; and we have heard of the whole population of a town collecting together and burning the books and tracts which they had received a few days before with great apparent gladness, because they were told by one of these subtle priests, that these books and tracts were the cause of the cholera which was at that time raging among them.

It is more difficult to *sustain an argument* with a Brahmin, or a shrewd Hindoo of any caste, than may be at first imagined. We will illustrate what we mean, by a few examples.—In argument with a Brahmin, we point out a number of palpable contradictions in one of his sacred books. He says, "Yes, these are *seemingly* contradictions, incomprehensible and irreconcilable by our weak and limited faculties. But what of that? Do you receive as truth, nothing which you cannot comprehend or reconcile with your narrow conceptions of things? These seeming contradictions are all real consistencies,—objects of faith." He repeats,—what in a better cause is not new to the

christian,—that we must believe many things which we cannot comprehend. He does not pretend to reconcile all the discrepancies that you may point out in his creed. He receives all these things on the divine authority of his sacred books. His eyes may deceive him ; his reason may make a false report ; but his gods cannot misguide him. He sees, for example, that *milk* is *white* ; suppose he find it written in his shastras that it is black, he distrusts his senses and believes his shastras.

Again, we adduce the immoral character of their gods as an evidence of the falsity of their religion, and of its debasing and vitiating tendency. They admit, that their gods are not moral and virtuous in the sense in which we apply these terms to *mortals*. They will allow if necessary, when pressed in argument, that their deities often transgress the laws which they themselves have given to men. But they deny, that there is any guilt or moral turpitude in this. They deny, that these laws have any application or suitableness to the circumstances of gods. They were given to beings of another nature, that is, of a human nature ; and consequently the transgressions, by a god, of a human law or a law made for mortals, can be no immorality. Or they will soberly contend, that these reputed immoralities of their gods are but their pastimes, their amusements or innocent gratifications ; and hence these things determine nothing as to their moral character.

Again, we appeal to the morality of the bible ; to the purity of the christian doctrines ; to the just, consistent, and worthy character there given of God, and to the general excellency of christianity. He coolly and complacently replies, “all that may be true.” We show him on the other hand, the corrupt character and the vitiating tendency of Hindooism,—the bad moral character of those who live under that system, and the immoral and unworthy character which it attributes to the supreme God. “What then?” responds the subtle Brahmin. “Suppose your opinion of the comparative worth of our religion be correct, what have we to do with that? Such is our *fate*,—the gods ordained it ; and who are we, that we should quarrel with the gods?” It is no concern of his to enquire into the comparative merits of different religions. It is enough, that he is satisfied which was designed for him. If our religion be better, he does not covet it : if worse, he does not want it.

We appeal to miracles. He can refer to *ten* reputed miracles of his gods where we can adduce one of our God. We tell him Moses led the Israelites through the wilderness, and when they were perishing from thirst he smote a rock, and waters gushed

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out and run down in a rivulet through the camp of the people. "Where did that thing happen?" says the Brahmin. In Arabia, we reply, between Egypt and Canaan, showing him at the same time the places on a map,—adding, you may see traces of these miracles having been wrought there to this day. "Of these places and transactions," he says, "we know nothing. Our people have never been there, or seen any of these things; but if you will go with us to Dongurgaw (twelve miles from Ahmednuggur) we will show you where our god Ramū smote the rock, and brought forth an ocean of water to supply the countless myriads of his army." And there they will show us, (for we have visited the spot,) when we have descended by a broad flight of steps of hewn stone into a wild ravine, not only the place where the miracle is *said* to have been wrought, but the rock that was struck, with the waters still flowing. For there a large and beautiful spring of water issues from an aperture in a rock, the triumphant boast of many a Brahmin when challenged to defend his creed. We tell him how Moses led the same multitude through the Red Sea on dry land. He replies: "Of the Red Sea and of Moses and his host, we know nothing; these are subjects not mentioned in our sacred books; but if you will go with us to Rameshwar (the southern point of India) we will there show you the very remains of the bridge which Ramū made over the sea, from the continent to Ceylon, when he led the before mentioned army against her impious king. When, in his victorious career through the south of India, the ocean dared obstruct his passage, he tore up rocks and trees, hills and mountains, with which to bridge the mighty deep, and thus he passed over on dry land."

The miracles quoted by the Brahmin are not only more numerous, but far more extravagant and marvelous, and therefore more congenial with his preconceived notions of religion, and more consistent with the reputed character of his deities, than the sober and benevolent miracles of the Old or New Testament. To the mind of a Hindoo there is something extremely *tame* in the naked truth. There is such a simplicity in the miracles of Christ,—they are so unostentatious, and the narration of them is so unpretending when compared with that of the reputed miracles of Hindoo mythology, that the Hindoo, with his mind preoccupied, as it is, with the most extravagant and absurd notions of miracles, seems almost incapacitated to believe them. They by no means afford to his perverted mind that overwhelming weight of evidence to the truth of christianity, which the nominal christian gains from the same source.

The same may be said of the other evidences of christianity. His mind is so completely preoccupied with other notions and other feelings than those derived from the christian system of salvation, that there seems no place for the latter. And not only is his mind thus preoccupied, but it is prejudiced directly against the truth. Every thing in his own religion is *congenial* with his corrupt heart. He feels that he must *do* something. Hindooism puts him under a law of works. He knows that he is a sinner and needs righteousness. Hindooism teaches him to get righteousness in a way that pampers his proud heart. For he may now be a very religious man,—a very holy man, and at the same time indulge a corrupt heart without the least restraint. But christianity condemns him,—imposes restraint,—rebukes his pride,—scorns his righteousness, and will accept of nothing short of purity of heart. He is offended at the high requisitions of christianity, and having a more liberal system of his own, which is in good repute, he clings to it,—not with the hesitation and misgivings which often disturb the quietude of wicked men in christian lands, when they *try* to be satisfied with a system of error ; but he clings to it with a satisfaction which is the result of circumstances and education. The purity, the simplicity, and the uncompromising nature of christianity, are mountainlike obstacles in his way of embracing it. Hence he comes to the argument, with his mind prejudiced against the truth in a much greater degree than is ordinary with common unsanctified men.

A chief difficulty in managing an argument with a Hindoo Brahmin, lies in his *entire want of honesty*. He argues as if conscious, that he is supporting “a cunningly devised fable,”—and that error can only be supported by sophistry. He has no principle, no integrity, no settled creed, but affirms and denies, according as he judges will best suit his present argument ; changing his positions just as times, places, persons, circumstances, or caprice may dictate. His principal aim seems to be to show off well in argument,—sometimes to show his own acumen, and at other times to show to the common people the plausibility of the system of error by which he gets his bread.

Another difficulty appears in the want of *proper terms* by which to express, in a heathen language, many of the most common ideas of christianity. The words, for example, which they use for heaven, hell, the supreme Being, repentance, faith, and the like, are far from expressing the ideas which these terms convey to *our* minds. Hence, we must introduce foreign words, and by repeated explanation convey to their minds our

ideas of those things; or we must *christianize* their heathen terms, and, by explanation, make them to mean what we desire. We can do little more than name other and obvious difficulties, leaving our readers to pursue their bearing more in detail.

The labor of *acquiring foreign languages*, must always be taken into the account in our expectations of success. We must not overlook the fact, that before a man can be an efficient missionary, he must spend from one to three years in the hard study of a foreign tongue. He is by no means useless during this period; but on no principle of christian policy can he be exempted from the task.

The missionary among the heathen is everywhere a *foreigner*. He is ignorant, to a great extent, of the country, the people,—their manners, customs, climate,—their modes of thinking and reasoning,—their temperament,—and, in a proportionate degree, he is ignorant of everything in which they differ from his own countrymen. He has consequently much to learn besides their “hard speech.”

The *want of intercourse* between the different parts of a heathen nation, also, presents a serious obstacle to the rapid spread of new opinions. Except through the influence of christian nations, the press is scarcely used as a medium of communication. In India a few newspapers and periodicals are issued in the larger cities. These are read but by a very small minority of the people, so that no general impression can be made through them. The people of a whole province might become christians, and the mass of the people in a province an hundred miles distant, never hear of the change. The facilities for intercourse in reference to roads, public conveyances, &c., are extremely limited.

The *encouragement given to idolatry* by some christian governments, and the *ungodly conduct* of many nominal christians who reside in, or visit heathen lands, too, are obstacles of formidable magnitude. Comment on this topic is needless. In closing our article, a reflection or two may not be irrelevant.

1. *Christians have not yet engaged in the missionary work with a zeal and enterprise commensurate with the difficulty and magnitude of the undertaking.* Few christians have yet given much, or felt much, or prayed much for this cause. Very few have yet educated and set apart their children for this work, or recognized their own *responsibility* in the cause of missions. Few have yet taken the scripture ground,—acknowledged their covenant vows, and regarded the world's conversion as their own appropriate work. They have undertaken to accomplish



a great and difficult work by few men and small funds. The means now employed are not, by any means, proportionate to the end. We should either limit our expectations, or send forth proportionate means. There can be no doubt which we should do.

2. What sort of men are required as *missionaries*? It is a point fully conceded, that there are stations on Zion's walls, in this country, of peculiar trust and responsibility, which should be occupied by men of peculiar qualifications; while there are other posts that may be intrusted to watchmen of comparatively ordinary qualifications. We all view this *adaptation* of men to their place and work as a matter of great moment. Neglect this, and disastrous consequences may follow. Why should not the same principle be applied to the whole work of the ministry,—the work at home, and the work abroad? The foreign service is the more responsible and the most difficult service. Hence it should have the best men. They should be picked men,—men thoroughly furnished for their work in any station,—men whom the church can not well spare,—whose going abroad will be felt at home. They should be men who can lead,—who can devise,—who can stand alone,—men who can accommodate themselves to the extreme circumstances in human life. We need not add, that the men, who, from the circumstances of the case, are more particularly required, and to whom the "Macedonian cry" is more especially directed, and who ought to be the first to obey it, are the men of the most eminent piety, the first rate talents, and the most finished education. These are the men who are needed,—and until the work of foreign missions shall hold so prominent a place in the hearts of God's people, that they shall desire to send such of their sons; and until such men are willing to go, we must not expect to hear of any great, or very general triumphs of the gospel. Not that God cannot as well work by the weakest instruments, but before he works with his people, he requires the manifestation of a certain spirit, which, in this case, scarcely can be shown except by the consecration of our *best*. Are our churches ready to give the cause of foreign missions such an acknowledgment?

## ART. II.—GOLDSMITH AND HIS WRITINGS.

*The Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M. B., from a Variety of Original Sources :* by JAMES PRIOR.

IN conversation with a literary friend, some thirty years since, on the subject of English poets and poetry, after descanting on the merits of Pope in particular, he remarked, as if to express a contrast with this celebrated bard, "but after all, Goldsmith touches the heart." It was a deserved encomium; and the fact on which it is founded, is a certain criterion of the poet's power. Goldsmith may not take rank, all things considered, with the very highest,—Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope; yet he is next to them on the list, and in one respect, perhaps, exceeds them all. Many bards since the period referred to, have lived and sung, and some who belonged to a school which has been supposed to be more true to nature, than that of Pope and his successors; but still the distinction has not served the purpose of promising immortality to their works. It depends not on the school to which a poet belongs, or the form of composition which he adopts, but on the judgment with which he selects his topics, and the taste or power with which he executes them, whether he will be read and admired in after times. Nor is the quantity written, or the length of any single poem, essential in the estimate which the reader passes on the productions of genius. Several of the ancients who have left but few memorials of their poetic power, are still objects of our admiration, and deserve all their celebrity; while, among the moderns, Denham, Parnell, Burns, and others, undistinguished by the bulk of their works, are yet held in estimation. And a single production of very limited extent, such as the "Ode to the Passions," "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard," and "The Minstrel," are sufficient to secure a lasting fame to their authors, had they written much or nothing besides. Goldsmith published but little poetry in amount, and no long poems; yet when will "The Deserted Village," "The Traveler," and "The Hermit," cease to be read and admired? The character of the poetry is the question,—is that sweet, or elegant, or sublime? Does it harmonize with nature, and touch the chord of human sympathies? If this is the proper test, it is time to dismiss the prejudice which has been long indulged, in regard to different schools of poetry, as though, for instance, the smoothness of Pope must necessarily create monotony or dullness; or the unevenness of Cowper

is to be identified with variety, liveliness, or vigor. He who writes verses that charm both youth and age, both common people and scholars,—verses that live in the memory of the reader and are quoted in every book, answers the great design of poetry ; and the world takes no heed of the arbitrary classification, it may be, to which his name is subjected. The bard must receive his apotheosis from his strains. The “son,” whom “the muse” cannot “defend” by the simple magic of the song with which she has inspired him, will fall a prey, though not to the

‘Wild rout that tore the Thracian bard,’

yet to oblivion. It is the sweetness, or the majesty of his verse, that must preserve him, if at all, in the memories and in the hearts of men.

We have almost unexpectedly to ourselves, introduced Goldsmith to our readers, as if he were known only by his poetry : but although this is not the case, and his prose writings are numerous and greatly distinguished on many accounts, yet as he wrote the one chiefly for fame, and the other chiefly for a livelihood, it is due to the high reputation of his verses, to offer a few comments on them first of all, and thus finish what we would say separately, on these efforts of his genius. It was his own opinion, that “the world has a right to know and notice only such of a man’s productions, as he wrote for reputation and not for bread.” We do not know why such a claim should be admitted,—nevertheless we will so far admit it in relation to him, as to lay the greater stress on what he produced, with a view to establish his reputation as a writer. It will not be expected here, after the hundredth time, that we shall give any history of his few poems, or unfold their purpose. Their merit simply as poems, and this as they have impressed us upon a fresh perusal, is the only object here aimed at, and to be presented in the briefest terms ; inasmuch as some general considerations in regard to the results of his intellectual labors, in the entire mass, will be submitted before we close.

Although Goldsmith’s poetic pieces are elaborated with much care, every one notices a perfect ease, plainness, and simplicity about them in their *structure*, and *turn of thought*. This is especially the case with “The Deserted Village.” We read it, without so much as thinking that we are engaged on a fine poem ; nor does the knowledge of its celebrity seem to affect our estimate of its beauties. We are carried along with the descriptions and sentiments, and indulge a delicious luxury of feel-

ing, as these are successively presented to our minds. With whatever intent we commenced the reading of it,—whether criticism, or the wish to learn if what others say of it be true, we become at once absorbed in the piece. This power of arresting the attention, by the simplicity of its structure and the touching nature of its images, is at once a part and proof of its excellence. Much of what is here said of “The Deserted Village,” is equally applicable to “The Traveler.” The latter has less of pathos and quiet beauty, but is distinguished by greater variety and boldness of delineation. Goldsmith spared no pains to make them both perfect poems, in their kind. The poet’s art is to be natural, and his effort results in ease and gracefulness.

The *style* of his poetry, though modeled generally after that of Pope, is yet somewhat different, and wherein it differs, is not inferior to Pope’s. He has a less exquisite polish than his model, and none of his “dazzling antitheses,” but his turn of expression is more natural, and the flow of his verse is more melodious. Where an elaborate elegance and an ambitious brilliancy marked the verses of Pope, Goldsmith contented himself with simple neatness and a gentle pathos. His rhymes are perfect except in a very few instances, where the usage of those times allowed a deviation from an exact sameness of sound. On the whole, as combining the highest degree of elegance and studied rhythm, compatible with a natural and simple mode of expression, it is one of the best models of English verse.

The poetry of Goldsmith is seldom marked, by any thing like *elevation* or *sublimity*.

‘Standing on earth, nor rapt above the Pole,  
More safe he sang with mortal voice.’

He has a tone of sober earnestness, which gently agitates the whole surface of the reader’s mind, rather than addresses any master passion. He deals in human sympathies, and it is truly with a “mortal voice” he sings,—a charming fellow-feeling, with all that is tender, and bright, and happy, in human bosoms. The sentiments and images which his poetry reflects, are of the more common and every-day kind, deriving little adventitious beauty from the imagination, though selected with care, and grouped together with admirable taste and judgment. They speak to the heart, inasmuch as they are objects which the heart cherishes, both when they are in reality enjoyed, and when enjoyed by retrospection. The often quoted lines,

‘Sweet was the sound,’ &c.

are a beautiful example of this quality of Goldsmith’s poetry.

He delights to paint domestic scenes,—the family group, with their lively sports and tender cares, their joys and sorrows, their interchanges of affection, and their home-born attachments. Like Cowper, and some others, who had no households of their own, he seems to have entertained a higher idea of the felicity of the domestic state, from the very deprivation, in his own case. The general enjoyments of that condition, filled the visions of the poet's mind, while the occasional bitterness and trials were overlooked. This social turn is eminently visible in Goldsmith. He identifies himself with his fellow-man,—utters no ranting soliloquies,—expresses no moody discontent; or if he depicts passions and feelings of his own, he dwells only on those which find a response in all human hearts, and show the poet in all the weaknesses of our nature. Every one feels, or would feel in the same situation, what he has described concerning himself, in the following lines :

‘ In all my wanderings round this world of care,  
In all my griefs,—and God has given my share,  
I still had hopes, my latest hour to crown,  
Amid these humble bowers to lay me down;  
To husband out life's taper at the close,  
And keep the flame from wasting by repose :  
I still had hopes, for pride attends us still,  
Amidst the swains to show my book-learned skill,  
Around my fire an evening group to draw,  
And tell of all I felt, and all I saw ;  
And as a hare whom hounds and horns pursue,  
Pants to the place from whence at first she flew,  
I still had hopes, my long vexations past,  
Here to return, and die at home at last.’

In short, his poetry breathes the true English spirit and notions. English life is stamped upon it, and we might know the Briton's ideas of comfort and enjoyment,—of what constitutes the charm of earthly existence, from the pages of this poet. No picture of earthly happiness, in his view, is finished, except as it presents a scene like the following :

‘ Blest be that spot where cheerful guests retire  
To pause from toil, and trim their evening fire ;  
Blest that abode, where want and pain repair,  
And every stranger finds a ready chair ;  
Blest be those feasts with simple plenty crowned,  
Where all the ruddy family around,  
Laugh at the jests and pranks that never fail,  
Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale ;  
Or press the bashful stranger to his food,  
And learn the luxury of doing good.’

The *prose* writings of Goldsmith are too numerous to be particularly mentioned here, nor need their merits be extensively

brought into view. They consist of nearly all the various kinds, into which prosaic literature is divided,—the novel, the drama, the essay, biography, and history. Dying at the age of forty-six, he left a variety and amount of recorded thought that are wonderful. “The pen,” a foreign critic has truly said, “was to Oliver Goldsmith the charmed key, which ‘turned deftly in the oiled wards,’ and opened the door to the endless treasures of his mind. Can any author,—can even Sir Walter Scott be compared to Goldsmith, at the age of forty-six, for the variety, beauty, and power of his compositions? You may take him and ‘cut him out in little stars,’ so many lights does he present to the imagination.”

He is an admirable prose writer. With whatever haste, or under whatever embarrassments, he produced his prose works, they all show, though not equally indeed, his felicitous genius. His ready use of the pen, we should say, was an instinct, were it not well known, how much the ability, after all, is created by long discipline and practice. His diction is so select and pure, and his turn of thought is so natural, that neither would seem to be capable of improvement. It costs no effort to comprehend his meaning,—a fact, which, in the opinion of some, may prove him to be without depth, yet is rather an evidence of definite and clear conceptions. He always makes out satisfactorily and lucidly his propositions. Indeed, they appear so extremely obvious,—they are expressed with such simplicity and precision, we almost infer that it required as little labor to propound, as to understand them. His representations are conceived with such truth and nature, that they blend with our convictions and feelings, as soon as the words convey them to the senses. It is true, that they raise the soul only to a certain pitch,—they create no overpowering emotion,—all is gentle, smooth, rational, sensible. He puts forth scarcely any statement, or opinion, which one would wish to controvert. The reader would rather silently enjoy it, in its clear light and soft graces, as he is carried from thought to thought, and from picture to picture.

What has now been said of his prose writings in general, is more or less applicable to each one in particular. They are all sensible and entertaining works, adapted to answer, if not high moral ends, yet the common purposes of mental and social improvement. His most prominent prose production is “The Vicar of Wakefield.” This fiction is too well known to require a description, and we fear, that a brief comment or two upon its character, may seem superfluous. Before the novels

of Sir Walter Scott, it used to be referred to as one of the best, if not the very best, in the language; and if an objection was made against this whole class of writings, on account of their false morality, and their unnatural and exaggerated pictures of life, "*The Vicar of Wakefield*," at least, used to be pointed out as an exception. We know not but that even now, it may maintain the same position, in point of moral influence and sober views of life, if we except the professedly religious novels of late years; but as we shall speak soon of the moral worth of Goldsmith's productions as a whole, we shall be silent at present respecting this feature of "*The Vicar of Wakefield*." The story he has rendered extremely entertaining by its simplicity and unity, the coherency of its parts, the easy and natural flow of its diction, the familiar household words with which it abounds, and the judicious, though not very plentiful, sprinkling of incident and adventure. Displaying, as it does, the scenes and notions, the habits and pastimes, the virtues and vices of common rural life, most readers enter familiarly, and at once, into the story, as if it detailed almost their individual consciousness and experience. The Vicar, the hero of the story, though he must be viewed, on the whole, as a slight exaggeration, comes sufficiently near to characters that may occasionally be found,—especially in the clerical profession, where simplicity, honesty, submission under disappointments, perhaps a share of credulity, unquestioning generosity, and an attachment to one's own opinions, may be expected, if anywhere, in order to pass for a reality. We see something at least of the kind frequently among mankind. But although not an extraordinary character, in respect either to sagacity or folly, spirituality or moral deficiency, an heroic spirit or cowardice, yet we become extremely interested in him. In what he says and does, in what befalls him, we participate with the liveliest curiosity. This effect proceeds chiefly, we apprehend, from the author's inimitable humor, since he often places his hero in situations where he can play a consistent part, only by betraying some freak, or foible, or vanity, or other curious idiosyncrasy. From the train which is laid, we expect such a development of character as is described, and we are prepared to enjoy it, to the fullest extent. Most of the other personages of the fiction, are discriminated with great exactness. The scenes, attitudes, and conversations in which they figure, are perfectly congenial to their characters. They are always like themselves, whether the Vicar's goodly self-satisfied wife, the facile, lively Olivia, the sensible Sophia, or simple, pedantic Moses. As a whole, though

we might point out some defects as to probability, it is a valuable picture of English society, in the department which the author has selected, exhibiting in him an extensive acquaintance with human nature and the world. We should, perhaps, look in vain, in any similar work, for advice more appropriate, than that which the Vicar gave his children and family upon the fall of their fortunes, or for a single stroke of the pathetic, equal to that which appears, in the blessing which the eldest son received upon his departure to London on foot, with a view to seek his living. The sports and pastimes of the class of people among whom the Vicar is supposed to live, are aptly described, and contrived to heighten our ideas of the simple enjoyments of rustic life.

In his "Essays," and "Citizen of the World," Goldsmith shows his powers in a very different department of writing; nor is he perceptibly inferior either to Addison and Steele, or to the author of the Rambler. If he has less of idiomatic point than the two former, and less vigor of style and amplification of thought than the latter, he is more equable, correct, graceful, and perspicuous than either. With these celebrated essayists, he might have calculated on a co-partnership of immortality. His fund of sentiment and story, delivered in a most entertaining manner, seems fully adequate to the purposes to be sought in this form of composition. None can read "The Citizen of the World," without being charmed with his wisdom and wit, and the descriptive powers of his pen.

As we have no time to dwell on all his prose productions separately, and have spoken of his poetry only in part, we would seek to do justice to his reputation as an English classical writer, in a few more general observations. The character of his genius, and the value of his writings, as a whole, especially in a moral point of view, are worthy of no small consideration. That he takes rank among the first class of English authors, will probably be admitted by every one. Of course, the products of his mind, as with those of others of this description, must exert a powerful influence in respect to the welfare of man and society. The intellectual part of the community are, in a great degree, modeled as to their character and principles, by authors of the first rank in the language. That there is reason for referring a portion of the literature of a country to the department of classics, is conceded in the universal admiration which is felt for a certain description of works. Their power lies not so much in the subject, the form of composition, or the extent of knowledge displayed, as in the execution. The



thought, valuable in itself, is evolved in a neat and beautiful manner,—it is enshrined in certain appropriate and hallowed expressions, for which no others could be substituted. These writings are transparent in style, the idea is made obvious to the apprehension, a striking truth and grace distinguish the sentiment, and their spirit is that of an ethereal calmness and repose. An uncommon accuracy, purity, and refinement, pervade their whole structure. Their predominating quality, if it may be expressed in one word, is the *highest taste*, and taste in writing, as Goldsmith himself observes, “is the exhibition of the greatest quantity of beauty and of use, that may be admitted into any description without counteracting each other.” We feel, in reading such productions, that we have come in contact with a mind which readily reflects whatever is lovely, and bright, and true, in nature or in art. A genuine classical writer, therefore, is one to whom the highest consideration is to be attached, on account of the influence he is destined to wield, especially over cultivated intellect; and we may be justly solicitous, in respect to the nature of that influence, according as it is for good or evil.

The first characteristic of the writings of Goldsmith which we shall notice is, that they are *indicative rather of genius, than erudition*. Not that he was strikingly deficient in the latter, though Johnson, whose solicitude for the poet's reputation appears to have been sincere, is pleased to say, that his genius was great, but his knowledge small. It was small, perhaps, considering the native capacity of his mind, and the acquisitions he might have made with the diligence which he ought to have employed. It was not otherwise inconsiderable. We know, indeed, that in early life he was a trifler, and neglected his studies, yet he seems, notwithstanding, to have improved his time subsequently; and although he never became deeply scientific, his works show, that he must have amassed a fund of information of no inconsiderable an amount, and of a rich variety. With Milton, he may have felt, that

‘ Knowledge is as food, and needs no less  
Her temperance over appetite, to know  
In measure what the mind may well contain;  
Oppresses else with surfeit and soon turns  
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.’

But, however it may be determined in regard to the extent of his learning, it is most certain that he had the art, in an unusual degree, to apply and employ whatever of it he possessed. It was perfectly at his command; and he knew when and

where it would subserve a desirable purpose. **This was his native talent,—the unerring judgment and the refined taste with which he was gifted.** It is indisputable, that **his genius was of the highest order, creative, sprightly, and racy.** His capacity of observation was exceeded by that of few men. Hence his writings have so much the character of a series of pictures, exhibiting life and manners, the varied forms of human society, and the passions of the heart. “The Vicar of Wakefield” and “The Citizen of the World” present throughout, the *finest* specimens of this result of genius. Goldsmith manifests little turn for the merely ideal and speculative, and his imagination, though fine and fruitful, is so chastened by his judgment, as by no means to constitute a striking feature of his writings. Fascinating narratives and simple truths, set off with *only moderate* ornaments, show the accuracy of his observation, and his understanding of that which pleases all mankind. As he noticed much the external forms of things, so he was well read in the human heart, especially in its more gentle and home-bred feelings. Hence his mastery over the soul, and the *fine* pathos with which his writings abound,—delighting both youth and age, both the scholar and the peasant. These are *eminently* the products and the proofs of genius. Without them, the learning of Warburton and the strength of Johnson, would scarcely be sufficient to sustain the claim to true intellectual greatness. Goldsmith’s elegance, as in other writers of this class, is no slight indication of genius. It is a quality acquired by art with so little success, that where nature has not conferred it, we may hardly expect to find its development, in any degree of perfection. It is a felicity which we may not improperly say, is the gift of God, and lies in the constitution of the mind more than in its training. In Goldsmith it was unaccompanied by effort. It was perfectly natural to him, and he seems incapable of writing a careless, loose, or ungraceful sentence. Yet there was in him no affected nicety, or fastidious choice of words, or studied rounding of periods for musical effect. His biographer introduces Bishop Percy as remarking, that “his elegant and enchanting style in prose flowed from him with so much facility, that in whole quires of his histories, “Animated Nature,” &c., he had seldom occasion to correct or alter a single word.”

A second characteristic of the writings of Goldsmith, which we would bring into view is, *the striking evidence which they afford of the power of circumstances over the efforts of the mind.* They are singularly shaped by so arbitrary and capricious an

influence. His situation in life, chiefly dictated the measure and the mode of his intellectual exertions. He was seldom left to his own choice, and not always to the bent of his genius, in the productions which he put forth. The influence of circumstances in eliciting talents, or in directing their course has been observed, indeed, in the case of many others; but in our author it constitutes almost the sum total of his literary history. The miscellaneous manner of his living, his changes of fortune, his wanderings, and his wants, all combined to give a direction to the efforts of his genius. Necessity made him an author, and he seldom wrote from the humor of it. It sufficed, if his appetite for food, or love of dress, or general extravagance of expenditure created the imperious demand. He felt that these wants, natural or factitious, must be met; but his readiness in the use of his pen, lightened a task which could not otherwise have been long endured. The great number and variety of his literary engagements and their results, bespoke the character of one who wrote because he must, and who wrote appropriately, because he was able. Nature, in the tenderness and susceptibility of his feelings, intended him for a poet; and in a gentle humor and terse phraseology, he was fitted for an essayist of the Addisonian stamp; but he must needs be besides, a biographer, historian, novelist, naturalist, and a writer of school books. We hardly need regret, that he applied his mind to so many species of writing, since "*nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.*" Nature had imbued him with the requisites of excelling in them all. He doubtless did right, at least acted with prudence, though that was not a remarkable virtue in Goldsmith, in neglecting at length an art by which, as he intimated, he could not live, and by declining to "die a martyr even to poetry." He absolved his conscience of guilt, if he did not oblige mankind, in bidding farewell to her, "loveliest maid," whom he addressed in a couplet which, as is believed, depicts the state of many a bard:

‘Thou source of all my bliss and all my woe,  
That found'st me poor at first, and keep'st me so.’

His early education, and the intercourse which he maintained with general society, and especially the regard which he was disposed to manifest towards the lower classes, gave him the power of awakening the common sympathies of men. He dwelt on tender scenes,—painted the village in its by-gone days of happiness, and the village pastor, in the native simplicity and goodness of his heart. With these scenes his mind was in unison.

'Yes! let the rich deride, the proud disdain,  
These simple blessings of the lowly train.  
To me more dear, congenial to my heart,  
One native charm, than all the gloss of art;  
Spontaneous joys where nature has its play,  
The soul adopts, and owns their first-born sway;  
Lightly they frolic o'er the vacant mind,  
Unenvied, unmolested, unconfined.'

He sought for effect, particularly in his poetic pieces, and in his fiction, from painting the characters of rustic life in their real lineaments, viewed generally on the favorable side, with as much of innocence and enjoyment as is ever found in that rank of society. In doing this, he has given them a degree of elevation and embellishment, after the fashion of poetry, somewhat above the reality. In this respect he differs from Crabbe, who followed him in the same department of writing, inasmuch, as the latter has sternly delineated human nature, in its vices, miseries, and degradation; and sought to melt or appall the reader, as a philanthropist would affect his own heart or the hearts of others, by bringing before the eye the sad reality of human crimes or woes.

Another peculiarity of Goldsmith's writings to be here noticed, is the circumstance, that they *reflect, in a remarkable degree, his own private history and that of his friends*. Not merely his feelings, and the varying states of his mind are portrayed; but his memory furnished him with the situations, incidents, or adventures, in which he or they were concerned. These he wrought up as materials for his sketches or narratives, so that as his biographer remarks, "when his invention failed, he had only to draw upon his memory." This sort of autobiography is found in his plays, poetry, "Vicar of Wakefield," "Citizen of the World," and detached essays, and doubtless has added much to their interest. Sketches taken from actual life, and faithfully taken, always please. It can make but little difference, whether it be the history of the author and his family, or that of others, as to the effect, if there be an equal variety of interesting occurrences. Whatever peculiarities may attach to an individual, yet there are so many points in which one heart is like another, and one person's feelings and experience resemble another's, that he who describes one individual or a single group, depicts essentially all mankind. He who delineates himself, holds up a mirror, in which all may see something of their own hearts. Of necessity, he presents to view those properties which are common to the race. As Goldsmith wrote largely, from his recollections of what he had witnessed in himself and in his family connections, we can readily account for the fresh-

ness, truth, and power of his delineations. The writer, who has facts and living men and women in his eye, finds a guide to correctness which, if he possess skill in the use of his pen, will not fail to conduct him to the public favor. Our author, more than most writers, has discovered and availed himself of the true secret of fixing the attention of mankind, by drawing his sketches from nature and actual experience. With what interest we dwell on the story of his home and family,—the scenes of his early adventures, the village with its church, and school, and alehouse,—his wanderings over the earth,—his expedients for a livelihood, and the like, when we meet with them in the various works of which they constitute separate portions,—whether in polished verse, amid the busy scenes of a novel, or under the embellishments of an oriental tale.

The last general characteristic of Goldsmith's writings, of which it is our design to speak, relates to their *negative influence in respect to the cause of morality and religion*. As christian spectators, it becomes us to offer somewhat on their moral character and tendencies, even should there appear to be but little in his favor. Such a task, to us, is not altogether pleasing. It is true we find, on the present topic, less to condemn and more to approve in Goldsmith, than in most of the wits and authors of his age, who were not professed friends and advocates of christianity. But why might we not be permitted to point only to purity and truth, in an author naturally so guileless and fascinating? Our satisfaction in some points is mingled with regret on others, in which he omitted to urge the claims of morality and religion, if he did not advance sentiments or evince a spirit in opposition to both. English classical literature, in the most unexceptionable authors, is too often chargeable with the sin of omission in regard to a healthful moral influence; while in the great mass of authors it is justly offensive on the score of decency and correct sentiments. The poets, in particular, have lent the most effectual aid, not only in divesting the reader's mind of all serious views, but in inculcating loose principles and inspiring guilty passions. Goldsmith's pure taste, his refined and ingenuous feelings, and his benevolent tendencies, might be supposed to preserve him from any wanton purposed infusion of a wicked and corrupting leaven into his productions. And they did preserve him, in a great degree, from this perversion of genius. Even the occasional obliquities of temper and practice into which he was betrayed, and which were but too palpable, seem not to have interfered much with the expression of his better feelings. We have wondered, that frivolity and dis-

sipation in youth, and some more suspicious passions in mature life, did not spoil him for an author. Yet we perceive only a slight sprinkling of their influence in his works. His more correct convictions and feelings prevailed. He was, after all, with some few exceptions, an instructive and safe writer. The more common opinion we have presumed to be is, that no writer of his class is more unexceptionable, in the particular here contemplated, than Goldsmith. His biographers speak favorably of the moral tenor of his writings. The professed critics hold the same language. One of them says: "He is, perhaps, the only authority the memory can honestly suggest, for the well known line of leaving

'No line which, dying, he would wish to blot.' "

Sir Walter Scott observes: "He wrote to exalt virtue and expose vice, and he accomplished his task in a manner which raises him to the highest rank among British authors." Even Cowper was highly pleased with the tendency of his *Traveler* and *Deserted Village*, and with the lessons of wisdom which they inculcated. We may admit the justice of these and similar eulogiums, in a degree. It is believed, that Goldsmith was free from the infidelity which began to be rife at the period in which he wrote. At least, we have no recollection, that he has given any distinct utterance to it in his works. They evidently appear not designed to unhinge our belief in the principles of christianity. Indeed he seems almost to take credit to himself, that he was not cursed with the vagaries of unbelief. There is, probably, little reason to doubt his sincerity in such a declaration, however he may not have deemed himself "good enough" to read prayers in a private family, and though he refused to go into orders, because, as he humorously expressed it, he should be "obliged to wear a long wig, when he liked a short one, or a black coat, when he generally dressed in brown." A man may not be an infidel, and yet be very unfit, even with the brightest parts, to communicate to the world the lessons of wisdom and virtue. Still, it was commendable in Goldsmith, surrounded as he was by sceptical and corrupting influences, that he should have escaped the infection, and so sagaciously consulted for his fame, in declining to sanction, by the effusions of his genius, the infidelity and flagitiousness of the times. It must be conceded, also, that the general amiability and kindness of his heart would, through his writings, dictate only a gentle and amiable morality, and lead him to consult, so far as he understood the subject, the true perfection and happiness of his

species. His manner is certainly that of mild instruction and gentle reproof. The lessons of wisdom he set off rather by a genial and bland humor, than by smartness of wit or boldness of denunciation. The pleasantry of Horace is his, and not the indignation of Juvenal, or the severity of Persius, whom Queen Elizabeth so dryly called a crab-staff.

After all, we can say no more, as has already been expressed, in respect to his writings generally, than that they have a negative merit, as to their bearing on religion and the great and permanent interests of human beings. We can hardly say even so much in their favor, unless an exception or two be admitted. We fear it would be difficult to exculpate him from the charge of occasional indelicacy of allusion or expression. Profane he certainly is, in one or two instances. And what, for example, does the candid, catholic man mean, by putting the following sarcasm against the ministry of religion, in the mouth of his Chinese philosopher, in "The Citizen of the World?" "In every country, my friend, the bonzes, the brachmans, and the priests, deceive the people; all reformatations begin from the laity; the priests point out the way to heaven with their fingers, but stand still themselves, nor seem to travel towards the country in view." Even Goldsmith was "good enough," not only to read prayers, but to enter into the christian ministry, if it were just to characterize it in this manner, in company with the ministries of superstition. These obliquities, we own, are exceptions to the general decency and moral propriety of his writings. As a body, we believe they do not offend against christianity and correct morals, except as mere worldliness and a worldly religion offend against them. He leaves out, of course, the peculiarities of revealed truth, and fails to strike any effectual blow against sin. He does not recommend, as he might have done, by his rich thought and elegant pen, the spiritual glories of the gospel. Common goodness of heart, and the lower proprieties of religion, are indeed recommended; the external defenses of christianity are attempted. We learn to be kind and amiable, indulgent and charitable, from the writings of Goldsmith, but not to be serious and prayerful and pure in heart. We learn lessons of caution and propriety in common life, but not the fear of God. We learn to admire the wonders of creating wisdom, but not to love their holy author. We can make out even a sort of piety, a patch-work of religious instinct, from his ethical illustrations, but not the religion of principle. He comes short, as might be expected, from his own allowed aberrations in practice, of the real thing,—the essence of christian truth and rectitude, even

when he professes to be the moral adviser, or to portray the work and character of good men. This is to do ill enough ; yet so far as positive influences are put forth, Goldsmith, we would fain believe, does not often or greatly offend against christian truth and morality. His representations will do us little hurt, should they fail to do us good, in respect to these precious interests. If they occasion detriment to the soul, it is rather owing to the sin of omission than of commission. It is because they do not give a true idea of religion in its spirituality and completeness, even when he descants on the general subject. Some of his more serious sketches we will admit, are even beautiful as moral pictures. The following lines describe, with much tenderness, the good pastor's solicitude for his flock :

' Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,  
And ev'n his failings lean'd to virtue's side ;  
But in his duty prompt, at ev'ry call,  
He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt, for all :  
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries  
To tempt its new-fledg'd offspring to the skies,  
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,  
Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way.'

And who has not admired the moral beauty and pathos of the following strain ;

' At church with meek and unaffected grace,  
His looks adorn'd the venerable place :  
Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,  
And fools who came to scoff, remain'd to pray.  
The service past, around the pious man,  
With steady zeal, each honest rustic ran :  
Ev'n children follow'd, with endearing wile,  
And pluck'd his gown, to share the good man's smile,  
His ready smile a parent's warmth express'd,  
Their welfare pleas'd him and their cares distress :  
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,  
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven.'

The simple, honest and indulgent Vicar, figures, too, in scenes and duties that well become the minister of religion. We must, however, make an exception or two in regard to certain amusements and worldly follies practiced in his family, and countenanced by himself. He has a natural affection for his flock, is companionable, kind, condescending, patient under adversity. But is it, after all, true spiritual religion which is depicted,—the life of piety and communion with God,—high moral aims in respect to the salvation of men, the best welfare of society, and the prosperity of Christ's kingdom? Are not the natural amiableness of the Vicar, his indulgent temper, his pecuniary



charities, his self-complacent goodness, his indifference to his own fate, amounting almost to stoicism, intended to be passed off as the height of christian virtue? Delightful as the picture is, in many respects, is it not calculated to mislead the mind, as to the real nature of evangelical goodness, and the proper work and worthiness of the pious pastor? We should say it was rather a worldly temporizing, philosophical religion, than the spiritual loveliness, enlightened firmness, and chastened spirit which the gospel inculcates and inspires. It is the portraiture of good nature, heedless philanthropy, and religious oddities, rather than of the innate principles and fine developments of christian and pastoral fidelity. It is the history less of evangelical purity than of pharisaic goodness, including among other virtues, a hatred of washes, and finery, and all play, except backgammon! We are gratified, that so much of what is wrong, extravagant, and unprincipled in character, which finds its way in common fictions, is here avoided, and that so many correct, and even beautiful representations, so far as they extend, of the effects of moral and religious feelings are admitted. But the picture, as a whole, is imperfect. It gives an inadequate view of the real glory of an upright character. The great peculiarities of christianity are left out in the delineation of the good Vicar.

Goldsmith, therefore, even when he attempted to give his readers an idea of true virtue, only delineated an approximation towards it. In inculcating goodness and wisdom, he leaves out of view the living spring and principle, from which they proceed. He produces only a polished marble likeness, instead of the real being. His merit, as a moral monitor, is only that of being harmless. He does not corrupt his readers by blinding the understanding, and sharpening unholy appetite. He makes none, perhaps, less wise and happy by the perusal of his writings. But is it sufficient, in such an author, to have exerted only a negative influence, in regard to religion, and the great interests of human society? Is the responsibility of high talent, and especially the talent of communicating thought, fully met by merely not doing an injury to public morals and piety, if even so much can be claimed for Goldsmith? God having endowed him with the transcendent gifts of genius, should have been honored by their employment for his glory. Rare endowments of this kind, are eminently needed in such a world, to enlighten, and reform, and bless it. What might not Goldsmith, had he properly felt his responsibility to God, have achieved for religion and humanity, with a prose style, which,

as one says, may be regarded as "the model of perfection, and the standard of our language, to equal which, the efforts of most will be vain, and to exceed it, every expectation folly," and with a talent for poetry, next to the highest, among the British bards. The convictions of a perfect ratiocination, the fullness of various knowledge, and the charm of an elegant pen, all so emphatically his, would have given to christianity an aid of great importance, at that period. Those inimitable finished sentences which enshrine the common things of this world, would have recommended it to all future ages. Had the genius of Goldsmith, like Cowper's, been sanctified by the grace of God, his peculiar melody of style and power to touch the heart,—his enlarged acquaintance with the world and human life,—his cheerful and buoyant temper, would have fitted him, in a manner unsurpassed by any writer, to instruct and charm the readers of English literature, to the latest generations.

If anything may be properly added to the incidental notices of Goldsmith's character, which have been already introduced, we must say, that although there is something in it to be admired, there is not a little to be deplored. His faults have indeed been often commented on, and sometimes with harshness. His singularities and foibles, his infirmities of temper and aberrations of conduct, as they occasioned a good deal of gossiping at the time, so they have come down to us, in company with the recorded monuments of the poet's genius. Our anecdotal literature abounds with them. They are calculated to present him in a very ridiculous light. Some of the stories are foolish and incredible enough; others, his present biographer has amply disproved. A few must be allowed to be founded in truth. According to Mr. Prior's own showing, Goldsmith indulged occasionally in the pernicious habit of gambling, was foolishly imprudent, guilty of vanity, envy, and other meanesses unworthy of a man of his exalted parts, or of any man. It is true, he felt acutely the shame and mortification of his wrong actions, and none lamented more strongly than he did, when too late, the results of his error. Even some of his virtues verged to the extreme of vices or weaknesses. His generosity was thoughtless. He relieved the miserable at a needless expense. His simplicity was such, that nothing was more easy than to dupe him, and his sensibility to the woes of others so excessive, that he was wholly unmanned by any idle tale of distress. His facility of disposition was indulged, at the loss of self-respect and self-consistency; and his charity towards

others involved the dereliction almost of honesty and good faith. There was, no doubt, in his character, a substratum of kind and benevolent feeling. There was a natural amenity of disposition, an original sobriety and a turn for reflection; and had he been religiously educated, or educated with any common care, these qualities would probably have been evolved in the fairest proportions. The grace of God might have crowned the faithful training of such a mind, with blessed success; and and its beautiful developments would have been the admiration of the wise and good, of all succeeding time. But with the neglect which he experienced, it is no matter of surprise, that he passed a thoughtless childhood, a dissipated youth, and an unsettled, dissatisfied, and unhappy manhood. It is rather a matter of wonder, that the fine stamina of his moral and intellectual constitution, so heedlessly trained, should have been so little perverted or overborne, in the subsequent intercourse of life. A child left to such light and pernicious reading as he indulged in, whose juvenile library was another name for licentiousness and folly,—“the Cottage Classics of Ireland,”—and unrestrained in a career of improvidence, irregularity, and indolence, might not unnaturally be supposed, to be destined to absolute ruin of character and hope, in the end. Yet his habitual conduct, though much to be lamented, was not one dark shade of corruption. Everybody loves Oliver Goldsmith with all his faults. Not a morally delinquent or unfortunate author ever lived, who is more admired or more commiserated than he,—not one, with whom our kindly and sympathizing feelings are more largely shared. The general delicacy and purity of his productions show, that he could, for the time being, rise above the hateful influences to which he was exposed,—that he could feel the importance of bearing his testimony against the follies and aberrations, of which he himself was occasionally guilty,—that he thought it due to mankind, that only his best thoughts and choicest fancies, should be communicated by the press. In this he judged rightly. No less an indemnity could he make for the allowed imperfections of his life; and though, had even much greater purity marked his writings, it was no proper atonement for his sins in the sight of God, yet we may be allowed to say, it may conciliate for him the favor of those, who, like himself, are by nature sinful and erring creatures. Let such as write only from the impulses of nature, as Goldsmith did, bequeath to the world productions more free from a vicious taint, if unhappily they cannot be claimed as positive auxiliaries of piety, and they may, without blame, raise

their voice against an author, who will ever delight the common mind, as he must ever excite the tender concern of those who fear God.

Of the biographer of Goldsmith we can only say, that, in general, he deserves well of the reading public. He has shown a commendable fidelity, and indefatigable spirit of industry and research. This seems now to be the established character of Mr. Prior, as a writer of literary biography. He is minute, thorough, evidently enamored of his task, and of course interesting. He brings to light much unknown or long forgotten matter, and illustrates a good deal of cotemporaneous history,—some, that bears on the life and character of his subject, and some, the application of which seems to be difficult. In the latter respect, the critical reader will feel, that he has erred. Yet, after all, who, critic or general reader, does not peruse the narrative with a strong avidity? Our attention is called off, indeed, from the principal personage; but it is only to be fastened on others whose shorter story is detailed, in the same interesting manner. Discursive and episodical as Mr. Prior is, yet his work is hardly obnoxious to the critical charge once passed by the *Edinburgh Review* on Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, of having, if we recollect aright, twelve pages of extraneous matter, to one line relating to the proper subject of the biography! It would have been well, however, had Mr. Prior foisted in less of irrelative narrative, or speculation, and given greater unity and condensation to his biographical sketch.

He vindicates the subject of his memoir with a becoming spirit, and with a goodly array of authority and learning. We love to see a generous enthusiasm, and even something like jealousy, in behalf of a friend whose cause we have espoused; but these feelings should not be manifested at the expense of the just reputation of others. We fear, that in the fervor of his love, our biographer has trespassed a little on this point. Besides, it was hardly worth the while to have attempted the vindication of Goldsmith, in regard to certain particulars which are evidently either inexcusable in themselves, or too trifling to be noticed.

Mr. Prior's style has little the appearance of effort, yet it is animated and dignified. It is direct and plain, and satisfies the taste of those who read for information. As to fine writing, Mr. Prior seems not to have aimed at it, any further than to avoid an abrupt and dry manner. The attentive reader will find, however, amid general excellence, several faulty constructions in the language, of which a scholar and practiced writer ought not to be guilty.

## ART. III.—SCHAUFFLER'S LAST DAYS OF CHRIST.

*Meditations on the Last Days of Christ, consisting of Ten Sermons preached at Constantinople and Odessa :* by WILLIAM G. SCHAUFFLER, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. Boston. William Peirce. 1837. pp. 380.

THE name of the author of this volume is dear to all who know him, and should be cherished by the warm affections of every American christian. "He was born in Stuttgart, Würtemberg, Germany, August 22, 1798. In 1804, his father, a turner by trade, removed with his family, and in company with other emigrants, to Odessa, a port on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in South Russia. \* \* \* Mr. Schauffler's two eldest brothers followed the occupation of their father. He became a musical instrument maker. His early literary and religious privileges were very limited. When about fifteen years of age he was confirmed, though not possessing any serious thoughts about religion. His conversion, the result of the instrumentality of a German missionary, took place in the winter of 1820. From this period he ever desired to become a missionary. Circumstances, however, prevented him till in the beginning of 1826, when the well known missionary, Rev. Joseph Wolff, came to Odessa. He invited Mr. S. to become one of his pupils, which invitation, with the consent of his friends, he accepted and proceeded to Constantinople. He there spent three months in studying English, Latin and Turkish. He then removed to Smyrna where he determined to visit this country, partly by the advice of Rev. Jonas King: Mr. Wolff paid his passage. He arrived at Boston, Nov. 7th, 1826, and on the 18th, came to reside in Andover. He joined the Seminary in the autumn of 1827, and completed the full course. He remained at Andover one year, 1830-31, as a resident licentiate. \* \* \* The degree of A. M. was conferred on him in 1831, by Amherst College. In December, 1831, he sailed for Constantinople."

It would seem, that he received most of his literary and theological education at the Seminary at Andover, and we know, that his attainments, both in the Latin, Greek, and several of the oriental languages, are uncommon for almost any man to possess, and were wonderful for any one to acquire within the space allotted to him.

To this country about eleven years since, came this wanderer from home, prompted by his pious feelings, and his missionary zeal, and he came to it, a country, the fame of which had reached him as a land in which freedom, literary advantages, and fervent piety had their abode in an unwonted harmony,—producing the fair fruits of activity for Christ at home, and zeal for the establishment of his kingdom in foreign lands. He stepped upon the wharf at Boston alone, but cheered by faith, as we may believe, and was received with open arms by the christians of this country. He came with but little literary cultivation, and he departed richly laden with the spoils of knowledge, ready to preach the gospel among the Jews, and the Gentiles, and “his kindred according to the flesh.”

From this country he has received important good, and the fact, that we were enabled to reach forth such assistance to a man like him, should lead us to thank God, that there is something in which we may glory.

He has given us in return many a warm-hearted communication, sparkling with beauty, vigorous in sense, and glowing with love to the cause of Christ, and he has now sent us the volume which we propose to examine, as a token of his ardor and his faithfulness in his master's service.

The merits of this work are of themselves sufficient to raise it highly in our esteem, and to commend it to our affections as a work of permanent worth. To the christian, the scholar, the admirer of works of genius, and the lover of the word of God and of the cause of his Son, it cannot fail to be most acceptable, and to be read by all such with intense interest.

The volume is entitled, “Meditations on the Last Days of Christ,” &c. If, however, the reader should infer from the title, that it consists principally of such devout reflections and practical inferences, as the scenes considered may well inspire, and of these alone, he will be much mistaken. The *objects* which call upon the heart to awaken, and which speak plainly of our own duty, are presented with much distinctness and force; and the presentation of these occupies by far the greater portion of the volume. The brief notes which the evangelists have left behind of these stirring transactions, are expanded into an accurate, an extended, and lively narration. The native powers of the writer, and his stores of sacred knowledge, seem to have been taxed to the utmost to present to the eye of the modern reader, what was once transacted in Palestine, and to give to the scenic representation the life and the interest of a present reality. If we may judge from the success of this effort, we should estimate

highly the qualifications which he possesses of throwing a lively interest around any historical scene which he depicts, and of painting it clearly and strongly to the eye. His knowledge of the local situation of the several parts of the sacred country, as gained from a familiar acquaintance with biblical geography and an attentive study of the map of Palestine, places him at ease in any city or village. He tells us distinctly its neighboring mountains and rivers, and can turn his eyes at once in the direction where lies the holy city and the temple, to which the Jew directs his face and worship. He seems also to have studied the surface of the country and its external aspect, so that, from any of its eminences, he can point us now to the village which is almost hidden in a remote valley, now to Libanus, towering, and yet faintly seen in the distant north, and again to the great western sea, that rests in the blue distance, where "go the ships," and where is leviathan that playeth therein.

This knowledge, so necessary as it is to the student of any portion of the sacred narrative, is not retailed from the manual of sacred antiquities, or measured off to us from the biblical atlas,—it is not presented in the detail of naked statements, and of tables of statistics and measurements; but it comes to us as though it were falling from the lips of a traveler who had beheld the living scene with his own eye, and had been fired with the inspiration of each sacred spot. Knowledge thus elaborated, and above all, animated with simplicity of purpose, true even to nature and a warm heart, though it may savor less of science and may command not the homage of the book-learned, is yet knowledge turned to its right account, and yields a rich repast to those who love what is good and true. Such always prefer the pure honey, which, by no peculiar taste, indicates the place where it was gathered, to that, which tells us so plainly, that it was culled even from the thyme of Hymettus. Besides, the more learned method of frequent references and quotations, breaks up the continuance of the discourse, checks, if does not preclude, all ardor of feeling and liveliness of description. It is far easier also to give to us the collected results of others' researches, than it is from these to frame that which shall turn these researches to their right account, and cause them to issue forth freshly from our own minds, a new creation, that bears the vivid impress of the source from which it sprung.

The mind of the author in the present instance, judging from his work, is characterized by a lively imagination, a warm

heart, and remarkable readiness in communicating to others any impression which he has himself received. His imagination enables him to combine the scattered hints which the evangelists have dropped, as it were by chance, with his own abundant and ready information, and the plain record of the gospel history, into a real scene, in which he himself lives again, and of which he is a joyful witness. It would seem as if the past had been rolled onward to take its place in his mind, side by side with the present, and to open its hidden and forgotten pictures ; as though the Savior had again been born in Bethlehem, and traversed again the varied and the weary way of his earthly pilgrimage. Such visions, whether seen in the dreams of the night, or whether they rise in bright succession to the glad beholding of the christian scholar, as he revolves the narrative of his Savior, are blessed indeed, and he that can waken them to his own imagination, can read his bible with no mean satisfaction.

But Mr. Schauffler can describe as well as imagine ; he can paint to the eye of others, the visions which are so bright and clear to his own eye within. This graphic power, which revives the past, not by lifeless abstractions, but by words of power and skill, and by images which speak to all the senses, seems to be largely possessed by him and to have been abundantly employed in the volume before us. Whether it was a resolute determination, to render visible to others his own thoughts and feelings, which made him so successful, or whether it was simply a natural facility in pouring forth those thoughts and feelings, it is certain that he did, in this instance, set forth to others the workings of his own soul, and transfer to their eyes the objects which his own imagination beheld. But though the author undoubtedly possesses, and has used high powers of imagination and description, we would by no means be understood to intimate, that his work is a sacred romance, or a fanciful amplification of the life of the Savior into a complete history, with its complement of dates, names, family anecdotes and household occurrences, such as have been made out in former days, and of which the "Death of Abel" and the "Life of Joseph" are good examples. Such expansions of scriptural history, though they excited the marvel of our youthful days, and raised our estimate of the wondrous knowledge of their authors, who could tell so much more than Moses, do not now appear to us the best models of the true way to deal with scripture history.

Mr. Schauffler has never departed from the direct line of the facts recorded by the evangelists, nor has he ever given any



new incident as true, for which he has not historical authority. His object was not to enlarge the sacred record by historical additions, but simply to expand the facts which we possess, and exalt them from being mere memorials, into a well-connected series of animated historical descriptions. This he has aimed to do, by availing himself of the copious stores of sacred knowledge which are open to the hand of any one who will use them, and by turning a lively fancy and a bold pen to their best account.

To attain the end proposed in his work, and to fulfill the *ideal* which was present to his mind, it was necessary, that he should aim to enter into the thoughts, appreciate the feelings, and measure the knowledge of the men who lived in the times of the Savior. It is but little, that the critic is versed in the geography and scenery of the country which he attempts to describe, or that he can be present with past scenes in spirit, and point them out to the eye of others, unless the *men* whom he introduces are correctly understood by him. Particularly is this true with the life of the Savior, so much of the historical interest of which turns upon the hopes of his followers, the estimate they formed of his person and of the nature of his kingdom, and the bright expectations of good which they framed for themselves. He who reads not aright the men of those times, who does not know their minds and their hearts, by a correct insight and an appreciating sympathy, cannot read their history aright for for himself; much less can he expound it to others.

The author seems to have held this before his mind, as the most important object to be realized, and the ease with which he has triumphed over the obstacles in his way, does him high credit; while the success with which he has presented to us both the men who hated and the men who loved Christ on earth, in the truth of nature, gives his work an extraordinary interest, if it is not indeed the secret charm which lends to it its wonderful fascination.

On the one hand, we have portrayed before us the expectations which were entertained of him who was to come by those, who, because Jesus did not fulfill their hopes, rejected and slew him; and the luxurious and domineering high priest, the crafty and ambitious of the inferior priesthood,—the ignorant, furious and bigoted mob, who acknowledged their infallibility, and cherished their hatred, are all given to us as we doubt not they were when they lived in the days of Herod the king, and of Pontius Pilate the governor. On the morning of the resurrection, Caiaphas is represented as,

'Indulging his morning slumbers beneath the silk curtains of his damask couch. \* \* Sweet dreams of the future prosperity of that lucrative hierarchy, whose head he is, a hierarchy growing and expanding in his imagination, until the arrival of that warlike Messiah, who is to raise for every circumcised rebel and wretch a golden throne of infernal selfishness, upon the blood and the ruins of a poor perishing world; occupy and refresh the mind of Caiaphas, when the heavy knocker of his palace gate is touched with a heavy and powerful hand. \* \* \* \* \* The sun arose and filled the city again with noise and bustle, and the temple with sacrifices, fire, incense, songs and psalms, with purchasers and sellers, and with the large assembly of formalists and hypocrites, mingled with a few humble and sincere worshipers upon whom a better day was soon to dawn.'

Other extracts besides these brief ones might be given, to show fully how the hopes from the Messiah, entertained by this class, and their gross ideas of the glory which was to invest his reign,—of the splendor of his imperial state,—of the proud height to which he was to raise his people, are grasped by a discriminating judgment, and described by a vigorous pen.

At the same time, on the other hand, the line is carefully drawn, and, as we think, with the nicety of truth, between the hopes of these who were altogether earthly and gross in their expectations, and the ideas of Messiah and of his kingdom, entertained by those who were "waiting for the consolation of Israel," and were looking for his appearance, with unshaken faith and pious affections; who, when he appeared, received him with open-hearted confidence, while yet their apprehensions of his character were often inadequate, and very often false. The distinction which Mr. Schauffler sets up between the two classes, is somewhat novel, at least in the definiteness with which he presents it, and furnishes a good explanation of the feelings which they so often express,—the hopes which they cherished,—the slowness of heart to understand the things spoken which tried their divine teacher, and their faintheartedness and treachery at the hour of his great conflict :

'In company with the other apostle, Thomas has often been charged with expecting a temporal reign of the Messiah; i. e. a common earthly reign, only more powerful, splendid, and luxurious, more successful in battle, more destructive to its enemies, than the reigns of other monarchs. This charge, which many good men retail from the pen of learned infidelity, has no foundation in holy writ; it is on this very point that the apostles must have differed, either positively or negatively, from the epicurean Sadducees, the egotistic Pharisees, and the thoughtless multitude; and it is on this very principle—if any principle was taken into the account—that Jesus must have selected them in prefer-

ence to a thousand other Jews more learned, more skilled in thought and reflection, more eloquent, more influential, and in every respect more fit for the execution of his great plan. \* \* \* \* \* Thomas' expectation of the Messiah's reign was a kind of heaven on earth; a notion which you may easily infer by a literal construction of some familiar and beautiful passages in the prophets, the spirituality of which neither Thomas nor the other apostles were prepared to appreciate. The Messiah will come, supreme in wisdom, holiness, love and power; the wayward heart of Israel will be changed, their sins purged; soon the heathen nations will submit, and idolatry will be no more; in their tender and grateful regard for the suffering people of God, the heathen will forthwith liberate and honor them, and return them to the land of their fathers, where they will dwell in perfect prosperity, harmony, and holy peace, with their king, (on whose nature and character, human or divine, their notions were ever divided, floating and indistinct,) with their king enthroned at Jerusalem, and wrapt in a sacred and mysterious cloud.' pp. 294, 295.

The progressive steps by which the eyes of the chosen were opened from their blindness, the various methods to which the Savior resorted, that he might undeceive them, his winning ways and his sweet devices of affection, are all interpreted, with a just appreciation of the feelings of the disciples. The incidents which marked the life of the Savior are connected by this leading idea and illustrated by its light, and are made to fall in, one with another, by a natural and pleasing harmony, and to rise the one above the other, in a fair and regularly increasing proportion.

In these attempts of Mr. S., we have a judicious endeavor to arrive at the "historic sense" of the sacred record; an endeavor prosecuted under an honest desire to learn what *were* the historical facts in the case, and without the licentious vagaries, or the daring, if not knowingly false asseverations which have so often passed for the legitimate results of "historical interpretation." The *true* historic sense is felt by the author to be, as indeed it is, the secret of the right, correct understanding of the gospel history, and being laid hold of, is made to shed a strong light upon what were otherwise but dimly seen, and the richest hues to play upon what were otherwise pale and dead to the eye. How often has this much abused principle of interpretation, so important, nay so indispensable of itself, and when rightly understood so altogether true, how often has it led the student astray! How often has it miserably perverted the lively oracles of God, parched its fair and verdant fields by a withering drought, or blighted its fruits and flowers by a killing frost, and left their poor remnants to mock our hopes, and

carry a deadly sickness of heart to our warmest and most holy aspirations.

If we open the *Life of Christ*, by Jeremy Taylor, and place it side by side with this volume, we cannot but notice and be startled by the difference between the two in respect to historical value, and as setting before us the truth of the scenes which each attempts to describe. The one is beautiful even to excess; it carries us through all the windings of a devious yet bewitching fancy, and opens to us the piles of golden stores which the "agglomerative" imagination of the author could alone have collected from every quarter of earth, heaven, and the land which poets only see,—surfeits us with the rich perfume of his most devotional spirit,—and yet, as to giving us the true life of Christ, or as to approximating to such a result, it is an entire failure. We have indeed the facts which the evangelists record, and for those we might open the writers for ourselves; but these events are described as if they had taken place on English ground, and had occurred in the time of the author himself. The whole impression is as diverse from the truth, as is the huge picture accompanying the volume, which represents the feast at the marriage in Cana of Galilee,—with every guest seated at the table bolt upright upon a stool,—is from being a true copy of a Jewish marriage festival. If one is disposed to undervalue or depreciate the exegetical study of the scriptures, and to think slightly of its actual fruits, let him faithfully compare the work of the modern missionary, with that of the golden-mouthed divine.

We freely allow, that too many of the labors of our modern exegets are grossly deficient in many important features, and are so many bills of indictment against their authors for their intellectual incapacity, or their moral unfitness to interpret the sacred volume. They are men, who, in their eagerness after the historic sense, have left every other sort of sense behind, even that which gives a plain reader of the scriptures a great advantage over them in distinguishing the true from the false, and a greater still in interpreting its spiritual uses and its spiritual realities. Such specimens of criticism as cannot but meet the eye of the scholar in these days, with their tame and prosaic paraphrases of the glowing language of Christ and the apostles, and the cool audacity with which they shape and fit every thing to their own previous dogmas, while they are most valuable for their fairness in some respects, and the copiousness of their sources of illustration, are yet, as expositions of the mind of the Spirit, truly contemptible. If we judge them by an in-

tellectual standard alone, as professed commentators of such a book as the bible, they are as the ape, presiding with solemn mockery in the school of the prophets, or at the tribunal of justice. The very soul of Plato would have started from his grave, if he had been expounded by a race of commentators in a spirit so far from Platonic, as is that of many, not to say most, of our modern exegetes, from the spirit of the word of God.

But from this deficiency, the devout affections and the fervent piety of the author, have wholly preserved him; and he lets us know in no measured phrases, that he neither sympathizes with, nor can he tolerate the spirit of many of his critical countrymen. He does not give us a life of Christ, in which the great object of his mission is kept out of sight or entirely denied, and this, the source of its highest interest, is excluded, while the whole value of the work is its correctness in dates and its fidelity to the spirit of the times; but he presents the great end of the life and death of the Savior, as the fact which imparts to that life and death, all their meaning and their most touching appeals to our tenderest emotions. It is Christ, the Savior of his people from their sins, who everywhere appears to our view, and in that attitude walks before us in his true and heavenly dignity. The person of Christ is always arrayed in the appropriate robe of flesh, through which the rays of the divinity are yet ever beaming. It is known to have been the highest aim and attainment of modern art, so to represent the Savior, that the human and the divine should harmoniously blend upon the canvas. Those artists who have realized this aim most fully, and have successfully triumphed over the difficulties which they encountered, have gained immortal honor. The difficulties, which, though not the same, oppose themselves to him who would *describe* the Word made flesh, and portray him to the life by the magic power of language, are yet similar, and he who overcomes them with the skill and the ease which the author has displayed, is entitled to high praise. For the success with which he has originated and sustained his conceptions of Christ the Father's coequal, and yet the inferior as the Son, and of Christ as at first shrouding his divinity beneath a veil, which he now and then opens to reveal one ray and another from the Godhead within, of which, on the mysterious mount of transfiguration, he so far divested himself as to stand before the favored three, not perhaps as God confessed, and yet as one far transcending mortal dignity,—as the knight of old hid his princely rank and his gleaming armor under the russet robes of a sad pilgrim,—for this ability we hesitate not to

attribute to our author the possession of genius, in a high and noble sense.

But if there is genius, and genius of a high order, displayed in these meditations, they also breathe the spirit of the most elevated piety, and are warmed and softened by hearty faith, and by glowing and seraphic devotion. This faith and devotion is constantly breaking forth in the solemn appeals to the conscience,—in the searching conversation with the secrets of the heart, and those true and yet fearful delineations of eternal realities, which so often occur in the progress of the work. The moral import and application of every scene is constantly held up to view, and it is made to assume its true interest and its proper importance in the history of a Redeemer from sin. The Pharisee, with his deadness to all spiritual realities, and to warmth of spiritual feeling, is made to furnish the occasion for a severe, but too true description of an unhappy class of studious men who are spoiled for religion by the destruction of all susceptibility to emotion from any source, and by a deadness to all moral feeling. There is also often from a scene of interest, or from an expression of startling power, a direct transition to a serious address, or a solemn appeal which takes strong hold of the heart, and loudly awakens the voice of conscience. Plain dealing, faithful admonition, and pungent application abound in this volume, and we say it with confidence, that but few men can read it, however hardened by sin, or used to resist the keen edge of truth, without shrinking under its power.

The luxuriance of pious feeling, if we may so apply the term, is finely exhibited in the instances of *spiritualizing* which so often occur. The exuberant genius and the fervid feelings of the author here finely effloresce, and hence we find him so often stepping aside from the line of direct and natural inference, and wandering in this fantastic but bewitching path, in which so many interpreters of more piety than science, have been bewildered and lost. *He* does not, however, mistake fancy for fact, or ingenuity for logic; nor does he confound the unreal brightness and beauty of moonlight with the clear shining of mid-day. But still he loves to spiritualize, and we love to have him, for he revives to us the fine fancy of the fathers and the elder divines, the silvery beauty and the golden richness of their pious meditations.

We hesitate not to pronounce Mr. S. an accomplished critic, and we would present him as such to illustrate our ideal of what a critic of the sacred volume should aim to become. It is evident, that he is familiar with the original languages of the

bible, that he has been conversant with higher and lower criticism, with the canons of interpretation, and all else that makes up the medley denominated by the Babylonish epithet *Hermeneutics*. He is well versed also in the neological vagaries and the rationalistic absurdities of his bookish and dreaming countrymen, and what is of far greater importance, knows too, the *real* difficulties which the student of the scriptures must encounter, and how these can best be overcome. He discusses some of the most difficult questions with skill and ability, and his mode of disposing of the inquiry, on what day the last supper was celebrated, deserves commendation for its skillfulness and for the lucid and forcible manner in which his conclusions are presented. But while he sheds light upon the sacred page, he also enlivens it with warmth and causes it to touch the heart. He succeeds in a remarkable degree, in bringing the results of his labors down to the common mind, and in making his exegetical studies subserve the purposes of causing the truth clearly to be understood, of interesting his reader in the study of the word of God, and of rendering his heart serious and solemn in view of its eternal realities. He is not the mere grammarian and lexicographer, with his long array of learned authorities and his multifarious discourse of the *usus loquendi*; nor is he the clear but cold antiquarian, the accurate but dry recorder of distances and of dates; he is not simply the lively describer of scripture scenes, or the rapt and devoted enthusiast to sacred poesy, with no serious and devout apprehension of the truths which are the moral and the interpretations of its history and the inspiring themes of its song; but he is all these united, and furnishes riches from all these varied sources to aid him in studying and expounding the scriptures of truth. Never, before we read this volume, have we been so deeply convinced of the power which is placed in the hands of the fervid preacher, by high exegetical qualifications, and never so disposed to give great prominence to biblical studies rightly pursued, in every theological education.

The work before us is also free from the curse of that abstraction which so infects our theological dialect, and spreads dimness and obscurity over theological discussions, and infuses its narcotic influence from the sacred desk. We may deny it or not, the fact remains true, that in New England, the language of the schools with its distinctions and its nice abstractions, joined with the unwarrantable presumption, that men of the world can take hold of it with the same ease as the preacher, and can bring to its interpretation the same familiarity with its

use,—this language has palsied the power of the pulpit, and prisoned many a giant intellect in its cumbrous and leaden armor. If we could gather the written discourses which have been preached in New England for the last century, and could survey them one after another, we should mourn over the mist of an abstract and generalizing intellect, as their great and their one defect. Not, that they are not the productions of clear minds; not, that the thought and the language were not both distinct and obvious to their author; but, that for his hearers they were not in their native and familiar tongue. From this defect, the vivacious mind of our author, the warm heart, and the soul ardent in its determination to gain the attention and the sympathy of his hearers, have effectually redeemed these Meditations. The freshness with which genius ever invests the old and the familiar, the new charm which it lends to truth worn thread-bare, its sprightly illustrations and its fervent and solemn earnestness, mark the work as one that is by itself among recent religious publications, and place it in the class of those works which deserve to be permanent in their influence, and in the estimate which they command from the religious community.

Let it not be supposed, however, because we pronounce it to be a work of genius and to have proceeded from a spirit of uncommon power, that we view it as perfect or as free from some very obvious defects. These we will notice by a passing word, and we assure the author, that notwithstanding he avows his hatred for “the stiff, undeviating rules of all the rhetorical schools,” and declares his independence of them, we shall call his attention to his obvious transgression of the higher rhetoric of a just taste and sound understanding.

His faults of style are a general want of compactness in the construction of his sentences, and of beauty and order in the arrangement of his words. Too many of his sentences are as loosely put together, as was the corporeal frame of Irving's Ichabod Crane; while many of his words are placed the one before the other, so that the order of the best English writers, and consequently, that which is most natural and pleasing to the ear, is often directly inverted. These defects are partly to be ascribed to the fact, that the English is not his mother tongue, and partly also to the fact, that his genius disdains to take any other rule to itself than its own choice and its free impulses. But we would say again, there is a rhetoric of a nice and elevated taste, and there is music in a style, that is framed of words fitly chosen, and ordered in sentences that



waken melody in the ear, and that the genius of Milton, when in the luxuriance of his youthful power, poured itself forth in the lofty music of his *Comus*, and in the majestic march and the solemn cadence of his vigorous prose; and that Shakspeare, however recreant to law and order his miserable critics have condemned him, did wield the English tongue with such mastery and such magic ease, as to this day charms the ear by the witchery of sound.

Mr. Schauffler thinks, feels, and writes like a German; and while he displays the frankness and the familiarity, with the power and pathos which seem to be peculiar to their national character, and which certainly mark their literature, he also falls into their homeliness and their declamation. His writings "have a cast of overnaturnality or unnaturality," which, according to a writer who is allowed by good authority to be one of their soundest critics, characterizes all their thinking and writing. And yet, while in this respect he fails of conforming himself to English sobriety, these very peculiarities lend a peculiar charm to all that comes from his pen. At all events, we are not mistaken when we set him down as a man of vigorous mind, of glowing imagination, and of a warm heart.

In theology we need not say that he is orthodox; nay, he is ultra-orthodox, in the same sense in which are some of the evangelical school of his nation, who have started with such horror from the sepulcher of rationalistic infidelity, as to have fallen back upon an indiscriminate, or rather, indiscriminating reception of certain inconvenient, if not incorrect, methods of explaining the "faith once delivered to the saints." His remarks upon the "translation of sin," see pp. 87—89, are a good illustration of this tendency, and appear to us to betray some deficiency in the thorough settling of "foundation-truths" in theology. He also belabors those who differ from him with but little mercy, and though some of them merit no better treatment, yet the manner, and in some cases the matter, deserves the charge of illiberality. We remember, however, as did the disciples on a certain occasion, that it is written, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up," and we know from other instances besides Mr. S., that harshness, nay even apparent bitterness, may come from a heart that is warm and tender in its love to men, and which is the dwelling place of every gentle affection.

While we note the defects of the matter of this work, we would especially note and condemn the defects in its typography, and in the general style of its execution. We think it no

credit to the orthodoxy or the missionary spirit of Boston, that when they can print so well, they should print *such a book* so ill; nor to the religious press of our country, that when it issues forth crude theology and mellifluous common place, with such attractions of paper and of type, that a work of real genius should appear in so humble a garb.

We had marked a number of passages for quotations but our limits allow us to insert merely one. It describes the meeting of the five hundred in Galilee just before the ascension:

'Our pilgrimage to the mount of vision is our first united task. But whither? into a mountain in Galilee, according to Matthew xxvi, 32; Mark xvi, 7, 10, 16, and other passages. But into which mountain? Scripture is silent on the subject; an ancient tradition, according to some writers, points us to *Tabor*. This tradition appears to me to possess a high degree of probability. It was on this mountain, according to the invariable testimony of antiquity, that Christ was transfigured: he knew it as a convenient and safe place of retirement. The topographical position of Tabor was exceedingly favorable for the purpose of our text. Its distance from the sea of Tiberias is but eight or nine miles, equally far was Nazareth from it. Magdala, the city of Mary Magdalene, was at the same distance. Even Samaria on the south-west, and Capernaum on the north-east, were but twenty miles off. It was on the west side of the lake of Tiberias that Christ had already appeared, as we saw in our last discourse, and thereabout his followers must have been gathered in expectation of the meeting. The peculiar nature of the mountain itself was perhaps more favorable than that of any other in Galilee. Tabor is a solitary cone north-east of the plain of Esdraelon, from four to five hundred fathoms high, with a platform on the top, of near half an hour's walk in circumference. The sides of the mountain, composed of limestone, were, and still are, covered with a forest of oaks. In less than an hour its summit can be reached, but the latter half of the journey being difficult and uncomfortable, the top of Tabor has always been a solitary place. In the morning, the summit of the mountain is covered with a cloud, which, towards noon, passes away before a fresh breeze, by which the height is sometimes rendered unpleasant that part of the day. As the cloudy covering is rarefied, a prospect opens, well calculated to expand the bosom of man, and prepare the most trembling heart for the conception of great resolutions and vast hopes. On the south, successive valleys and hills run down as far as the grand rock of Jerusalem. On the east, proud Jordan meanders with royal ease along the fertile valley, and the lake of Tiberias reflects the canopy of heaven with its passing clouds. Still farther east, the vallies of Hauran lie spread out; and on the north, tower the Hasbeian and Casmian mountains, with the majestic Lebanon behind them. And finally, on the west the fruitful plains of Galilee shade away into a picture more and more delicate, till the eye can perceive them no more. Mountains close the scenery, otherwise the

Mediterranean sea might be seen. And how well our Lord knew to make nature tributary to his holy purposes, I need not prove; and why should he not have done so here. I need only add, that the season of the year as well as a multitude of other circumstances, arising from the nature of the spot just described, and indeed of the meeting itself, oblige us to suppose that the journey was performed during the latter part of the night, and that the rising sun found them all assembled, and Christ in the midst of them. But let us anticipate nothing. We are in Galilee still. Mysteriously surrounded by him, whom we used to see in mortal flesh, we are awaiting among the rest of his disciples the coming of that interesting moment when the long promised meeting on yonder solitary mountain, shall be announced. All necessary preparations are made, all minds calmed, settled, solemnized,—every carnal expectation hushed, every doubt dispelled; the time is come. The notice is given in the evening, and flies from heart to heart, from house to house on the wings of sacred joy. Angels appear to be the bearers of the holy errand, for it moves with the swiftness and the unfailing certainty of lightning. The midnight breeze wafts the glad tidings to the dwelling place of every distant believer, not one excepted. But upon the enemies a deep sleep hath fallen from the Lord, and not one of them apprehends the approach of the great hour. They all slumber unconscious; no mocker annoys the harmless pilgrims; no cursing or trifling wretch disturbs their pious conversations and the psalms they sing by the way; no foe obstructs their path; no spy is hid on the mountain-top to mark them for prison and slaughter. \* \* \* \* \*

It is again about full moon, and the nights are cool and delightful. During the night, our pilgrims started; and as the morning dawns they ascend in small companies on every side of the mountain. There were the eleven disciples, all the believing relatives of our Lord, Lazarus and his sisters, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, a number of converted Samaritans, Roman officers, Greek proselytes, and many from the various surrounding countries whom Christ had healed, and who believed on him. As they mount up beyond the inhabited base of the mountain, the region becomes more and more still and devotional. All nature seems to rest in contemplation and to be preparing to meet the rising sun, her king, adorned with the jewelry of a rich refreshing dew. By and by the lively quail begins, in the deep clefts of the high lime-rock, to call her little neighbors to devotion and labor. A solitary lark or two are already warbling in the air hovering about the mountain-top. The wakeful birds here and there prepare their voices for the morning hymn, and the stork on the inaccessible peak, bestirs herself to guide the concert. There is much of sacred beauty in simple nature, and happy the man who can walk abroad alone and open his heart wide, that God may fill it with all the wonder, delight and praise for which his perfect and mighty works call so mightily. Our pilgrims arrive on the summit, issuing about sunrise, from different points of the forest. Could I but describe to you now their meeting, their salutations, their joy, their love! But I cannot. No doubt many were delightfully surprised, too, to see a friend, a brother, a sister, an aged father, a decrepid

mother, unexpectedly in the pious circle. Why! Are *you* here also? I thought you were a mortal enemy to our heavenly Lord, and to all his people. What brought you here, I pray? A mute embrace, a blush, a trickling tear were the answer. But what surprised all of them most, was, no doubt, the large number that came together. But a few weeks after our Lord's ignominious death, after a few appearances, before the Pentecost-day, even "more than five hundred brethren!" Oh, the power of divine grace! Oh, the resistless charms of the cross! There are some here who know what such a meeting means. It is a foretaste of heaven and cannot be described. They are assembled, they are gathered close together, they are yet pressing each other's hands when the Lord appears! This was the interesting moment, the meridian height of the scene. An awful silence ensued. Love and reverence bow them to the dust; they surround him, some kneeling, some lying on their faces, some looking up to him with mingled rapture and self-abasement. It is a scene of holy and overwhelming interest. They know not what they are doing. But there was so much of the heavenly, of the angelic and divine in his appearance, that they experience something of that prostration of nature, which always attended the special, divine presence through the Old and New Testaments. "And when they saw him," says Matthew, "they worshipped him" prostrate, "but some doubted." And here it is where another interesting portion of holy writ gives and receives light and significancy, as we shall briefly show. The Evangelists (Matthew xxii, Mark ix, and Luke ix,) state that during the second year of our Lord's ministry, he once took with him Peter, John and James up into a high mountain. There Moses and Elijah appeared; our Lord's whole aspect was changed and glorified; a voice from heaven was heard, declaring him the Son of God, the Savior of the world. The disciples were prostrated and overcome by the scene till it was over, till Moses and Elijah disappeared again, and Christ resumed his usual appearance, and spake to them in the same kind, familiar manner as before. On descending from the mountain, "he charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, till the Son of Man were risen from the dead." Why they should tell it then, was dark to them. They of course obeyed, and kept the facts in their minds as a mysterious thing, to which futurity was to give them the key. This key was given to them in the occurrence of the morning of which we now speak. The appearance of Christ was so heavenly as to prostrate the whole assembly. Trembling nature testified that God was present. But was *this God Jesus of Nazareth*? Was the personage they saw their beloved master? They had never seen him thus, not even after his resurrection; perhaps not even the eleven had seen him thus. No wonder that some of the assembly doubted. And thus the moment had come when Peter and James and John could arise and testify, "Yes brethren, *it is Him you see*. We have seen him so before. A year ago, and on this very spot, (for it was probably the same,) we saw him so, and his appearance was no less superior, no less awful then, than it is now, nor was our amazement and terror less great than yours is at this moment. Let us, therefore, dis-

miss every other thought, and listen to what our Lord has to say." "Lord, speak, for thy servants hear," was the universal voice.' pp. 344—347, 349—352.

In his preface, the wish is expressed by the author, that his example of preaching historical discourses may be followed by his brethren in this country, and that the use of his volume may, in that way, be superseded. Of the importance of bringing forward the historical parts of the scriptures, and of illustrating them from the pulpit, we are deeply convinced. It is not in vain, that so important a portion of the scriptures is historical, and that there is recorded for our instruction with so great minuteness, the actual events which were connected with the revelation of the will of God, and which so strikingly illustrate the great principles of his administration. The history of the world, indeed of all which has occurred upon the face of the earth, whether written by the profane historian, recorded by the sacred scribe, or lost from the records and the memory of man, is, in truth, all of it, a "history of redemption,"—the varied and diversified story of all the ways which God "worketh oftentimes with man," to bring him back to himself. In the history of the patriarchs and of the Hebrew commonwealth, this purpose of God is everywhere made prominent,—forces itself upon the reader, and compels him to see and feel, that God deals with his chosen people for moral purposes,—and not only with them for such ends, but for the same purposes he leads every nation like a flock, and directs the steps of every man.

The evangelical history illustrates the same great truth, and answers ends which are even more moving and sublime. "Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh;" and while we cannot fathom all the depths of this mystery, nor give the *rationale* of its secret processes,—though we cannot walk behind the curtain and be present with the wondrous arcana of this grand display, we can both observe and be touched by its fitness to move our hearts, and bring spiritual realities within the reach of man. These realities we know, to affect us, must be brought within the grasp of our faculties,—taken into our hands, and turned to their appropriate use. Men may speculate about "the Infinite" and "the Divine," and frame to themselves much splendid discourse and profound magniloquence, and think, that all this is vastly better than the vulgar theology of the people and of the bible; but after all, "the Infinite" and "the Divine" are but deified adjectives, and the mind gropes after, and longs for, the personal Being in whom these qualities inhere. When they begin to use this knowledge and turn it

to its practical account, they find, that it is hardly *human* enough to serve as a counterpoise to the temptations of life, or to impart the secret charm which shall transmute this life of trial into a discipline of love.

He who knows what we are, and what we need, knows wherefore he entered the tabernacle of our flesh and dwelt among us. He understood our necessity, and he knew the powerful hold on our hearts which he should gain, by presenting all the Deity embodied in a human form. It is worthy our notice, that simple Theism, or the acknowledgment of God simply as an infinite Spirit, has ever been too ethereal, naked, and abstract for man. Mankind have moved with a deep and strong current, or rushed in mad and impetuous frenzy towards the symbol or emblem of the Divinity,—to the image of wood or of stone, the deified animal, or the deified man; and this, that the Divinity might be concentrated within a finite form,—be grasped by the hand and seen with the eye. This has been one powerful temptation to idolatry, and this longing has bound to the worship of idols so vast a majority of our guilty race.

This want was met and satisfied, though imperfectly, by the sensible imagery and the splendid ritual of the Jewish church; but it was then and then only finally laid at rest, when Christ was born a babe in Bethlehem, and walked in meekness and love with his circling disciples over the hills of Palestine. Among the other causes to be assigned for the rapid spread and the triumphant success of the gospel in the early ages, one may be, that the recollections of Christ were so vivid and distinct. This lent its first impulse to the infant cause. This gave life to the faith of the apostles and martyrs, and kindled the zeal of the primitive believers. If we reflect, that the Savior, whom John and Peter preached, was the being with whom they had held the most endearing intercourse, and had maintained the most affectionate friendship,—that his features were still fresh in their remembrance, and their recollection of his kindness was yet recent,—that with their own eyes they had beheld the glory of his risen body, and had watched as he ascended with majesty from their view, till a cloud received him from their sight, we shall not wonder, that they were bold even to death in his cause,—that their zeal in proclaiming his salvation was so ardent, and their “terror of the Lord” so awful, as to lead them to warn all men with tears to escape from his wrath. Of the early believers, many, if not most of those who dwelt in Judea, had seen the Savior, and not a few had believed on him when alive in the flesh. Those also who had

never seen Christ, but simply heard of him, still heard the story as of one who had just been in the midst of them, and while facts so recent were recounted in their ears, their faith grasped them with ease, and their hearts burned within them as they thought, that the Eternal had been so near them, while yet they knew it not. This circumstance gave to the faith of all a certainty, and to their feelings a freshness, which, to say the least, are not common among christians now. This made them so bold in confessing their Lord in view of the lions and of the lictor's axe, for they *could not* but speak of the things which they had seen and heard.

We in these latter days have only heard of Christ. Our eyes have never been dazzled by "the brightness of the Father's glory," nor have they ever rested on him who was "the express image of his person." And yet we hold in our hands the history of his life and of his death, and that history was given us, not to exercise and test our critical sagacity,—not to furnish the basis of curious questioning and glorious declamation, but to bring home to our hearts with power those amazing facts which, eighteen centuries ago, made Judea such a theater of wonders. But what is the use which we make of it? Do those who are the stewards of the mysteries of God, make it an important part of the service they render, to cause these facts to be realized as true,—to be spread before the eyes of their hearers as facts indeed? Do they attempt to carry back their hearers to the days when they occurred, and set them down in the holy land to gaze upon the wondrous and heart-stirring display? Do those who read this history, read it as a record of events which once occurred upon the earth, and which, in themselves considered, even without reference to their spiritual meaning, form a tale of more exciting interest than any other narrative that ever was framed? Do they endeavor to read it as literally true; and in order to feel it so, do they become familiar with the manners, the costume, the domestic habits, and the religious education of the persons of whom it speaks, and weave all these parts together into a tale of faithful men, of affectionate women, and as the center and life of all, "the Word made flesh." We fear not: and we think it may be safely said, that however much faith of another sort the church may possess, her *historical faith* is deficient; however near may be her communion with Christ, as her risen Lord, her communion with him through the evangelical history as her condescending Savior, is too infrequent to give her all the strength which she needs. Truly we may say in another

sense than did the apostle, that we no longer know Jesus Christ "after the flesh,"—through our failure to receive the literal narrative of his life, at least, *not to believe*,—if we do not deny, that he "is come in the flesh" at all. Such is the state of the church, which yet holds fast its integrity, and contends "earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." Infidelity also is moving in the same direction, for, having exhausted its armory of vulgar buffoonery and vile blasphemy,—having learned, that the critical research and historical inquiry from which it has hoped so much, re-acts against itself,—it is now turning the whole of the sacred narrative into a mythical panorama, in which it reads moral truth, but no literal events. This, we hear, is the last refuge of the "baptized infidels" of Germany; while from England, another is heard to speak of christianity as "a symbol of quite perennial, infinite character; whose significance will ever demand to be anew inquired into, and anew made manifest." And in our own land there is one eloquent disclaimer, the author of "Nature," who, if he have not distinctly made known his opinions of the historical truth of christianity, may justly fall into suspicion, as one who reveres his Goethe and his Carlyle, more than he does the prophets and apostles. We read also in other signs of the times, that our amateur devotees to literature, with some very polite divines, are running in the same direction, despising the life of labor and of trial which Christ exacts of his disciples, and worshiping divine truth in the abstract, rather than him who is himself "the Truth."

The consequences of all this to the piety of the church are most disastrous. It wants stability, strength and steadiness,—and it is not surprising that it should,—for, instead of "laying aside all malice, and all pride, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings," as the only preparation by which she can, as a new-born babe, "desire the sincere milk of the word," she is constantly turning aside from her interest in this word, and anxiously raising questions most vexed, as well as most vexatious, the great end of which seems to be to cherish malice, guile, hypocrisy, and above all, *evil speaking*. Instead of enriching her mind, interesting her soul, strengthening her faith with this word, and making this her great study and her guide, she uses it as a storehouse of arguments and proof-texts, by which she may prop up this or that dogma, or defend this or that rule of outward action. Let us here be understood. We do not complain, for it would become us least of all, that questions of mental science, or of moral philosophy, should be both raised and canvassed with earnestness and freedom; but we do



complain, that these should be carried out of their appropriate sphere, and thrust by main force, in the language of the schools, down the empty throats of the people; and that their attention should be occupied with abstract discussions, rather than that results of these discussions should be made to appear in a correct explanation of the word of God. Nor do we raise an outcry, that slavery, and temperance, and other things not to be named, should be examined, provided it be done in the exercise of sound sense and with a sober love of truth; but when the preacher of the gospel, or the private christian, is almost exclusively occupied in the formation of a correct public sentiment in reference to the final extermination of these evils, we would remind them, that they had better be looking after the private sentiments of their flocks and their friends, as to the love and the service of Christ.

As we have read the glowing pages of Mr. Schauffler's book and listened to its words of power; as we have been attracted onward by the life-giving charm which sparkles in every line, we have asked ourselves again and again, why it is, that the discourses which are delivered from *our* pulpits, should be so unlike these Meditations, both in their subject-matter and in the style in which it is arrayed. Why is it, that when the bible can be so explained as to furnish a rich, inviting, and varied feast; why is it, that sermonizing with us should become proverbial for its dull and monotonous song? And as we have asked these questions, we have fancied our preachers to rise up and answer these plain questions for themselves.

"There is no reason at all," says the preacher, who prides himself upon his abstractions and his metaphysics, and who, in preaching the gospel, rings to us his changes of the will of God, as secret and revealed, of the nature of the affections, of susceptibilities, desires, and the will,—as though by generalizations, and the use of terms, the meaning of which he can catch but a faint guess, the worldly man is to be detached from his worldliness, the sensualist purified from his debasing lusts, and the proud man unclothed of his state;—who forgets, that metaphysics do not "come" to all men "by nature," and that the language of mankind is not modeled after that of Locke and Burton. It is with inward pain, and often with heartfelt distress, that we listen to such discourses as these we have now in mind. Not, that we object to any statement, however abstract, or any distinction, however refined, if it is conveyed to the popular mind through the only channel which it is possible to enter, that of plain *speaking* language and of forcible illustration;

but we do earnestly protest, against taking statements, illustrations, language and all, and clothing them in terms taken from writers the most refined, and distilled from minds of a constitution the most dry and perversely metaphysical. Surely the gospel, which presents the most tremendous facts, the most spirit-stirring scenes and startling realities, need not be systematically and habitually stripped of half its reality and half its power, and its hearers turned out in the clouds to pasture, or be choked with the chopped straw of the schools, to gratify the fastidious and self-complacent taste of any audience, or to help forward the intellectual growth of any preacher.

"But," says the declaimer, not the vocal but the intellectual declaimer, "listen to me, and pause and wonder. See how I strive, with a constant and straining effort, to bring up to your view something huge and massive. Behold this plain fact, or that simple principle, in the cumbrous clothing with which I have enfolded it. See how large and original it looks as it goes by your eye, drawing after it the long train which it has gathered in its passage through my profound mind. Look at me as I stand in the pulpit, and pour forth upon you the complicated and interwoven masses, which it has cost me such labor to forge and weld together,—and gaze on in bewildered amazement and in gaping wonder."

Then there is the *figurante* calling us to observe himself, the preacher, who forms himself at the mirror, and reads the rules of his rhetoric in the eyes of the fashionable ladies of his audience,—who gives us affected pronunciation and studied movements,—who fawns, and lisps, and bows, and this he does, while unfolding to us the lively oracles of God. Would, that he could be sentenced to carry his message to a stern Roman senate, or an assembly of unmoved Quakers, or to one made up of hard-headed Scotchmen or of severe Puritans,—till, under their listless inattention or their smiling contempt, his folly should evaporate, even though he himself should vanish with it into thin air.

Then we have the buffoon of the pulpit who, though serious and powerful, possesses a low and vulgar taste,—who degrades the glorious gospel by familiar illustrations, pollutes it by groveling associations, and descends himself into the dirt to drag religion down with him and to roll it there, and calls this preaching to the level of his hearers, and in justification of himself, retails stale anecdotes of this or that revolutionary officer, who always bade his men be careful and *fire low*.

In answer to each and to all of these representations of the several classes of preachers among us, and to some others whom we might easily imagine, we have only to say plainly and distinctly: that the bible is the great manual or *hand-book* of the church, and it ought to be the text-book of the preacher and not his book of texts: that the great channel through which religious instruction can best be conveyed to man, and around which his faith and his affections will most readily entwine, is the scriptures rightly understood, and adequately and powerfully illustrated: that, whether you would preach metaphysical theology, and discuss subtle, refined questions, you must do it with the bible in *your* hands and in the hands of your people, and that if you would nourish a piety, which is to maintain a constant growth and be fed with congenial food, you must make the bible a book of the highest interest to your hearers. You cannot hang their faith on this or that church-symbol, much less on this or that interpretation of it,—you cannot keep them alive unto God, by keeping them unto yourself as their minister, and by causing them to whirl around in the eddy of any popular preacher; but you can make the word of God to be to them spirit and life.

To do this, you must not turn over biblical explanation and biblical interpretation to the hands of the Sabbath school teacher, or the leader of a bible class; but you must carry the bible into your pulpit, and dignify the study of it by making it necessary, that it should be studied in order that you may be understood. The history of the bible should be made interesting, by clothing it with life and power, and by causing the past to give up its dead men and make them rise up and walk before you, and its forgotten scenes to be re-enacted before the eyes of your people. We must not content ourselves with giving the exact dimensions, to a cubit, of the second temple, of the gate called Beautiful, of the length of each colonnade, and the number of ornamental pillars; but we must set before our hearers, by vivid description and lively painting, the scenes which passed there during the days of the son of man, when it resounded with the tread and hum of men, the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, and the noise of the changers of money. To the narrative must there be attached a moral and religious interest, and from it must be derived, arguments the most convincing to the conscience, and appeals which shall strike the soul with trembling awe. The prophets must be no longer a sealed book, which “men deliver to one that is learned, saying, read this I pray thee, and he saith I cannot, for it is sealed.

And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, read this I pray thee, and he saith I am not learned ;" but the prophets must be studied and understood by both speaker and hearer. The epistles must become indeed, "*living epistles, known and read of all men.*"

All this can be done and the pulpit yet retain its dignity and its power, nor let go its simplicity. Religion would then become familiar, not alone in its bare truths and its naked statements, but in its rich and genial nourishment for the soul. The intellect of the most gifted preacher can here find enough to quicken all its energies and task itself to the highest efforts, while yet the church shall not have occasion to mourn over so much wasted strength and misapplied intellect, with brilliancy, that has burned for itself alone, and rhetoric, which has figured with a splendid show, but which has played over the heads of its hearers as harmless as the summer-evening lightning.

If the publication of this work and our own notice of it, shall contribute to restore the bible to its lawful place, and make it what it was designed to be in the hand of the christian teacher and in the heart of the christian hearer, the earnest wishes of the author and our own ardent hopes, will not be disappointed.

#### ART. IV.—ON THE PHRASE ἵνα πληρωθῇ, *that it might be fulfilled*, IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

EVERY tiro in exegesis knows the difficulty attending the quotations in the New Testament from the Old, inasmuch as the original passages often have an entirely different meaning from that which appears to be given them in the quotations. As he advances, he learns that this seeming incorrectness of the writers of the New Testament closely connects itself with the infidelity of learned Europe, and with the depression of christianity in the world.

The specific form of the difficulty is this: The sacred writers of the New Testament, in attempting to interpret and apply certain passages of the Old Testament, have given us an opportunity of testing the correctness of their opinions, as it respects these quotations, the application of which test, it is contended, destroys their claim to inspiration.

It is our lot, as periodical reviewers, to be deeply engaged in the exciting controversies of our own age and community ; still

we can appreciate those great topics which lie at the foundation of our common christianity, from which the wary infidel draws his deadliest shafts, and to which the theologian of every denomination must sometimes return in his calmer moments.

The infidel objection alluded to, rests mainly, although not entirely, on the supposition, that certain formulas or phrases, by which the quotations are introduced, necessarily imply, that such quotations are used as predictions, and of course, that the New Testament writers have acted as interpreters of the Old Testament. If, on the contrary, it can be shown, that such passages are not quoted as predictions, but merely by way of illustration, then the New Testament writers have not attempted to interpret at all, and of course cannot be convicted of interpreting falsely.

These formulas are various, but the fullest and most explicit is as follows: *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος*, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord, through the prophet saying."

It is claimed by the objector, in reference to this formula; (1.) that the passage quoted is said to be spoken *by the Lord*, from whom all prophecy proceeds; (2.) that it is said to be spoken *through a prophet*, i. e. a predictor of future events; (3.) that it is said *to be fulfilled*, the appropriate term for the accomplishment of a prediction; (4.) that the Greek particle *ἵνα* always has the telic sense *in order that*, or *to the end that*; (5.) that the subjunctive form of *πληρωθῇ* requires the rendering *might* or *should be*, as if referring to something future, and that this again determines the meaning of *ἵνα*; (6.) that the gravity and dignity of the subject require this rendering of *ἵνα*; and (7.) that the concurrence of so many distinct considerations to one point ought to be regarded as giving to the argument the highest confirmation.

These arguments we shall endeavor to meet. We observe, then,

I. The phrase *spoken by the Lord* denotes that the words quoted are inspired, and that the analogous example taken to illustrate the case in hand is a sacred one, and worthy of serious attention; but it does not of itself prove that the passage is a prediction.

II. The phrase *through the prophet* designates the person from whom the quotation is taken as a prophet, i. e. as one speaking in the name of God, whether enjoining present duty, recording the past, or predicting the future; but it does not follow, that the words of a prophet are a prophecy in the sense contended for.



1. The etymology of the particle. Passow tells us that *ἵνα* is derived from the old personal pronoun *ī* or *is*, corresponding to Lat. *is*, and correlative to Gr. *τις*. Matthiæ and Buttmann also notice this old pronoun. But neither of these writers make use of this derivation for illustrating the meaning of *ἵνα*. The latest investigations, however, in comparative philology lead to the conclusion, that *ἵνα* is the plural neuter of a Sanscrit pronominal root *i*, the vestiges of which are still seen in Latin, Teutonic, and Lithuanian, as well as in Greek. According to this, *ἵνα* is equivalent, in its primary import, to Gr. *ὅτι*, Lat. *quod*, and Eng. *that*.

2. The analogy of kindred particles which have the telic signification, as Gr. *ὅφρα*, (probably compounded of *ὅ* and *φρα*, comp. *τόφρα*,) Lat. *ut*, (= Gr. *ὅτι*,) Eng. *that*; also *ὥς*, *ὥστε*, and *ὅπως*, (which according to Passow are old accusative forms from the relative *ὅς*.) The significations of Lat. *ut* and Eng. *that*, run nearly parallel with those of the Greek particle.

3. The actual uses of *ἵνα* in the New Testament, as compared with the theory of the relations, (see Quart. Christ. Spect. Vol. ix. p. 117 ff.) and exhibited in the following table.

A. Before the nominative clause,

(a) denoting the subject; as, Mat. 5: 29 *συμφέρει γάρ σοι, ἵνα ἀπολέγῃς ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν*, "for it is profitable for thee, that one of thy members were destroyed, and thy whole body were not cast into hell." This is more simple than to render it with Fritzsche, "for it is profitable for thee, (scil. to pluck out thy right eye, and to cast it from thee,) in order that one of thy members may perish, and thy whole body not be cast into hell." Verse 30. 10: 25 *ἄρκειν τῷ μαθητῇ, ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ*, "let it be sufficient for the disciple, that he were as his master." This is better than to render it with Fritzsche, "let it be sufficient for the disciple, (scil. not to be above his master,) in order that he may be rendered equal to him;" or with Wahl, "let it be sufficient for the disciple, (scil. to know this,) in order that he may learn to be like his master." 18: 6 *συμφέρει αὐτῷ, ἵνα πρεμασθῇ μῶλος ὀνικὸς ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης*, "it is profitable for him, that an ass-millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea." Better than, with Fritzsche and Wahl, to suppose a species of attraction, and to render it thus, "it is profitable for him, that an ass-millstone be hanged about his neck, in order that he may be drowned in the depth of the sea." Mark 9: 12 *καὶ πῶς γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πολλὰ πάθῃ, καὶ ἔξου-*

*δυναθῇ*; "and how is it written concerning the son of man, that he should suffer many things and be set at nought?" John 11 : 50 *συμφέρει ἡμῖν, ἵνα εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται*, "it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and the whole nation perish not." This is better than with Wahl to suppose a species of attraction. 16 : 7 *συμφέρει ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω*, "it is expedient for you, that I should go away." This is better than with Fritzsche and Wahl to render, "it is expedient for you, (scil. that I go unto him that hath sent me,) in order that I may go away;" or with Wahl in the minor edition of his *Clavis*, "it is expedient for you (i. e. you ought to desire) that I may go away." 1 Cor. 4 : 3 *ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ὑφ' ὁμῶν ἀνακριθῶ*, "but with me it is a very small thing, that I should be judged by you." This is better than with Fritzsche, "but with me it is a very small thing (i. e. I easily permit) that I may be judged by you;" or with Wahl, "but with me it is a very small thing, (scil. to present myself before you,) in order that I may be judged by you." Rev. 6 : 11 *καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἔτι χρόνον*, "and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season." 9 : 4. Comp. Lat. *accedit ut, convenit ut, expedit ut, mos est ut, æquum est ut*, etc.

So, the way being prepared by the demonstrative pronoun, *οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο*, Luke 1 : 43 *καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς με*; "and whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" This is more simple than to render as Fritzsche has done, "and whence is this to me, (i. e. who hath commanded,) that the mother of my Lord should come to me?"

(b) denoting the predicate; as, John 4 : 34 *ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με*, "my meat is to do the will of him that sent me." This is more simple than the explanation of Fritzsche, "my meat consists in the endeavor to do the will of him that sent me."

So, the way being prepared by the demonstrative pronoun, *οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο*; as, John 6 : 29 *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα πιστεύσητε εἰς ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος*, "this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." Verse 39. 15 : 12. 17 : 3. 1 John 3 : 11, 23. 2 John 6.

B. Before the dative clause,

(a) denoting a sharing or participation in an attribute or property of a thing, (*dativus commodi, seu incommodi*;) as, Mat. 8 : 8 *οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανός, ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τῇ στέγῃ εἰσέλθῃς*, "I am not fit that thou shouldst come under my roof," i. e. I am not fit for



thy coming under my roof. It is not necessary to render with Fritzsche, "I am not fit, (scil. that thou shouldest do anything,) in order that thou mayest come under my roof." Luke 7: 6. 1 John 1: 9.

(b) denoting a sharing or participation in the action denoted by the verb, whether transitive or intransitive, (*dativus objecti remotioris*;) as, Rev. 8: 6 *ἡτοίμασαν ἑαυτοὺς, ἵνα σαλπίσωσι*, "they prepared themselves to sound," i. e. for sounding.

C. Before the accusative clause,

(a) denoting the object after a transitive verb; as, Mat. 4: 3 *εἰπὲ, ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται*, "command that these stones be made bread." It is not necessary to render with Fritzsche, "speak the word, in order that these stones may become bread." Mat. 20: 21. 28: 10. Mark 3: 9. 5: 43. 6: 8. 13: 34. Luke 4: 3. 10: 40.—Mat. 7: 12 *ὅσα ἂν θέλητε, ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι*, "whatsoever ye will, that men do to you;" not as Fritzsche, "whatsoever ye will with the design that men may do to you." Mark 6: 25. 9: 30. Luke 6: 31. 18: 41. John 17: 24.—John 11: 37 *ποιῆσαι ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνῃ*, "to have caused, that even this man should not have died." Col. 4: 16.

So, the way being prepared by the demonstrative pronoun, *οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο*; as, John 15: 17 *ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους*, "these things I command you, that ye love one another." Comp. John 11: 57. 13: 34. 1 John 4: 21.

(b) denoting the second object after verbs of asking, teaching, etc; as, Mat. 14: 36 *καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν, ἵνα μόνον ἐψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ*, "and they besought him, that they might only touch the hem of his garment;" not "they besought him in order that," etc. 27: 20. Mark 5: 18. 7: 32. 8: 22. Luke 8: 31. John 4: 47.

D. Before the modal clause; as, Mark 11: 25 *ἀφίετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν*, "forgive, so that your father also may forgive you your trespasses." Luke 14: 10. 16: 9. 22: 30. John 1: 27 *ἵνα λύσω*, "so that I should unloose." 4: 36. 5: 20. 6: 7. Acts 2: 25. 8: 19. Rom. 15: 6, 16, 31, 32. Gal. 5: 17. James 1: 4. 1 Pet. 4: 13. Rev. 14: 13. Also in some passages of great importance, on account of their bearing on christian doctrine; as, Luke 9: 45 *ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό*, "it was hid from them, so that they might not perceive it." 11: 50. John 9: 2. Rom. 3: 8, 19. 6: 1. 11: 31.

So, the way being prepared by the demonstrative *οὕτως*; as, 1 Cor. 9: 24 *οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε*, "so run, that ye may obtain."

This is what is usually termed the *ecbatic* signification.

E. Before the ablative clause,

(a) denoting the cause; as, John 8 : 56 ἡγαλλιάσατο, ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν, "he rejoiced, that he should see my day."

(b) after a comparative, the way being prepared by the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο; as, John 15 : 13 μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ, "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." 3 John 4.

F. Before the local clause, the way being prepared by ἐν τούτῳ; as, John 15 : 8 ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν πολλὸν φέρητε, "herein is my father glorified, that ye bear much fruit;" not with Fritzsche, "herein is my father glorified, that ye strive to bear much fruit."

G. Before the terminal clause; as, John 5 : 34 ταῦτα λέγω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς σωθῆτε, "I say these things, that ye may be saved." 16 : 1. Mat. 19 : 13.

So, the way being prepared by εἰς τοῦτο; as, John 18 : 37 εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, "for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." Acts 9 : 21. Rom. 14 : 9. 2 Cor. 2 : 9. or διὰ τοῦτο; as, 2 Tim. 2 : 10.

This is the usual import of the particle in classic Greek, and is generally called the *telic* sense.

H. Before the instrumental clause. No example, however, occurs, distinct from the modal.

I. Before the genitive clause, i. e. used with a noun; as, John 12 : 33 ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "the hour is come that the son of man should be glorified," i. e. of his being glorified. Mat. 26 : 16. John 2 : 25. 13 : 1. 16 : 2, 30, 32. 18 : 39. Acts 27 : 42. 1 John 2 : 27.

These various uses of ἵνα, in our view, clearly show, that its leading object is to designate or define the clause with which it is connected, and that, if it has any other meaning, it arises rather from the context than from the natural force of this particle.

4. The use of ὥστε (= ἵνα) in modern Greek, where it is used before the subjunctive in such a way as altogether to supplant the regular infinitive. Hence it is equivalent to Gr. ὅτι, Lat. *quod*, or Eng. *that*; and if there be occasion to express the more precise shade of thought, then some particle is prefixed, as τὸ ὥστε to express the simple demonstrative, ὥστε ὥστε to express the ecbatic, and διὰ ὥστε to express the telic. E. g. εἶναι καλῆτερον ὥστε ὑπάγῃς ἐκεῖ, παρὰ ὥστε μένῃς ἐδῶ, "it is better, that you should go

thither than remain here ;” ἡ τροφή μου εἶναι τὸ νὰ κάμω τὸ θέλημα ἐκείνου ὅστις μ’ ἔστειλεν, “my meat is to do the will of him who sent me ;” μὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον τρέχετε, ὥστε νὰ φθάσητε, “so run, that ye may obtain ;” ἀλλὰ λέγω αὐτὰ, διὰ νὰ σωθῇτε σεῖς, “but I say these things, in order that ye might be saved.”

Whatever, then, is the force of *ἵνα* in classic Greek, it is evident, that in its origin, and in the popular dialect, such as that of the New Testament, it was a demonstrative or article. Nor have we any doubt, that if its use in classic Greek were examined without prepossession, it would be found to come much nearer to what we consider its popular use, than has been commonly supposed.

V. The argument deduced from the subjunctive form of *πληρωθῇ* is readily answered by attending to the proper distinction between the usual interpretation and that for which we contend. According to the former, *ἵνα* is *terminal*, denoting the final cause, end, or purpose, and the clause is to be rendered thus : *in order that it might or should be fulfilled*. According to the latter, *ἵνα* is *modal*, denoting the manner or mode, and the clause is to be rendered thus : *so that it might or should be fulfilled*. The force of the subjunctive mode and that of the aorist tense is the same in either interpretation. The subjunctive denotes in both cases something contingent or conditional, i. e. something subjective in the view of the mind. It is the erroneous use of the term *ecbatic* to denote the *modal* sense, which has led some to expect the indicative mode, as more appropriate to express what seems to be called an event or matter of fact. Again, the aorist tense denotes in both cases something past in reference to the historian. It is wrong to suppose in either case, that it denotes future time. The English forms *might* and *should*, also indicate at the same time the subjunctive mode (i. e. subjectivity,) and the past time.

We have thus far, in order to simplify the subject, confined our attention to a single formula, but that, perhaps, the fullest and strongest. Two remarks will be sufficient to extend our argument to other formulas, which are merely variations of this.

(1.) These other formulas may be used without implying a prediction, as is shown by the following examples from the Rabbins and Syriac writers. The two first are deduced by Prof. Tholuck from the Talmud, as Tract. Berachoth, fol. 10, 2. “He who first eats and drinks, and afterwards prays, of him it is written, 1 K. 14: 9. thou hast cast me behind thy back.” Tract. Sota, cap. ult. “Since the temple ~~was~~ laid waste, the Shamir (a fabulous animal) has ceased, as it is written, Ps.

12: 2." The next example is from the Chronicle of Barhebraeus, a Syriac writer, where he is speaking of those who inhabited the ruins of Edessa, "They saw the anger whereof the prophet says: I will bear the anger of the Lord, because I have sinned." The remaining examples are adduced by Dr. Wiseman from the Syriac, as from the writings of St. Ephrem, "Those who are in error have hated the source of assistance; as it is written: the Lord awoke like one who slept." From the Acts of St. Ephrem, "This (St. Ephrem) is he of whom our Savior said: I came to cast fire upon the earth."

(2.) The particles ὥς, ὅπως, ὥστε, probably have the form of an ancient Greek ablative, (see Quart. Christ. Spect. Vol. ix. p. 129.) and of course their primary force is modal. But whether they are ancient ablative forms, or ancient accusative forms, according to the opinion of Passow noticed above, there is not the least ground in these particles for giving the pre-eminence to the telic sense.

VI. Without undertaking to determine which quotations are employed as predictions and which as mere illustrations, we shall endeavor to show by a few examples, that our interpretation does not rob the passages of their force and beauty.

The point of the quotation, Mat. 1: 23. considered as an illustration or comparison of similar events, is this: In the calamitous times under king Ahaz, a prophet was sent with a promise of speedy deliverance to the Jews from their enemies, the birth of a child, called *Emmanuel*, to be born of a virgin, being the sign; so in the present calamitous times, an angel is sent with the promise of deliverance to the same nation from much greater misery, the birth of a child, called *Jesus*, to be born of a virgin, being also the sign.

The force of the implied comparison, Mat. 2: 15. is as follows: When the infant nation of Israel had fled into Egypt for protection, God shewed his paternal care and love for them by calling them in due time from that country; so now, when the infant Jesus had fled to the same country for protection, God shews a similar paternal care and love to him by calling him thence.

The force of the implied comparison, Mat. 2: 18. is this: As formerly in Rama, the place through which Jewish captives were led on their way to Babylon, Hebrew mothers were seen in deep distress for their children lost in captivity; so now, in the same vicinity, Hebrew mothers were seen in similar distress, on account of their children cruelly slain by Herod.

The force of the comparison, Mat. 3 : 3. is this : John, the Baptist, the forerunner of the Messiah, is like the pioneer represented by the prophet Isaiah, as preparing the way of the Lord, when he was intending great good for his people.

It ought here to be observed, that, in some of these cases, there is not merely a *resemblance* in the two events, but there is also a *sameness of principle*, as illustrating the nature of the divine government ; as has been ably shown by Dr. Woods of Andover, in his Lectures on Quotations.

VII. In answer to the argument thought to be deduced from combining the various considerations urged by the objector, we might state many inherent improbabilities, that the passages concerned could have been quoted as predictions. But we will confine ourselves to a single remark, Hosea 11 : 1. which is quoted Mat. 2 : 15. is so clearly a mere statement of a past historical fact, that we cannot suppose for a moment, that St. Matthew either regarded it himself as a prediction, or could expect to make any of his readers so to regard it.

While, therefore, Dr. Woods in this country, Dr. Tittmann in Germany, and Dr. Wiseman at Rome, have, unknown to each other, been laboring successfully on different points of this important subject, comparative philology, and what we esteem a more philosophical mode of criticism, have unconsciously, as it were, thrown in their contributions to this sacred cause.

#### ART. V.—ON THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

*The Canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained, or the Bible complete without the Apocrypha and unwritten traditions.* By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Princeton : 1833.

WE are gratified to see that this work of Dr. Alexander's has already passed to a second, and, we believe, to a third edition. Without the testimonies substantiating the canonical authority of the several books of scripture, the argument for a divine revelation is incomplete. And though there are many able works on the subject, or on parts of it, most of them have hitherto been either too voluminous or too learned for common readers. The works of Chamier, Buddeus, Hottinger, Prideaux, Lardner, Jones, &c., are scarcely known, even by name, to the great body of intelligent christians ; and there are doubtless very

many who know, that the bible is true, who are utter strangers to the historical argument for its truth. Admitting as they do, that they are bound to have and to be able to give a reason for their hope, and of course for their belief, upon which it is based, they might easily be perplexed by the shrewdness of the cavalier, or the objections of the infidel. To all such—in fact, to all christians—Dr. Alexander has rendered a valuable service. We find, indeed, nothing new in his work, but it is no small merit to collect, arrange, and condense, the multiplied and entirely satisfying materials that already exist—to give them a popular aspect, and make them plain to ordinary minds. This Dr. Alexander has done, and with his work in our view, we propose to take up the subject of *the canon of scripture*—to set forth, in a popular form, the reasons why we receive the bible as the real *word of God*—why we believe that it is *complete* in itself, containing all that is necessary to guide our faith and practice, and that there is *no other* revelation beside it—in short, why we believe that the bible contains *all* that God has revealed, and *no more*. The inquiry will be confined, for the present, to the books of the Old Testament, those of the New Testament being reserved, perhaps, to some future occasion. This field of investigation, wide and important as it is, we shall present under five distinct topics of remark. In doing it, we would repeat that the subject like most of the topics of christianity, has long ago been ably and fully discussed, and that our object is to collect and condense the substance of past discussions and proofs, and so to present them, that every reader may be able to give a reason, and a good one too, for believing, that the bible is the only rule of faith and practice. Let us notice in order: First. The importance of the subject. Secondly. What books are canonical, or, in other words, what books truly constitute the Old Testament? Thirdly. Whether any canonical book has ever been lost. Fourthly. Why the apocryphal books are rejected from the canon. Fifthly. The reasons for denying the authority of the Jewish oral law.

I. *The importance of the subject.* The book which we call the bible, includes a large number of separate books, written by different men, in different ages, during a period of more than fifteen hundred years. For the sake of convenience, these books are now usually collected together into one volume. But when originally written and published, each of them formed by itself a distinct volume, or book; and if they had still been kept separate from each other, if they had been handed down in many volumes instead of one, neither their authority or use-

fulness would have been less than they now are. But if every book of the sacred volume is a separate and distinct work by itself, then it is plain that beside the general arguments which prove the bible to be a divine revelation, there is need of particular proof, that each of the books now included in it has a full right to the place which it occupies ; that each does in fact contain part of the revelation which God has given to man. If, therefore, it could be shown, (which however never can be,) that some particular book of the bible is not authentic, it would no more disprove the authenticity of the remaining books, than the discovery of one counterfeit bill in a package of a hundred, would disprove the genuineness of the other ninety-nine. The credit of the *whole* bible might not be overthrown, even if one half, or two thirds, of the books of which it consists were spurious. The truth is, that infidels have far more to effect in overturning the bible than they commonly suppose. To disprove it, they must not only show that *this*, or *that*, or the other book, is untrue—though even this is impossible—but they must demonstrate, that every one of the sixty-six books of the sacred volume is uninspired and false. And so, on the other hand, the advocate of revelation is equally bound to defend the claims of every separate portion of the bible. He must be able to give a good reason for receiving each particular book as a part of the inspired volume, or if he has no evidence of its divine origin he is bound to reject it. We grant, that the *antiquity* of the bible, which has so long been received as God's own word, should excite our highest respect for its claims, and should make us cautious how we question them. But the antiquity of the bible is merely one presumptive argument in favor of each book which it contains, and is very far from rendering all other examination needless. All may admit, in general terms, that the bible is the word of God, given by inspiration from him, and that it is the only safe rule of our faith and conduct. But then the momentous question at once arises, "What is the bible?"—"Of what books does the sacred volume properly consist?" And it will not answer to resolve to receive that book just as it has come down to us, without investigation, taking for granted that all is right. This is to believe, not on evidence, but because others have believed before us. Beside, how, without examination, can we know, that spurious and uninspired books may not have crept, by mistake, or been forced by design, into some of the different forms of the sacred volume? This we find is the case with the bibles used in the Greek and Roman Catholic churches; they do contain many books which

are not in the original Hebrew, and which have no claim whatever to be regarded as inspired, and as parts of God's word. The inquiry, then, before us, is not one of mere curiosity, or even of choice. It is in the highest degree practical, and it forces itself upon every one of us. For as we are not at liberty to reject a single inspired sentence, much less a whole inspired book from the sacred volume, so we have no right to add a single word to that which God has revealed, or to receive as divine that which without authority may have been incorporated with the HOLY SCRIPTURES. Every one of us, therefore, is under a moral obligation to ascertain what books really do belong to the bible—to show what *is* the bible, and *why* it is so. Error on either side is dangerous. On the one hand, to reject a part of divine revelation, is to dishonor God and to injure ourselves; and on the other, to receive spurious works as inspired, is to adulterate and poison the very fountain of life, and to subject our consciences to the dictate of man as though it were the will of God.

But notwithstanding the obvious importance and necessity of our inquiries, some may say, that as the question has long ago been settled on the firmest principles, it can answer no good purpose again to agitate it—thus possibly exciting misgivings in the minds of some good people, who have always regarded the whole subject as one beyond discussion.

As to the first part of the objection, it is freely admitted, that the subject *has* been discussed, long ago, most ably and fully; and as has been stated, our object is to gather up, and condense, and present, some of the light, that has been so freely poured upon it by others. There is light enough, and that is one reason why it should be seen. The very fact, that there is a good reason for our belief, is a good reason why we should know it, and be able to state it, that the doubting may be satisfied or the cavalier silenced.

As to the second part of the objection, that discussion leads to doubt, it is a sentiment unworthy of the christian whose faith is founded on evidence, and whose duty it is to have a reason for his hopes. It is true, indeed, that the first effect of free discussion may be, and often is, to shake that childish and easy confidence which most men entertain, that their own opinions are correct. And it is well that it is so; for there is too much of a disposition, with many christians, to adopt without examination the religion of their fathers—there are too many who are averse to laborious research into the grounds of their faith—too many, who are competent to examine the evi-



dences of their religion, who never take the time or make the effort thoroughly to do it. Such a blind and ignorant faith as this, may about as well be shaken as stand; and far better if the result of the convulsion be, as it ever may be, that the overthrow of a mere persuasion, resting only on prejudice, makes way for an abiding faith, resting on the firm basis of evidence. But that discussion produces doubt in any other sense than this, is untrue; for that faith which is or can be weakened by discussion, or by examination, is at best either superstition or prejudice, and not true faith. The latter ever comes forth for investigation, like gold from the furnace, richer and brighter than before. Not only as christians would we feel and know, but we would have the world feel and know, that our religion,—the religion of the gospel—rests on reason, and evidence, and argument; that its foundations are firm and immovable as the everlasting hills, and that deliberate unbelief affords proof not only of the depravity of the heart, but of weakness of the head. If we receive the most important items of our faith on trust in mere human authority, we are ever liable to be thrown into doubt by every idle cavil of infidelity, and by every passing sneer of irreligion; and the only way to obviate this evil, is to dig deep and lay our foundations on the rock of intelligence and truth, which is immovable. Besides, if this objection has any weight, it would discourage all attempts to establish and confirm our holy religion by argument, and would leave it entirely at the mercy of that scepticism which is at once and easily vanquished the moment it dares to appear on the open field of *evidence*. But enough, and more than enough, has been said to show the importance of the subject. Let us inquire:

II. *What are the books which constitute the canon of the Old Testament?* The word *canon*, literally, signifies a rule. Now as the sacred scriptures were at a very early period carefully distinguished from all human writings, and as they formed the only rule which christians regarded as authoritative or safe, they were soon designated as the "*canon*," i. e. as the rule of God. To distinguish the books which were really inspired from the many spurious works which sometimes claimed admission into the bible, the former were called "*canonical*," and are frequently spoken of by the early writers as "*the sacred canon*," "*the canon of divine truth*," &c. As to the present canon of the Old Testament, it seems to be generally admitted, that its formation is to be traced to the prophet Ezra; that soon after the Babylonish captivity he collected all the inspired books and arranged them as they now stand in the Hebrew bible as re-

ceived by the Jews. This opinion accords with the uniform testimony and traditions of the Jews themselves. From them we learn, that Malachi and Ezra were the same person, (Ezra being his proper name, and that of Malachi, which signifies "messenger," being added because he was sent to superintend the religious concerns of the Jews,) that he completed the canon of the Old Testament, and that after him there arose no other prophet who added anything to the sacred volume. But however this may be, it is of no importance to our main inquiry; and the same is true of the question whether the sacred writings were originally in one or in several volumes; for if we can ascertain what books were uniformly received as canonical, it matters not by whom they were collected, or how preserved. It is probable, however, that the sacred books were originally distributed into *three* volumes, the **LAW**, the **PROPHETS**, and the **HAGIOGRAPHIA** including several books beside the Psalms; for this division is expressly recognized by our Savior in the twenty-fourth chapter of Luke—is also mentioned by Josephus, and was well known to the Jews, who, with one consent, refer it to Ezra as its author.

1. We are left in no doubt as to the books which constitute the canon of the Old Testament, because the whole of what the Jews called the scriptures, and which were included in the three-fold division just mentioned, *received the explicit sanction of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles*. Our Savior frequently reproved the Jews for disobeying and misinterpreting the sacred scriptures, and adding their traditions thereto, but he never charged them with unfaithfulness or negligence in preserving the sacred books. On the contrary he often speaks of the scriptures—that is, of the scriptures as then known—as an infallible rule which could not be broken, and from which not one jot or tittle should pass till all should be fulfilled. To these scriptures he ever refers, as to the unerring word of God. And so also Paul, alluding chiefly, if not wholly, to the Old Testament writings, says, that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God;" and again he speaks of them as "the oracles of God," as "the word of God," and as the teachings of the Holy Ghost, &c. The testimony of the other apostles is equally plain and explicit. One important point, then, is established with the utmost certainty,—that the volume of scripture which existed in the time of Christ and his apostles, was uncorrupted by the presence of any spurious works, and that the whole of it was expressly declared by them to be inspired and infallible. The question then becomes a mere question of fact; for if we

can ascertain what were the particular books which at that time were received and known by the Jews as "*the scriptures*," we shall know, with absolute certainty, what books *now* constitute the inspired canon of the Old Testament. If Christ and his apostles had given us the names of every one of the books then known as parts of the Old Testament, the question would at once be settled. But this they have not done. They have, indeed, distinctly quoted from several of these books, and so far the evidence is complete. And more than this, they have recognized as inspired all the works known to the Jews of their day, as "*the scriptures*," and still more particularly as "*the Law*," "*the Prophets*," and "*the Psalms*." But all this, even, is not of itself sufficient to inform us whether the Old Testament then contained precisely the same books that it now does, and no others; so that the question still returns, what were the books which all the Jews of that day received as included in the scriptures—in the three-fold division which has just been mentioned? To ascertain this point we should naturally resort, if possible, to the testimony of some Jew then living, just as we should go to some English annalist to know when Alfred the Great reigned in England, or as the inquirer of some distant age might appeal to the pages of some living writer, to know whether the gospel of Luke is or is not regarded by us as a part of the New Testament. Now in Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian, who was cotemporary with the apostles, we have the witness, and find the very information which we desire. He does not indeed name all the books of the Old Testament, but then he numbers, and otherwise so accurately describes them, that there is no room for mistake. "We have," says he, in his first book against Apion, "we have only twenty-two books which we hold to be of divine origin, and which we are bound to believe. Of these, *five* are the books of Moses, which treat of the creation of the world, &c. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, the prophets, who succeeded Moses, have written in *thirteen* books, and the remaining *four* books contain divine poems, or hymns, to God, and moral precepts or rules of life for the use of men." Now the five books of Moses are universally admitted to be Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The thirteen books of the prophets will include Joshua, Judges with Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah with Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, Job, Ezra with Nehemiah, Esther, and Chronicles. The four remaining books will be *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Song of Solomon*, ma-

king the whole number twenty-two, all of which Josephus declares were received by his nation as divinely inspired—so that the canon of the Old Testament, as then existing, is proved to be the very same that we now possess. But it may be asked, how can this be, when it is well known, that instead of *twenty-two* we have *thirty-nine* different books in the English version of the Old Testament? The answer is obvious and satisfactory. Josephus used the word book as synonymous with the word volume, as if he had said they divided their sacred writings into twenty-two *volumes*. Now according to the method formerly in use among the Jews, the number of books, or volumes, into which the Old Testament was divided, was regulated by the number of the Hebrew alphabet, which consists of only twenty-two letters; and to make their arrangement of the scriptures correspond to this division they added Ruth to Judges, (of which it seems to be the continuation,) and the Lamentations of Jeremiah to his prophecy, as they are both by the same author. As to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, they were always regarded by the Jews as one and the same book. The arbitrary division of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, into 1st and 2d parts, which is found in our English version, was formerly unknown, and each was reckoned as only a single work. As to the twelve minor prophets, which in our version form twelve separate books, they were anciently always counted as one volume or book, and so they are considered in every ancient catalogue, and in all the quotations made from them by the old writers. Thus we see, then, that the twenty-two books mentioned by Josephus, though numbered differently, are, in fact, precisely the same with those of the Old Testament, as now received by us. It would seem, indeed, as if these books might more conveniently be reckoned as twenty-four than as twenty-two; and so we find they are reckoned by the Jews of modern times, who separate Ruth from Judges, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah from his prophecy, thus leaving the number of their books nearly the same as that given by Josephus. In all these cases, in the twenty-two books of Josephus and the ancient Jews, in the twenty-four of the Jews of modern times, and in the thirty-nine of our English version, *the books, the matter* of the scriptures, is precisely the same, and the only difference is in the arrangement and numbering. Shakspeare, or Blackstone's Commentaries, is still the same work, whether in one or in four volumes, and so is the Old Testament, whether arranged in twenty-two or in thirty-nine divisions. The whole argument, in a word, then, is this: Jesus Christ and his apostles

expressly and repeatedly declared, that the scriptures as received by the Jews, at the time when they lived, were inspired. Jewish history, written at that very time, informs us what books *were* then contained in the Jewish scriptures. These books, though differently arranged and numbered, are found on examination to be the very same which are contained in our English version of the Old Testament. Therefore the Old Testament, as received by us, is expressly sanctioned by Jesus Christ and his apostles, its canonical authority is established, and to every book of it we may safely trust as the inspired words of the Holy Spirit. Again,

2. *The testimony of the early ages* may be adduced to confirm the point already so abundantly proved by the testimony of Josephus. Some of the early fathers, when they were converted from paganism to christianity, went deeply into the question of the canonical authority of the Old Testament, and the results of the investigations of many of them still remain to instruct and satisfy us. Melito, bishop of Sardis, traveled into Judea for the express purpose of satisfying himself on this point, which he did; and from the catalogue which he has left of the books of the Old Testament, it appears, that the very same books were then received into the canon as are now found in our Hebrew bibles. This was within less than one hundred years of the time of Josephus. Very soon after Melito, Origen gives us a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament as then received, from which it appears that the very same which have been mentioned were in his age regarded as canonical. After Origen, we have catalogues in succession by Athanasius, by Cyril, by Augustine, by Jerome, and by Rufinus, all men of the highest authority in the church, and also by the councils of Laodicea, and of Carthage, each consisting of a large number of bishops or ministers; and all these catalogues precisely the same as our own. Now when we consider, that all these catalogues, for such a series of ages, correspond entirely to our present canon of the Hebrew bible, the evidence, to every impartial mind, must appear *complete*, that the canon of the Old Testament is fully settled on the clearest historical grounds,—on a basis as firm as could be wished. But even if all this testimony had been wanting, there is still another source of evidence which is perfectly conclusive, and on which we may rest with entire confidence. We refer,

3. To the fact, *that ever since the time of Christ and his apostles, these books have been in the possession and keeping of both Jews and christians.* Now these Jews and christians have

ever been arrayed against each other in mutual opposition of opinion. They have been as watchmen over each other, so that it has ever been utterly impossible that either party should have made any change in the sacred canon without being at once detected and exposed by the other. And the conclusive evidence, that no such change has been made, is, that these two opposing parties from the time of our Savior up to this very hour, have always been perfectly agreed as to what books constitute the canon of the Old Testament. Differing as they do about everything else, on this point the Jew and the christian are entirely harmonious,—on neither side is there any complaint of adding to, or taking from, the number of the sacred books. The Hebrew bible of the Jew is the Old Testament of the christian; and it is worthy of remark, that an excellent edition of the Hebrew bible has been published conjointly by a learned Jew and a learned christian. This evidence, we say, is of itself conclusive. Were two men intently watching a string of pearls, which each knows to consist of a given number, and which each regards as his own, it is inconceivable that either one should be able to remove a single pearl without the knowledge of the other. Much more, were the exact number of those pearls known to every individual of two vast nations, then, in the strongest sense of language, it is absolutely impossible, that a single pearl should be taken away without its loss being instantly discovered. It is true, indeed, that the Greek and Romish churches have added the apocryphal books to their canon; and this very fact shows clearly the conclusiveness of our argument, for the addition was at once detected both by Jews and Protestant christians, and both cordially united in denouncing the act as impious, and the books themselves as spurious. The last argument which we shall mention in favor of the correctness of our present canon, is that founded

4. *Upon its earliest translation.* It is a highly important fact, that soon after the canon of the Old Testament was completed, and more than two hundred and fifty years before Christ, the whole of it was translated into the Greek language. This version was made at Alexandria, in Egypt, at the request of the king, Ptolemy Philadelphus, probably for the use of the Jews, then in that country, who spoke the Greek language. It is called the "*Septuagint*," from its having been made by *seventy*, or rather seventy-two men,—six from each of the twelve tribes of Israel. Now this Greek translation contains all the books which were in the canon at the time of our Savior, and which are now found in our canonical Hebrew bibles. It is, therefore,

a good and a standing witness,—and its seventy-two translators are seventy-two good and distinct witnesses, to prove that all these books were in the canon when the translation was made. As to the apocryphal books, which in more modern times have commonly been bound up with this version, their claims to inspiration and canonical authority will hereafter be shown to be entirely unfounded.

Such is a full outline of the evidence of the inspired and canonical authority of the Old Testament as received by us. Surely, in view of it, we may exclaim with the Psalmist: “Thy testimonies, O Lord, are very sure,”—“concerning” them “I have known of old, that thou hast established them forever.” “The mountains may depart, and the hills be removed,” “but the word of the Lord endureth forever.” Having now seen, that all the books contained in the Old Testament are canonical, the next question that arises, is,

III. *Whether any canonical book has ever been lost?* or whether the sacred canon is still precisely the same as ever? This is the third inquiry proposed for investigation, and the question is important, because the Roman Catholics assert, that several books have been lost, and this position they advance as an argument in favor of their mere human traditions. On the other hand, we assert the completeness of the canon, and deny, that any one of its books has ever perished. Now in this question it properly belongs to those who assert the loss of any canonical book, to *prove* it, and until they should do this satisfactorily, we might safely take for granted, that they are wrong. But we are willing to assume the burden of proving a negative, of showing, in opposition to their hypothesis, that no book of the inspired canon has ever been lost. This may be argued,

1. *From the very design of God in giving the scriptures to mankind.* They were intended to be an infallible rule of faith and practice so long as the world should last. To suppose, then, that any one of the canonical books has been lost, is to suppose, that this infallible rule has been impaired and mutilated,—that is, to suppose, that the canon of scripture is not the canon of scripture, which is absurd.

2. *From the nature of God's providence.* This is ever watchful of his church; and it is alike inconsistent with the divine goodness, and wisdom, and power, to suppose, that he would suffer any part of his own legacy to the church and to the world to be taken from them. If any of these books were *not* serviceable to instruct and direct mankind in the ways of truth and duty, why were they at first given? And if they *were*, it

is impossible, that the same kind providence which gave, would take them away. Such a supposition involves no small reflection,—no light charge both against the wisdom and goodness of God. We are also confirmed in the correctness of our position, by the fact which has already been alluded to, viz :

3. *That there is no Jewish historical proof of the past existence of canonical works now lost.* The Jewish nation has never, either by its historians, or by the Targums, or by the Septuagint, recognized as canonical any other works than those now contained in our Old Testament. But if all these proofs were wanting, we still have an argument which is of itself perfectly conclusive.

4. *The assertions of Christ and his apostles.* Our Savior expressly declares, that it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fail, and again, that not one jot or tittle shall in any wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled. But how is it possible to know whether that word is fulfilled, unless all its parts remain for our inspection? And if not even the smallest portion might pass, or perish from God's word, is it not absurd to suppose that *whole books* may have been lost? But further, how could Luke with any propriety speak as he does (xxiv : 27.) "of *all* the prophets," (or prophetic writings,) and "*all* the scriptures," as existing in his time, if any part of them had perished? Or how could Paul say with truth, (Rom. xv : 4,) that "whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning," unless all the books of the Old Testament were in existence when he wrote? But no one pretends to say, that any of these books have perished *since* the days of the apostles, and therefore it is evident, that no canonical book has *ever* been lost from the Old Testament.

But it is objected by some, that the books of "Jasher," and of "Gad the seer," and of "Nathan the prophet," and "the book of the wars of the Lord," and some others mentioned in the bible, are not found in the canon as now received, and this, it is said, is evidence, that some canonical books have probably perished. In reply to this objection we would remark,

(1.) *It is by no means the case, that every book referred to or quoted in the bible, is, of course, canonical or even an inspired book.* In Acts, (xvii : 28,) Paul quotes from the Greek poet Aratus, and again (1 Cor. xv : 33,) from Menander, and still again (Tit. i : 12,) from Epimenides of Crete. But this is far from proving, that he regarded those poets as canonical, or that we are to receive them as such,—as far, as the quotation by



Job and by the evangelists of what the devil said on various occasions, is from proving, that they regarded *Satan* as inspired and *his* words as canonical. We reply to the objection again,

(2.) *A book may be written by an inspired man, and yet not be canonical, or even inspired.* Inspiration was not *continually* afforded to the prophets, it was merely given occasionally, and for particular and important purposes. In common matters, the prophets and apostles, like other men, were left to the guidance of reason and common sense. A man, therefore, who at one time might be inspired to write a canonical book, might at another, write another book making no claim to inspiration. Because Solomon was inspired to write some books that were canonical, it by no means follows, that all which he might have written on natural history was inspired. The scriptures, however, do not say, that his three thousand proverbs and his discourses on natural history were ever *written*,—it merely says he *spoke* them. But even if they had been committed to writing, there is no more evidence of their *inspiration*, than there is, that his private letters to his friends were inspired. Let it but be borne in mind, that inspiration was afforded only on special occasions and for special objects, and all difficulty from works like those alluded to vanishes at once. But,

(3.) It may be admitted, if we please, without any prejudice to the completeness of the sacred canon, that there may have been some *inspired* writings, which were designed by God only for some special occasion and use, and which he intended should be preserved only so long as might be requisite to accomplish the particular purpose for which they were given. This is evident from the very definition of the word "*canon*;" for, to render a book *canonical*, it is not enough, that it be *inspired*, it is also requisite, that it be expressly *intended* for the instruction of the church in all ages of the world. These are the two essentials of a canonical work. It is plain then, that there might have been writings which, though inspired, were not canonical, and were not intended to be so,—which were *temporary* in their design, and which, when that design was answered, were no longer needed. We know, that the prophets *spoke by inspiration* many discourses of which not a single word has been recorded; and that our Savior, (all of whose words were inspired) said many things to his disciples and the people, which have not come down to us: so also of the apostles, they too were all fully inspired, and yet very few of them had any part in writing the New Testament. But if so many things were actually spoken by inspiration, which are not pre-

served, simply because they were not intended to be preserved for the *perpetual* instruction of the church; then it is equally plain, that some things might have been *written* by inspiration, (for example, by Nathan, or Gad, or Iddo,) which were never intended to form a part of the sacred canon. We say *might* have been written; for it is not asserted, that such inspired writings, designed only for temporary use, certainly *did exist*. There is no evidence, that they ever did. But if it could be clearly proved, that hundreds of *such* books did exist and now are lost, it would not at all affect the assertion, that not a single *canonical* book has ever perished. Indeed, we may say, this argument is entirely unnecessary, until it can be proved, that *some* inspired writings have been lost; and even could this be fully proved, (which is impossible,) the argument would be a complete answer to the objection. We repeat, however, that as a matter of fact, there is no *proof* whatever, that any inspired book ever existed which does not exist now,—much less, that any canonical book has ever perished from the sacred volume. Once more:

(4.) It is highly probable, that *several of the books*, which the Romanists say have been lost from the Old Testament, *are still in the canon under different names*. The books of Samuel, and Chronicles, and Kings, were evidently written, not by one, but by a number of inspired men at different periods. The succession of prophets seems never to have been interrupted, until the canon of the Old Testament was completed and closed. And whatever God saw fit to add from time to time to the sacred books, some of these prophets were probably directed and inspired to annex. Different parts of these books, then, might have been penned by Gad, or Nathan, or some others who are mentioned in the bible as prophets. That such was in fact the case, that some parts of these histories were written by the prophets, we have in one instance clear proof; for we find, that the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, and thirty-eighth chapters of Isaiah, which unquestionably were written by him, are almost the very same as the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of the second book of Kings. Let us then apply these remarks to the books mentioned in the bible, which are not now found bearing the same names by which they are there referred to. As to the books (or as it is in the original, "*the words*") of Gad, and Iddo, and Nathan, and Shemaiah, and Jehu, and Abijah, which are referred to in the Old Testament, they all might have been contained in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; and that this was the case is highly probable, for

such was the opinion of the Jews, and the things which seem to be referred to where they are mentioned, are spoken of at length in these books. As to the book of Jasher, (i. e. the book of justice or rectitude,) which is twice mentioned, the Jewish writers inform us, that this was the name given to the law of God as contained in the Pentateuch. They also tell us, that the "book of the wars of the Lord," is the same with the book of Numbers, which is chiefly occupied with the military concerns of the Jewish nation. If this explanation is not deemed satisfactory, that is, if we do not admit the supposition, that the books specified are now incorporated with the other books of the Old Testament; then it is sufficient to reply, that there is no evidence whatever, that they were even *inspired*, much less *canonical* books, and of course, they are to be regarded as having been mere political annals, or books of public records which have long ago been lost. We are at perfect liberty to adopt either of these explanations, or to reject them both, and resort to still a third supposition, viz. that it is possible they might have been inspired for some particular purpose, without ever having been intended by God to form a part of the sacred canon, and that when this purpose was answered, they were permitted to perish. This last hypothesis, however, is *mere* supposition, unsustained by any evidence whatever. The other two opinions are either of them probable, and any one of the three may be adopted without detriment or disrespect to the real word of God.

Thus it appears from the very design of God in giving the scriptures, from the goodness and wisdom of providence, from the uniform testimony of the Jews, and from the repeated declarations of Christ and his apostles, that no canonical book of the Old Testament ever could be, or ever has been lost. To the objection, that some books are referred to in the bible which are not now in it, we have replied by showing: 1. That because a book is referred to in the bible, it is no evidence that it is a canonical, or even a sacred book; 2. That every book written by an inspired man is not of course an inspired book,—much less canonical; 3. That even if some of the books referred to should be admitted to have been inspired, (of which there is no evidence,) they might still have been lost without affecting the completeness of the canon; and 4. That several of these books may possibly now be in the canon under other names, (as we speak of the history of Christ, meaning by it not a separate book, but the account of his life as given by the evangelists,) or if they are not, then we have no evidence of their inspiration, and much less of their canonical authority. Such is the

outline of the argument, and as the result of it all we have the conclusion, plain and irresistible, that no book has ever been lost from the sacred canon,—that the word of God, so far as contained in the Old Testament, is, as it has ever been, complete,—a “sure word of prophecy,”—a safe rule of life. Blessed be God, that he has never suffered the light which he has kindled to go out in darkness, or any rays of its brightness to be quenched from our eyes! Safely may we follow its guidance, assured that it will lead us to realms of endless and cloudless day.

IV. The fourth general subject proposed for our investigation, *is the question respecting the apocryphal books.* This question is also highly important and interesting, both in itself and in its bearings on the doctrines of the Roman Catholics and the Protestant controversy with them. The word “apocrypha,” signifies “concealed,” “obscure,” “hidden;” and in reference to the bible it is used to designate those spurious books which claim admission into the sacred volume, but which are not canonical. These books are sometimes,—improperly, we think,—bound up with our common bible. They are *fourteen* in number, including the first and second book of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, what is called the remainder of Esther, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the Song of the three children, the story of Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, the prayer of Manasses, and the first and second books of Maccabees. These books, which were first declared to be canonical by the Roman Catholic council of Trent, which met about the middle of the sixteenth century, are regarded by all classes of Protestant christians as apocryphal and spurious. Our object is to show, that this opinion is correct.

1. The first argument by which these books are proved to be spurious and uncanonical, is, that *they are not found in the Hebrew bible.* They were written originally not in the Hebrew, but in the Greek language, which was not known to the Jews until long after inspiration had ceased among them, and the canon of the Old Testament was closed. It is plain, therefore, that they never could have formed a part of the Old Testament canon. Again,

2. *These books have never been received into the canon by the Jews, either of ancient or modern times.* Josephus declares, that they were not received as inspired by his nation. Philo, a celebrated Jewish writer, who often refers to the Old Testament, never mentions them; and they are not recognized as canonical in the Talmud. Not only so, but the Jewish Rabbins expressly reject them as utterly unworthy of belief, and as rejected by

their whole nation. But it may be asked, What has the opinion of the Jews to do with the question? In this case, we reply, it has every thing to do with it; for, as we have already shown at length, Jesus Christ and his apostles expressly sanction the scriptures received by the Jews, as inspired and canonical, and therefore it follows, that as the apocryphal books never formed a part of the Jewish scriptures, it is perfectly evident, that by Christ and his apostles they were regarded as spurious.

3. The third argument against the apocryphal books, is founded on *the entire silence of the New Testament respecting them*. They are never quoted by our Savior or his inspired apostles,—never mentioned or alluded to by them, either directly or indirectly, in a solitary instance. From this it seems plain, that in the time of Christ, they were either entirely unknown or utterly disregarded.

4. A fourth argument against these books is, that *they were not received as canonical by the christian fathers, but, on the contrary, were expressly declared by them to be apocryphal and spurious*. Augustine is the only christian writer, within four hundred years of the time of our Savior, who is an exception to this remark. For a time he seems to have regarded six of these books as belonging to the canon, but afterwards, on more mature examination, he expressly retracted this opinion, and has left this retraction recorded in his writings; and still later in life he repeatedly rejects all the apocryphal books. The same was the opinion of the great body of the church for centuries together; and some of the most distinguished even of the Roman Catholic divines, in every age from the establishment of that church down to the sixteenth century, united in condemning these books as spurious, and in rejecting them from the sacred canon. From this successive and almost uniform testimony, then, it is evident, that the books in question are apocryphal,—that they have no rightful claim to a place in the canon, and that the council of Trent acted unwisely and sinfully in decreeing that the Roman Catholics should receive them as of divine authority. They acted *sinfully*, for their decree was in the very face of the testimony of the Savior and his apostles, and by passing it they impiously arrogated to themselves the authority to add to the canon of scripture. They acted *unwisely*, for they were setting up their mere decree against the explicit testimony of ages, and in declaring that Tobit, Judith, &c. should be a part of the canon, they were acting as absurdly as if they had endeavored, by a mere vote, to render Shakspeare, or Gibbon's Rome, or even Voltaire's works, canonical,—to make them a part of the real word of God!

5. The fifth argument, proving the spuriousness of the books of which we speak, is derived from *internal evidence*. Books which contain manifest falsehoods, or which are filled with silly and ridiculous fables, or which contradict the plain and uniform doctrine of that which all admit is the real word of God, cannot be canonical. Most, or all of the books in question, however, are condemned by this rule. In the book of Tobit, an angel of God is made to tell a palpable falsehood, in one place declaring, that he is Azarias the Jew, and in another, that he is the angel Raphael. In the next book, Judith is represented as telling falsehoods repeatedly, and then as impiously praying God to bless them to the accomplishment of her purpose, and at the same time for all this she is commended; and of the whole book it may be remarked, that very many of its statements cannot be reconciled with authentic profane history. Between the first and second books of Maccabees there is an obvious contradiction; for in the former, Judas is said to have died in the one hundred and fifty-second year, and in the latter, he is spoken of as alive in the one hundred and eighty-eighth year, thirty-six years after his own death! In the first book, again, an entirely false account is given of the civil government of the Romans, and in the second a man is commended for committing suicide, Baruch, in the book of that name, is said to have read that book to Jeremiah, at Babylon, at the very time when we know from the canonical scripture, that he was a captive in Egypt. In the additions to the book of Esther, the conspiracy against the king's life is said to have been *before* the marriage of Esther, which is contradicted by the true canonical book, and it is also said, that Mordecai was rewarded for detecting this conspiracy, while in the real book of Esther the reward is said to have been conferred for detecting another. These are but a few of the many examples of inconsistency, and falsehood, and contradiction of the true word of God, with which these works abound. Did our limits permit, we might easily quote at length from each one of the remaining books of the Apocrypha, and show conclusively, from the foolish and absurd stories which they contain, that they are clearly spurious works.

6. The last reason, proving that the apocryphal books are not canonical, is, *that they are not inspired*. The succession of prophets terminated, and the spirit of prophecy ceased at the death of Malachi, and after him no inspired man arose until the days of John the Baptist. But all the apocryphal books were written within this period, when there were no prophets or inspired men on earth. Hence it is clear, from this considera-

tion, as well as from the internal evidence afforded by the books themselves, that they are not inspired, and of course cannot be canonical. Very properly, therefore, are they called apocryphal. And though one or two of them, especially the book of Ecclesiasticus, contains many sound and useful maxims, still they should never be regarded as anything more than mere human compositions.

One more inquiry still remains : It respects,

V. *The Jewish oral law.* The Jews and Protestants, and the Roman Catholics, all agree in receiving the books of our canon of the Old Testament. But as the Catholics would add to these the apocryphal books, so the Jews insist on adding their *oral law*. They assert, that when the *written* law was given to Moses, inscribed on the two tables of stone, God also gave him another and a *verbal* law, explanatory of the first, which he was commanded not to commit to writing, but to deliver down by oral tradition. When Moses descended from the mount, they tell us, that he first repeated this oral law to Aaron and his sons, then to the seventy, and finally to all the people, each of whom was obliged again to repeat it in his presence, to insure its correct remembrance. Just before his death, say they, he again spent a month and six days in repeating it to them anew ; and then they assert, that he, in a special manner, committed it to Joshua, through whom it was communicated to Phineas, and so on through the long line of prophets, and afterwards of teachers, down to the time of Judah the holy, (who lived in the second century,) by whom it was committed to writing, lest it should be lost. This work, consisting of six books, is the famous Mishna of the Jews, which, with its Gemara, or commentaries, constitutes their celebrated Talmud, in which is comprehended all their learning, and most of their religion, as a people. The whole work is held in far higher esteem by them than the bible,—so much so, that they say the bible is water, but the Talmud wine ; nay more, they even declare, that the man who studies the bible when he might read the Talmud, does but waste his time, and that to sin against the latter is far worse than to sin against the former. So implicit is their confidence in this oral law, that it is almost useless to reason with a Jew out of the scriptures of the Old Testament. He is ever ready with an answer from the Talmud, with the authority of which he is fully satisfied. It is highly important, therefore, for us to show, that no such law was ever given to Moses.

We do not deny, that Moses might have received some *explanation* of the written law ; but we do assert, that if any

such explanation was given, it never was intended to form, and never did form, a *second* distinct law,—that it was not the same as the oral law of the Jews, contained in the Talmud, and that it was not received by Moses in a distinct form from the written law, with a prohibition against committing it to writing. In support of these positions, we remark :

1. That there is not the slightest mention of any such law in the sacred records ; and, on the other hand, it is a well known historical fact, that what the Jews pretend is this law, was not known among themselves until more than two thousand years after they pretend it was given.

2. Moses was commanded to *write* “all the words of the law,” and we are repeatedly told, not only that he *did this*, but that he “*wrote all the words of the Lord.*” (Exodus xxiv : 4.) It seems plain, then, that he knew nothing of this pretended oral law, for he has not written a syllable respecting it.

3. The Jews themselves admit, that the only reason for giving this oral law, is founded in the imperfection of the *written* law of God. But God himself asserts, that his law, (meaning, obviously, the *written* law,) “is perfect ;” and he expressly tell the Jews, (Deut. iv : 2,) “Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you.” And again we are informed, that he requires nothing which is not prescribed in his law. Which is most worthy of our belief, the Jew or JEHOVAH ?

4. God everywhere sends his people to the *written* law, as the rule of their duty,—never to any traditions ; and not only so, but our Savior expressly condemns the traditions of the Jews as being contrary to the word of God, and it is of these very traditions that their oral law is composed.

5. Finally, this oral law was not recognized by many, even of the Jewish nation. At the time of our Savior, the traditions which composed it were utterly rejected by the Sadducees and Essenes, two of the three great divisions of the Jews ; and as we have seen, it was never committed to writing until the second century. From these facts, as well as from the pretended oral law itself, it is plain, that it was never heard of until long after the Old Testament canon was closed ; that so far from being derived by tradition from Moses, it consists merely of the traditions of the later Jewish rabbins ; that it has no more claim to inspiration or canonical authority, than Don Quixote or the Waverly novels ; and that it is a mere human production, which, with a vast amount of falsehood and nonsense, contains much that throws light upon Jewish manners and customs.



Thus have we gone through with the four questions proposed for our investigation. To reverse the order of our discussion, we have seen, (1.) That the Jewish oral law, as contained in the Talmuds, is a mere human production, inconsistent with itself and with the word of God, and having no valid claims to divine authority. (2.) That the apocryphal books are opinions, and have no well-founded claims to admission into the sacred canon. (3.) That no canonical book has ever been lost. And we may now see, (4.) In a still clearer light, if possible than before, that the Old Testament, as received by us, contains the true and the only canonical books belonging to that portion of the word of God, and that it is in all respects, except so far as done away by the New Testament, a competent and safe guide of our faith and practice.

The whole subject is in the highest degree *practical*. It may confirm the faith, and consequently strengthen the hopes of the christian. It may silence the cavils of the scorner, and disperse the doubts of the sceptic, and enlighten the minds of the ignorant. It may show us, that we have a reason, and a good one too, for the reception of every one of the books of the Old Testament. It may teach us how to instruct a candid, or silence a bitter adversary, and how to give to every one, in this respect, a reason for our hope. It warns the impenitent not to neglect or despise the word of God, lest by so doing, they quench the only light which might guide them to heaven, and their feet stumble on the dark mountains of death. It charges the christian to see to it, that his faith in its practice correspond to what he has admitted in theory; that he beware of the fatal, the damning inconsistency of claiming the christian's belief, and the christian's hope, while he is *living* in the disobedience and darkness of the infidel's life. Father of lights! may thy truth guide and instruct, sanctify and save, both writer and reader,—may its joys, and consolations, and hopes be ours,—may it point us to duty in every circumstance of life,—may it light up before us the dark vale of death,—may it guide us hereafter to the blessings which itself reveals,—to the cloudless light and the boundless blessedness of the upper world, where knowledge is forever perfect and joy forever full!

## ART. VI.—JAMES' CHRISTIAN PROFESSOR.

*The Christian Professor Addressed, in a series of counsels and cautions to the members of Christian Churches.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1838.

THE name of John Angell James is so pleasantly associated with the best feelings of American christians, as to give the assurance, that this new work of his will be sought with avidity, and read with intense interest. Nor will those who peruse it be disappointed. For although it is true, that the topics upon which it treats are in general familiar to the churches, inasmuch as they constitute the themes upon which every faithful pastor in our land discourses, the manner in which they are discussed by Mr. J., has given to them an attractiveness with which it is not in the power of ordinary ministers to invest them. This little volume contains nineteen chapters, and the substance of almost all, as he says in his preface, was delivered in a course of sermons addressed to the church of which he is pastor, on the mornings of his communion sabbaths. The object in preaching them we state in his own words: "When I look into the New Testament and read what a christian *should be*, and then look into the church of God, and see what christians *are*, I am painfully affected by observing the dissimilarity; and in my jealousy for the honor of the christian profession, have made this effort, perhaps a feeble one, certainly an anxious one, to remove its blemishes, to restore its impaired beauty, and thus raise its reputation." It is superfluous to say, that this seems to be the all-absorbing object of the author, in every page of this interesting book.

The first chapter is occupied in defining the import of a public christian profession. Our writer very happily illustrates what is intended in such a profession, by inserting a formula used in one of the Presbyterian churches of America, upon the admission of members. We were happy to see this, because it shows the oneness of that faith, which blends in one communion all the friends of Jesus, redeemed by his blood, "out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." It is true we may differ in forms of ecclesiastical polity, and in our various systems of theological philosophy, but we harmonize in the grand fundamental facts, upon which evangelical piety founds her celestial claims to the homage of the world. There is amidst all these diversities, but one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

Upon the second chapter, which treats "on the obligation and design of the christian profession," we propose to dwell a little longer, inasmuch as we are of the opinion, that with all the light we enjoy upon this subject, there exists a most criminal neglect in some portions of our community. We say in some, because we are aware, that in others there has been a tendency to an opposite extreme, and multitudes have rushed into the church without that preparation, both of the head and heart, which the bible inculcates. But in some parts of our Zion, and perhaps more in New England than elsewhere, the communion table has been invested with such an awfulness, and christian hope subjected to so much doubtfulness, that all our congregations are filled with those who are, upon the whole, entertaining the belief they are christians, but waiting from year to year, in disobedience to a known command, in expectation of receiving more light, and stronger assurance of their good estate.

Among other reasons which he gives for making a public profession, we would call the attention of our readers to the following :

' Profession is for THE WORLD. This we have already shown in what we have just considered, but it might be more extensively dwelt upon. "Ye are the salt of the earth, ye are the light of the world," said Christ to his disciples. The Church is the pillar and ground of truth, intended to hold up, to send round, to hand down, the truth : to show what truth is, what faith is, what holiness is ; to exhibit the text and a living comment upon it too : to send out life-giving voices attended by life-giving actions ; to speak for God *to*, and act for God *upon*, the dark and inert mass around. The true Church of Christ is evidently designed not only to receive the truth by faith for its own sake, but to reflect it, by profession, for the world's sake, It seems to bear much the same relation to the word of God, as the moon does to the sun ; and to perform somewhat the same function in the spiritual economy as the satellite does in the planetary system. It is not the original source of light, for that is the Bible ; but it is the recipient and depository of this light, which it receives for its own benefit, and reflects for the benefit of a benighted world. The Church revolves in the attraction of this moral orb, and exhibits to those who would not otherwise receive them, its glorious beams. Hence, by the Lord's Supper, which is strictly and exclusively an ecclesiastical ordinance, the Church is said to "*show forth*" the death of Christ till his second coming. The word signifies to "publish openly and effectually," "to declare in a joyful and emphatic manner." To whom is this declaration to be made? Not to the Church, for they are to make it. Not to the angels or spirits made perfect, for they do not need it ; but to the careless, impenitent, and unbelieving world. The death of Christ, as a sacrifice for sin, is the great truth of Christianity ; it is not so much a doctrine of scripture, as

the scripture itself; it is, in fact, *the new covenant*: and the church, gathered round the sacramental table, and jointly partaking of the elements of bread and wine, in believing remembrance of the atoning death of the Lord Jesus, is, in that act, as well as by its well known publicly declared sentiments, a witness for Christ, and a preacher of him to the world. He is thus evidently set forth crucified for sinners, who are thereby invited to behold him as the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. Every time the church is gathered together, the "Bride," the Lamb's wife, lifts up her entreating voice, on behalf of her divine Lord, and says to those who are despising and rejecting him, "Come to Christ for salvation." Every professor, therefore, who joins himself to the church, both by his declaration of faith and his approaches to the table of the Lord, sends forth the invitation to unbelievers, "Come to Jesus, and be saved." pp. 32—34.

To these remarks the author appends, and, as we think, most appropriately, the following note:

'Does not this expression of the apostle plainly prove, that the Lord's Supper ought to be observed publicly before the whole congregation? How else can we by that act show forth the death of Christ.'

We have read, and we confess with sincere sorrow as well as surprise, that the eloquent and pious Robert Hall, made a formal request, on communion sabbath, that the non-professing members of his congregation would retire and leave the communicants to celebrate the Supper alone. It seems to us, that he thereby defeated one grand design,—not to say, by way of eminence, *the* grand design of this ordinance. Leslie, in his short method with the deists, has established the truth of christianity, by showing, that when such a monument of the facts, whose existence it was intended to perpetuate, is found, and under precisely these circumstances, their authenticity is placed beyond a doubt. Of course, by the exclusion above mentioned, unbelievers are deprived of one source of faith in the christian religion, which the Savior intended they should have when he instituted the Supper, "to show forth his death" until he reappeared at the end of the world. And it is equally true, and ought to be impressed frequently and earnestly upon the consideration of those who are entertaining the hope of salvation through Christ without making a public profession of the faith, that they are by this neglect impairing the evidences of the death of Christ, and thus proportionally sapping the foundation of christianity. This will be very apparent, if they will only suppose, that all should act precisely as they do. We know of no testimony which would supply the place of this institution,

in which Christ "is thus evidently set forth crucified for sinners, who are thereby invited to behold him, as the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."

Our author proceeds, on pp. 36, 37, to state some objections which we often hear made by those who entertain the hope of pardon, and yet refuse to acknowledge it before the world, and answers them well. Upon one of these objections we will dwell somewhat longer. "But my parents, or my husband, do not make a profession, nor are they fit for it, and they would not like for me to join the church without them, and I should scarcely like it myself." Mr. James gives the following reply:

"If they will not go to heaven, should that allow you to regret any of the means that help you thither? If they will not honor Christ, should that hinder you from doing it? Will you disobey the Savior out of compliment to any earthly friend whatever? It is your duty, your solemn duty,—and is it better to please men or God? Perhaps your decision in this matter may be blessed to them. If not, you are to do what is right without considering consequences."

The answer, properly understood, is a happy one, and we insert it for the purpose of saying, that there is not a more common or fatal mistake than the one which is adopted by those who postpone making a public profession of religion, with the hope of thereby inducing their impenitent husbands, or other friends, to do it with them at a future day. This, at any rate, is the experience of ministers of the gospel on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Lee, formerly of Colebrook, in Connecticut, in a sermon, contained in his volume "especially designed for revivals," directed to those who have been hopefully converted, and urging the duty of making a public profession, puts the following objection in the mouth of one of his hearers: "I have entertained hope seven years, and trust I have walked for the most part in the light,—I have a great desire to unite with the church,—I wait only for my husband to unite with me in the duty. O, it would be so happy to have the company of my dear partner! I hope he will be given to my prayer."

To this he makes the following reply: "Then wait no longer. You have already waited too long. I never knew but one instance where a wife had this gratification by waiting for her husband; but I could narrate some striking instances where the husband was awakened and converted by the public profession of his wife. We must leave all for Christ."

With this answer from the lips of an experienced minister, our own observation, and that of many others with whom we have conversed, harmonize. We could, did our limits permit,

give some striking instances, in which ungodly husbands, who have resisted their wives with angry threatenings and abuse, when they have resolved to acknowledge the Redeemer openly, have been immediately brought into deep conviction of sin, and hopefully converted. The reasons are obvious. There is a reality and strength of influence in the piety which discovers itself in self-denial for Christ, that a husband cannot but see, and must feel. Besides, the separation which occurs when she takes her place in the aisle before the "great congregation," to profess her supreme love to the Savior, and assume her covenant engagements, carries forward his thoughts to that day, when the division between the righteous and the wicked shall be made at the judgment seat of Christ, and the impassable gulf roll forever between them. When a wife thus obeys the Savior, she may both pray and hope.

It is on account of these associations, we feel it to be important, that the congregation be encouraged to remain while the elements are distributed, and we have in more than one instance seen the happy results in the conversion of the impenitent, whose first impressions were made while they sat as spectators of the scene.

We would here suggest, for the consideration of our ministerial brethren, whether our sacramental seasons are regarded as possessing the importance, which they really have, considered as means of grace either to the church or the world. In some of our churches it has been found very profitable to devote the whole of the afternoon to this service. It has undoubtedly some advantages. More time can be occupied in the celebration, and the communicants will come to it without that fatigue which invariably attends upon protracted exercises. This relief to persons who are feeble, and to mothers who have infants, is certainly desirable. As it is now generally attended to, we fear that it is considered as a mere appendage, rather than an important ordinance of divine worship.

The third chapter, upon "the danger of self-deception," will be read with interest, and is very opportune at the present day, when, in many parts of our country, preaching on this subject has become unfashionable. We are not of those who are forever dwelling upon the dark side of christian experience, as if it were a virtue to be always doubting our good estate,—or leading others to perpetual trembling,—yet we think, that President Edwards' work on the affections, might, in some portions of the religious community, be circulated with great advantage to the church. There is danger, in this day of revivals, when a pub-

lic profession of religion is attended, under ordinary circumstances, with no loss of life, or property, or character, but is rather a passport to respectability, that many will assume the profession without the vital principle. We are aware, that a difference of opinion exists among us as to the length of time which ought to elapse between the hour of hopeful conversion and uniting with the church. Many think there should be no delay, and quote apostolic example. But they should remember, that the making a public profession is not now a test of piety, as it was in those days of primitive christianity, when they went from the communion table to the sword and the stake. We do not say, that it is not the duty of him who entertains the hope of salvation, to apply for admission the moment he indulges it,—but we do say, that those whose prerogative it is to grant or refuse his request, have a right to deny it until they have satisfactory evidence of genuine piety. Of this they must judge, having reference to the circumstances in each case. No rule as to the length of time can possibly be given,—it will depend, of course, on those circumstances.

The next chapter, "The young professor," contains little more than President Edwards' advice to a young lady who had just commenced the life of faith, and Miss Beecher's "Directions to those commencing a religious life." Both of these are excellent, and may be had at any depository of the American Tract Society. We most cordially recommend them to the church.

We now introduce our readers to perhaps the choicest portion of this interesting book. It is entitled, "An attempt to compare the present generation of professors, with others that have preceded them." We wish, that it might be spread out before the eye of the church throughout christendom. Were our religious weekly periodicals to give it the desired circulation, they would not only benefit the world, but greatly enrich the columns of their papers.

In weighing the comparative merits and defects of christians, of the present and by-gone days, Mr. James holds the scales with a just hand, and comes to righteous results. He is evidently not one of those who, like many in the midst of us, are predicting the coming ruin of the churches because of their departure from some of the stereotyped views and customs of the ancients, and who are ready to brand every attempt at improvement in a theological system with heresy. He does not take it for granted, that all that can be learned from the bible has been learned. The motto to the chapter is, Ecc. vii: 10, "Say not, thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than

these, for thou dost not wisely concerning this." While, therefore, he most cautiously points out the defects and dangers of the present day, he glorifies God by showing, that "the spirit of the age is the morning star of the millennial day; a revival of primitive christianity, which will not fail to bring up the latter-day glory." We will here insert, that they may be read in contrast and at a single glance, the points in which the present generation excels those of earlier days, and others in which they are inferior.

First. "In speaking of the EXCELLENCIES of the present race of professors as compared with some that have preceded it, I may venture," says Mr. J., "to mention as no unimportant or undistinguished one,—a *more marked and decided tone of religious sentiment; a more public and explicit avowal of evangelical doctrine.*"

A second is, *that spirit of holy zeal for the propagation of religion both at home and abroad, which is so general and so active.*

He discusses them at large, and then points out those things in which we have sunk beneath the church of the other centuries.

1. "Neglecting those parts of religion which are strictly personal, and *substituting a social for an individual piety.*"

2. "*A want of that high-toned piety and deep devotional feeling which characterized the christians of some past ages.*"

3. "*Perhaps a want of conscientiousness.*"

4. "Conformity to the world, which is now one of the sins of God's professing people."

5. "There is probably scarcely any deficiency of the church in the present day, as compared with preceding generations, more apparent than *the neglect of domestic religion.*"

6. "The last thing I shall mention as an inferiority of the present generation of professors to their ancestors, is a *certain kind of fickleness in their religious profession,—a want of fixedness and gravity in their christian habits.*"

In reviewing this important chapter, we wish it was in our power to give more copious extracts than our limits will allow. The following, in his remarks upon the "spirit of holy zeal for the propagation of religion, both at home and abroad, so general and so active," is full of beauty, and shows, that the author has a heart as well as a head:

'What renders this missionary spirit the more remarkable in itself, and the more to be relied upon as a token for good, and a proof of its heavenly origin, is the extraordinary circumstances of the age during



which it has carried on its operations. It commenced amidst the throes and convulsions of nations, that were caused by the French Revolution, and sent forth its first messages of peace and good will to the world, when the hearts of the people had scarcely ceased to palpitate with the enormities of the reign of terror. Who, at such a time, could think of the miseries of distant countries, when they were trembling for the existence of their own? Yet at such a time, amidst the dread of invasion from abroad, and the fear of intestine commotion at home, a society was formed for the conversion of the world. During all our national struggles with the Gallican conqueror, it held on its noble career as little diverted from its course as the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel for all nations, might be supposed to be by the noise of the winds, or the tumults of the ocean. It neither paused in war, nor relaxed in peace, nor lost its power to interest the public mind, amidst the greatest political excitement which ever agitated the nations of Europe. The poor Pagan living in sin, and dying in despair, was never forgotten, when kings were tumbling from their thrones, and crowns were rolling in the dust. National bankruptcy has threatened us, but still amidst the crash of falling banks and houses of commerce, no one ever dreamed of stopping the supplies necessary for missionary operations. Such a thought never entered the mind of our directors, as suspending our zeal till the storm had blown over. And now what is the aspect of the times? Was the contest of parties ever more fierce? Was the fever of excitement ever higher? Was there ever a time when so much animosity, ill-will, and engrossing party-spirit were in operation? And what has become of the missionary cause? There, there it is; floating like the ark over the depths of the deluge, safe and calm amidst the uproar of the elements, piloted by heaven, and bearing the destiny of earth. O what a spectacle does the kingdom at the present moment present, of glory on one hand, and disgrace on the other: all parties wrangling with each other, yet all struggling for the conversion of the world: retiring from the scenes of their common warfare, to pursue each in his private sphere the works of charity and peace! It was a glorious scene at one of the May meetings in the metropolis, when, upon the resignation of a popular ministry, the country was at the highest pitch of political enthusiasm, and the beam of our national destiny was trembling in the balance, to see with what abstraction of mind and unabated zeal the different societies went to their labor of love; and to behold how the evangelists of the world pursued their work, amidst events which almost paralyzed trade. And at this present moment, not a single missionary society is neglected, nor does any one party relax its missionary ardor for the sake of pursuing with greater single-mindedness any sectarian object. Nothing diverts the attention of the friends of missions from their object, nor damps their zeal, nor diminishes their liberality. The gospel is spreading abroad, while the friends of it are withdrawing from each other at home. Does it not look therefore as if God had indeed called us and keeps us to our work of converting the world, and bound us to it by a tie which nothing shall break? And what a delightful thing is it to think of, that though we

are breaking from each other, we cannot break away from helping a perishing world? Is not this a token for good, a bright omen shedding a lustre upon many dark signs?' pp. 74—76.

It would be delightful, were we permitted to dwell much longer upon the contents of this interesting chapter. We cannot, however, leave it without expressing our coincidence of opinion with the author, when in speaking of the defects in the piety of the present generation, he particularly designates "the neglect of private and domestic religion."

'It is a day of association and organization; men act much with others, and there is an imminent danger of losing sight of religion as a personal, private, and individual concern. We are too much drawn away from our closets and ourselves. Our eye is taken off from our own hearts and diverted to others; we lose the habit of silent meditation in that of discussion; we have become inapt for self-conference; we are so accustomed to excitement, that there is a dullness in solitude; we are so wont to lean upon others that our piety seems scarcely able to walk or stand alone. We find it difficult to detach ourselves from our fellows, and make ourselves the first and separate object of our solicitude, and to carry on what belongs to us in an isolated state. Private prayer is neglected for that which is social; the Bible for the sermon; and the closet for the committee-room. The great system of revealed truth is not sufficiently brought before us in its grandeur, glory, and demands, as a matter for our individual contemplation, reception, and application.' pp. 77, 78.

On this side of the Atlantic we have to mourn over the same defect. And we would here suggest to the churches, whether the modern mode of conducting our revivals of religion is not very faulty in this respect. And further, whether we have not reason to believe, that on account of this substitution of social for personal, public for private devotion, our revivals are not so often marked by that depth of conviction, and that solidity of conversion, which characterized revivals of former days. And may we not also trace to the same source, the ephemeral continuance of religious excitements. It is a fact, that revivals, fifteen or twenty years ago, were signalized by a more awful sense of the character and presence of God,—by more humbling views of the depravity of the heart,—by more joyful hopes of salvation,—by deeper solemnity in the converts, and by a much longer duration. It is equally true, that our public meetings were then less frequent; there were not as many sermons; christians were urged to closet duties, and felt, that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation, but was within them. The anxious were told, that God was to be found in solitude. The result was,

that when there was a sermon preached, it was devoured with avidity, and treasured up with fidelity. The mind did not become exhausted by over-action. Religious duties did not habitually interfere with the necessary claims of life; nor were the congregation forced to give up their closet piety, that they might have more time for social religion. It is true, there was often much excitement, but then it was so blended with healthful bodily exercise, that it did not necessarily prey upon the health, and thus prepare the way for a relapse into stupidity. Revivals then lasted long, and left the pulse of religion among the converts beating healthfully, even when conversion among the impenitent had ceased. Then we had accounts of their continuing from six months to two years. But now revivals are more fitful and spasmodic. The excitement of public meetings, continued without interruption for days,—sometimes for weeks,—begets a distaste for the sober realities of self-examination and private prayer. We begin to loathe this light food; and what are the consequences? Why, human nature, worn out, unable any longer to endure the pressure, begins to droop, and then retires from the field to recruit. Piety, too, having lost its native aliment, or not having time to digest it in the retirement of the closet, withers and almost despairs. In an instant a dead calm ensues. The minister feels it, and tries to lash his church into feeling. But all is vain. The body ecclesiastical has lost its excitability, and, ignorant of the cause, begin to lash their minister. When this fails, all agree to fall asleep, and rest in their stupidity for the remainder of the year. The revival dies away, and the spectator, who has witnessed the excitement, perceiving it, reports, that it was spurious and fanatical,—the mere work of man. Thus God is dishonored, and revivals sink into contempt. We would then ask our christian brethren whether it is not time to urge upon the churches the duty of cultivating closet religion more. Surely, if any form of devotion is to be given up, it is not that of the closet.

We also accord with what Mr. J. says in reference to domestic religion.

It is a fact extensively acknowledged, that to an alarming extent parents have relinquished the religious education of their children to the sabbath school teacher, and then as they imagine, discharged their high responsibility as the heaven-appointed guardians of their offspring. The time was when, in New England, the father “acted as the prophet, as well as the priest and the king of his household.” The close of the sabbath found him encircled by his family, questioning them with

reference to the sermons they had just heard in the sanctuary, or upon the Assembly's Catechism, and seriously expounding to them the word of God. But these days have passed away, and fathers have most thankfully accepted the offers of any who have kindly tendered their assistance to relieve them from such arduous duties. Now we are not opposed to sabbath school instruction: but when parents yield to others the sole instruction of their offspring upon religious subjects, they forget that God has commanded *them* "to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and are by thus resigning their children to strangers, abandoning much of their own authority over them. Sabbath schools may be good helps, but they are by no means a substitute for domestic instruction.

The next three chapters, "on the importance of eminent piety," "avoiding the appearance of evil," and "conformity to the world," we pass over, because they constitute the every day themes of our lectures and sermons. Especially is this true with reference to the last, in this day when God himself by our commercial embarrassments, is uniting with his ministers in rebuking the worldliness of his professing people. It seems as if on both sides of the Atlantic, the church of God has been in danger of abandoning *his* service for that of mammon,—and the commercial embarrassments alluded to, have been felt upon both continents. For our own part, we must confess, that while we have sympathized deeply with the sufferers, we have also rejoiced, that God in his providence was stepping forward to arrest his church in her career of ruin, and save her before she became merged in an impenitent world. The blow which has fallen upon our land so heavily, has, we think, been felt more deeply by the church than the impenitent. At any rate, the spirit of speculation was as rampant in the sanctuary as on 'Change, carrying upon its rapid current, very often, both the shepherd and the flock. Christians began to vie with each other and the world in the splendor of their establishments, and casting off the livery of the Savior, threw around christianity the gorgeousness of a secular glory. Thus attired, she was fast losing her power to save. The salt had well nigh lost its savor; the light of the world was almost extinguished. But the Redeemer, who is alike the God of providence and of grace, interposed, and tearing off the tinsel robes which concealed her real beauty, again invested her with the garments of salvation. "Whoso is wise and will observe these things, even he shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."

We most earnestly recommend to our readers a careful perusal of what is said "on the conduct of professors in reference to politics," as peculiarly deserving of their consideration in this day of high political excitement. The ground Mr. James takes, is, we think, the right ground. On the one hand he asserts, that duty to himself and posterity require, that the christian should improve his elective franchise, for the purpose of securing and perpetuating the civil and religious liberty of his country :

'It is his duty to give his conscientious vote for the election of his representative in his own branch of the legislature ; he may join his fellow subjects to petition for the redress of civil, or ecclesiastical grievances ; and to the extent of his influence, mildly and properly exerted, without injuring his own piety and charity, or unnecessarily wounding the feelings and exciting the passions of others, he may endeavor to direct public opinion in favor of what is just and beneficial. The calm, dispassionate, charitable, and conscientious exercise of your political rights, without sectarian bitterness and party animosity, in such *measure* as does not interfere with your own personal religion, and in such *manner* as does not wantonly injure the feelings of those who are opposed to you ; which does not take you too much from your closet, your family, and your shop ; if indeed you *can* thus exercise your rights, is quite lawful for you as professors. These rules and restrictions, however, must be imposed ; for, without them, the subject will be sure to do you harm.' pp. 135, 136.

To these sentiments we most heartily respond, and sincerely wish, that they might be rung in the ears of every *political* professor of religion in our country. Who has not witnessed with grief the homage paid by professing christians to a favorite candidate for office, due only to the King of Kings ? Who has not heard expressions of joy falling from their lips upon his success, which never fell when the scenes of a revival put the crown upon the head of the Savior ? Who has not seen the prayer-meeting vacated to supply the halls of a political meeting. Yes, professors of religion, servants of him whose kingdom is not of this world, have followed a liberty-pole, and superintended its elevation, with a jubilation of soul, and loud hosannas, whose gloomy faces, and whose silent tongues, habitually indicated hearts cold to the interests of Jesus Christ ! Yes, and they have lavished thousands to promote the political regeneration of their country, while but tens have been reluctantly advanced to secure the moral regeneration of the world !

But there is another aspect of the subject, if possible, still more humiliating. We refer to the spirit with which christians go to the ballot-box. Here, it really seems as if they laid aside

their christianity, and acted without any reference to the judgment day. We allude, particularly, to their choice of candidates. The question asked, is not, What is the moral character of the man who solicits my vote? Is he a friend of the Savior? Is he, at any rate, a man of sterling integrity, a lover of law and order, a respecter of God's institutions? Oh, no. But is he a whig? Is he a democrat? Does he belong to my party? If so, this is enough; I will vote for him, even if his opponent be a man of God, and he an infidel. It is enough to satisfy the conscience of the voter, if the man who asks his influence have been nominated by a caucus of his own political creed. It is in this way, that men are elevated to our highest offices, whose only claims to the suffrages of their fellow citizens, are founded upon their opposition to the sabbath, or their utter disregard of all religion. Yes, men are found in our halls of legislation, and wielding the executive power, whose hands are red with blood, and whose lives of debauchery ought to outlaw them from the society of the good. We say in *this* way, for were the professed friends of the Savior, in our country, to let it be known, that a reputation for a sound heart, as well as a sound head, were the pre-requisite qualification of any for whom their suffrages were solicited, so large is their number, that they could control our elections. Both parties, to secure their co-operation, would be careful not to alarm their fears, and drive them off, by nominating persons for office whose characters were suspicious. We do not wish to have christians organize themselves into a separate political party, but we do desire, most earnestly, that as they really have the balance of power in their hands, they would so improve it, as to defeat the election of corrupt demagogues, and secure that of honest men. This they owe to God, and to their country.

What our author says "on brotherly love," will, we doubt not, be read with deep interest. In this day, when the church of Christ in our land, which ought, like his seamless robe, never to be rent, is divided into parties; when Zion's watchmen, even of the same communion, no longer see eye to eye, or lift up their voices together; when wrath, and clamor, and envy, and evil speaking have usurped the place of fraternal confidence and affection, we need to be often reminded of the injuries which these alienations among brethren inflict upon the cause of the Redeemer, and called to repentance. Who, that watches the signs of the times with a pious heart, can but weep when he sees the church of Christ, weak and powerless, bleeding to death from the wounds which she herself, and not the enemy, hath inflicted!

Let christians read pages 154, 155, if they would understand the meaning of the new commandment. In accounting for the want of brotherly love, Mr. J. says, "The external prosperity of the church, and its worldly ease, are one cause. In times of persecution the sheep run together; but when the dogs cease to bark, to chase, and to worry them, then they separate and quarrel with one another." We have long believed, that this was the case, and have been anticipating, and we must confess almost desiring the day when the simultaneous and united attack of the enemy should call the church from waging an intestine war, to resist a common foe. Nothing would, we think, more effectually silence the strifes of our theological parties; nothing blend into one holy phalanx "the sacramental hosts of God's elect," more certainly, than to be obliged to meet an enemy whose grand purpose was not the annihilation of any individual portion of a particular denomination, but of our common christianity. Not only under these circumstances, would the fragments of the same denomination be again united, but all the sects of evangelical christians would find, that there was, as upon the floor of the American Bible Society, a spot where they could unite in defending the truth. Then would Zion look forth as the morning,—fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. Then would the millennial sun pour its splendors upon a regenerated world. This is the only union we expect on earth. While men possess different minds, and are in different circumstances, they will probably always differ in their views of church government, and their mode of philosophizing upon the facts of theology. But these are not essential to salvation. The church, if filled with love, is still one. Like the children of Israel journeying to the promised land, they may have distinct banners and leaders for each tribe, but they follow one Joshua,—even Jesus, the Great Captain of our salvation.

We have occupied so much time in the consideration of the first ten chapters, we can do but little more than to say concerning the others, that their perusal will well repay the reader for the labor. The bare announcement of the subjects will recommend them to the serious consideration of the christian. They are, in their order: The influence of Professors; Conduct of Professors towards unconverted relatives; The unmarried Professor; The Professor in prosperity; The Professor in adversity; The conduct of Professors away from home; The backsliding Professor; The influence of the Holy Spirit; The dying Professor.

Some of our readers may, perhaps, differ from Mr. James upon the subject of the intermarriages of professors and non-professors of religion. He is decidedly of the opinion, that they are in every case contrary to the word of God.

'This is the law then, that no Christian should marry any one who is not also a Christian; or who is not upon good grounds supposed to be such. I say it is the *law*; not merely advice, or counsel, but command, and as binding on our conscience as any other precept of the New Testament. We have no more right to attempt to annul or evade this command, than we have any other of Christ's laws.' pp. 207, 208.

If this be true, it is high time for the church to awake and vindicate the law against its daily violation. The following consequences, horrid enough, most certainly follow.—All such marriages are, *ipso facto*, void, and their offspring illegitimate: The minister who celebrates such unhallowed nuptials ought to be censured by his brethren, and the parties to be separated: The guilty should be instantly disciplined, and if they refused to confess their sorrow, that they had thus married an unbeliever, should be excommunicated. But is it true, that Christ has in every case prohibited such intermarriages? If he has, then we aver, that at least in America he has converted his church into a vast nunnery. It is well known, that there are three females who profess religion, and possess it too, to one male. And is it possible, that Christ intended to deprive the world of all that influence which christian mothers exert upon its present and prospective interests? Has he proclaimed "marriage honorable in all," and with his own hand created the strong sympathies of woman's heart for the domestic relation and duties, only to crush them by conversion? For our part, we do not believe it, and, had we time, think we could prove to a demonstration, that the texts which the author quotes are inapplicable to the question he is discussing. We, however, confess, that when a man seeks a companion beyond the pale of the church, among the impenitent, and commits the best hours of the existence of his children to an ungodly mother, he at the same time shows a sad state of religious feeling. He has, under ordinary circumstances, no apology. He may find a pious woman. But to the woman there is no such privilege granted. Her own delicacy, as well as refined public sentiment, confine her to her father's habitation until her hand is solicited. And is it possible, that when addressed by a man of christian education, dedicated to God in baptism, correct morals, amiable deportment, and all other qualifications, besides religion, for an excel-



lent husband, she must in all cases refuse, even when by consenting she may be transferred from an impenitent family into a circle of piety among her husband's friends? If Christ says so, we admit it; but we want strong proof, that such is his law.

We now take our leave of the book, expressing our sincere desire, that it may have an extensive circulation; and with our feelings of love to the author's heart, and respect for his intellect greatly increased. Mr. James is our Mr. James as well as England's.

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ART. VII.—EXPOSITORY VIEW OF ROMANS viii : 19—23.

[In the following article an ingenious attempt is made to relieve a much disputed and difficult passage of scripture of some of its perplexities. On this account it deserves the attention and examination of our readers. We place it, therefore, on our pages; but without meaning thereby to identify ourselves with the peculiar views of the writer.]

COULD we penetrate the covering of flesh with which the immortal spirit inwraps itself as it enters on this mortal existence, and discern its mysterious workings just as it becomes conscious of its new-commencing being; could we, with some ancient philosophers, christian as well as heathen, imagine such a spirit but a temporary visitor to these earthly scenes—from another state where it had been long training its powers, and drinking in knowledge—and draw from it intelligent answers to our interrogatories respecting the thoughts and emotions which this new condition must have awakened and suggested; what feelings of wonder and perplexity might we expect it would tell us agitate its bosom? What earnest questionings of itself of things so new, so strange around, would engage its mind? 'What and where am I? Am I an immortal spirit? What, then, is this dying body which I feel is now made part of me? What is this new world, so strange, so different from my nature, in which I am now made to find a home? Why am I here? Why is immortality and incorruption thus mingled with decay and death? Have I a wise, a good Creator, the kind father of my being? Why has he thus seemingly contradicted all the innate longings of my soul, opposed the tendencies of my nature, and subjected me, a spirit of heavenly birth, ethereal as the angels of light, whose very nature is freedom, and burning to my soul's inmost center with the fires of immortality, to this

close companionship and union with gross, heavy matter,—dull, insensible clay—frail, fleeting, perishable dust? Why this strange incongruity, this monstrous union?’ Such, we might conceive, would be the anxious, tormenting perplexities, which would rack the bosom of an immortal being on waking to existence in the condition of man.

But do these perplexities vanish with the maturity of its being? Is the mystery solved by progress in existence? No, alas! Adult, mature man finds his soul harrowed by the same perplexing difficulties. From the beginning of the race till now, we find man groaning under this bondage of the flesh, and sighing as he groans for a solution of the mystery. ‘Why am I here? Why am I thus?’ is ever the haunting question. ‘Why am I, an undying spirit, whose very essence is immortality, bound to a frail, perishable body, and through it dying daily a death of pain, and sorrow, and misery? Why is this spirit longing, from its own native tendencies, to fly upward in a never-ceasing ascent, chained down to this low earth? Why is it, that fired as I am with such restless, quenchless hopes, I am ever the doomed victim of unfeeling disappointment; that my fairest, brightest, and fondest expectations are ever blasted in the bud; my warmest desires crushed by some unseen giant hand, when just on the verge of gratification; the chalice of long desired and long toiled for bliss, dashed from my very lips; that, fitted to find such pure and elevated delight in mingling my sympathies and affections with my fellow-beings, I no sooner begin to taste the full bliss of reciprocated and confiding attachment, than the object around which I have suffered my warm affections to twine, is violently wrested from me by a ruthless necessity; and my heart just ready to bathe in the sea of fondest felicity, is plunged into the cold waters of inconsolable sorrow; that longing in my inmost soul for peace, security, and permanence, all around me and within me is but discord and tumult; mutability and transitoriness, frailty and decay,—nothing solid, nothing sure, nothing lasting; the present the only real good, and that is but the hideous ghost of past misery clad in the shadows of coming evil? Why am I here? Why am I thus?’

Such have been the anxious inquiries, that have forced themselves upon every reflecting mind in the sad hours of its pensiveness, ever since the records of the earliest thoughts of man. The effects of these unsatisfied inquiries have been disastrous in the extreme. Failing to find a clew to the mysteries of its existence, the mind has fancied that none can be found leading

from, or consistent with the notion of an infinitely wise and good Creator. It has thus plunged itself into a withering atheism, and surrendered up mankind to the despotic sway of a relentless, iron-hearted necessity. Or if, held back by some secret tie of filial sympathy with its eternal Father, the soul has been kept from such a fearful, ruinous plunge, it has yet suffered itself to break out into wicked rebellion against its Maker and Sovereign, and has pined away in complaints, murmurs, and reproaches, against its allotments.

Is there, then, no corrective of these sad evils? Can no relief be found for the anxious mind of man when burdened with these heavy doubts and perplexities? Cannot the mystery be solved, and with the approach of light to the mind, hope, peace, and joy break in upon the sighing soul?

The essence of the difficulty is just this: Why is the immortal spirit doomed to this frail, dying state? Why is the heaven-sprung spirit, with its deathless activities, confined to this body of death; this cold, senseless, perishable mass of corruption? It is not enough to point out in general terms the purifying tendencies of suffering, the happy effects of sorrow, and the beneficial uses of chastisement. This does not cover the case; does not fill up the deep wound of the spirit with its soothing, healing balm. The question to be answered is, Can any good and worthy end be shown in the subjection of the spirit of man to this present evil state?

It has long appeared to us, that the word of God furnishes means of giving a full and satisfactory answer to such anxious inquiries, which have been too much overlooked. We propose, in this article, to examine more particularly an interesting portion of scripture, which we conceive was intended to shed light on this very subject.

We have endeavored, in our introductory remarks, to throw our own, and the minds of our readers, into a state somewhat resembling that of the querulous despondency which reflections on the present imperfect condition of being have not unfrequently produced. We must still further beg the indulgence of our readers in preparing the way for a clear perception of the scope and bearing of the truth, which we suppose may be taught in the passage under consideration, and of the evidence on which it rests, while we propound an hypothesis; which, whether true or false, will equally subserve our purpose in proposing it. In this we but follow the safe path of reasoners in the departments of natural science, who, as in explaining the phenomena of light and electricity, often feel themselves war-

ranted in following either of two opposite and utterly irreconcilable theories, without at all hazarding the interests of truth. We do not vouch for the truth of the hypothesis which we now propose, or undertake to defend it against any other which may be framed. But we shall make use of it as a kind of radiant to illuminate our way in traversing this field of truth ; as a kind of elevation from which we may look down around upon the wide amphitheater of truth, and distinctly view the outlines and bearings of that portion which we have now in hand to consider.

For the simple purpose of methodizing and elucidating our subject, we would throw out the *hypothesis* :—that God, at creation, foreseeing the future incursions of sin and rebellion into the ranks of his moral creatures, determined upon this great and wonderful measure of placing a part under a system of reclaiming mercy from the very moment of their commencing existence ; a system which should begin to exert its peculiar power, in some respects, cotemporaneously with the first motions of the moral machinery in the new created soul, and should continue its operation till sin gave away before the power of the Holy Spirit ; operating on such a being so adapted to its effectual influences, or became so inveterate by existence, as to render recovery hopeless, in the light of justice and benevolence.

Having detained our readers thus long, we now proceed to give our exposition of the passage before us ; for the consideration of which the view of the relation of this redemptive scheme to the other dealings of God in his vast kingdom, indirectly afforded in the above hypothesis, will, we think, better prepare us.

The apostle had been speaking of the adoption of men by God, and of the riches of that inheritance which, as the adopted sons of God, they would eventually receive ; of its exceeding glory, as not to be compared with the sufferings of this present time. In proof, now, of his assertion, he alledges the fact, that men do earnestly expect such an unfolding of the mysterious designs of God towards this world. They see something so strange in the present constitution of things, if permanent, if final ; so contradictory to all just notions of the character of God, that they do, as a race, earnestly expect and look for the development of some great and worthy design and purpose to be accomplished by this strange system of things ; and that development he intimates to be the “manifestation of the sons of God ;” that is, the exhibition of a people reclaimed to himself through the operation of this gracious system, and raised in consequence of it, to the exalted condition of the sons of God, “For,” he goes on to say, “the creature,” that is, man, “was made subject

to vanity,"—was by a kind of violence, unnatural force, *sub-jected* to vanity, to frailty, corruption, imperfection, the necessary consequence of his fleshly constitution,—“not willingly,” against its own consent; the pure spirit, so far from courting such an alliance with gross matter, shrinking from it in every sensibility as abhorrent to all the tendencies of its constitution, seeing in the union itself nothing but strife, bondage, degradation, and wretchedness; “but by reason of him who hath subjected the same,” by the sole appointment and agency of its Creator, who, to accomplish a greater good, has subjected the spirit to a state involving a lesser evil, “in hope that the creature itself also should be delivered from the bondage of corruption,”—in the benevolent expectation, that in consequence of bringing on the soul this temporary evil, and causing it to pass through this unnatural and degrading condition, the spirit in emerging from it would also be delivered from the heavy bondage of sin, the servitude of corruption, and be raised “to the glorious liberty of the sons of God,”—would be translated into that high and distinguishing relation of children of God, being received and adopted of God as his, and welcomed to his favor and love, by reason of their having entered the service of holiness, at once so free, as the service for which alone the powers of the spirit were constituted, and so full of immortal glory.

It will be perceived, from this running commentary, that we have made no serious departure, *in words*, from the version of the scriptures in common use, and the reasons for that slight departure will appear in our succeeding remarks. We must, here, formally demand of our readers, What is the obvious, the necessary construction to be put on this passage? Can it be found to mean anything less than this: that *the present state of being was designed of God as the means of reclaiming rebel souls, and of confirming them in holiness?* that this was the great object intended to be accomplished by the subjection of man to his present condition of “vanity?”

But for the purpose of ascertaining the true import of the passage, we will now go into a consideration of its several parts.

It is evident, that the whole interpretation hinges upon the force of some few expressions. These will occupy our brief attention in the order in which they occur.

The first expression demanding notice, is *ἡ κτίσις*, *the creature*. This word, like other derivatives of the same class, may be taken in three general senses, viz.

1. Absolute; as expressing simple action, without reference to the effect; as when we say, creation is the prerogative of mind.

2. Transitive ; as expressing action with reference to effect, as when we say, ἀπὸ πίστεως κόσμον, from the creation of the world ; and,

3. Passive ; as expressing the effect of action.

It is obvious, that it is only in the latter of these three senses in which the word can be here used. But this meaning is itself generic ; and by the authorized use of language the word *may* be taken in a restricted sense. The question arises, therefore, whether it is used here in its full or in a specific import ? According to well settled principles of interpretation, this question can be determined only by a reference to the context. Does the context, then, require any restriction to be put on the sense of the word as here used ? and if any, what ?

This will be readily determined, by considering what is here predicated of the term. We find, accordingly, there are predicated of it,

1. Earnest expectations, verse 19.

2. Subjection to vanity, verse 20.

3. Possibility of redemption from the bondage of corruption, verse 21.

4. Feeling or expressing distress at its present condition, verse 22 ; and,

5. It is used as generic, of believers.

We are necessitated to give the word an import, that is consistent with all these assertions ; and we are prohibited by an acknowledged law of interpretation from restricting its meaning farther than to make it reconcilable with the context. If these premises be admitted, it will follow, First, that the word cannot here include all created existence ; angels, at least, must be excluded, the opinion of some critics to the contrary notwithstanding. For with what truth or propriety can it be said, that angels are "subject to vanity ;" that angels "groan and travail in pain ?" Secondly, The notion of the visible universe generally, including man, as given it by some critics, is too generic to be reconcilable with what we have seen to be predicated of the term. For how can the inanimate creation be said to exercise those various feelings and desires which are here affirmed of the "creature ?"

We are aware, that this notion is defended on the ground, that the apostle is here employing "a bold *prosopopœia*."\* But if the writer employs a figure of speech, he gives no warrant thereby to the interpreters of his language to pass over it as wholly void

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\* Vide Doddridge's Family Expositor. Flatt et al. ad. h. l.

of meaning. Surely, if he is at the pains of searching out a figure to express his meaning; or if the vivid perceptions he had of his subject forced him out of the region of literal expression into that of figures and images, he had some idea to convey; there was some truth present to his mind which he meant to shadow forth. But we ask, What possible idea, on this supposition, can be given to the expression, that the senseless, inanimate matter "shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God?" We could, with comparative ease get over the serious difficulty of supposing, that the apostle had in his mind an agitated theory respecting the future exalted condition of the brute animate creation, which he here would impiously sanction as correct; a difficulty by the way which seems to have somewhat staggered the minds of this class of interpreters and led them to blink the question respecting the truth of this theory so clearly involved in their view of the passage;\* but in what possible sense can such a redemption,—such a deliverance be predicated of the inanimate senseless universe? The apostle meant something, though using "a bold *PROSOPOPEIA*." What could he have meant when using such glowing language about the final exaltation of senseless matter "to the glorious liberty of the sons of God?" We can see no possible meaning in the language on this view, and hence feel ourselves constrained to reject it, as giving to the term too generic a sense.

The next more specific sense which has been affixed to the term, is the material creation generally, animate and inanimate. This differs from the preceding only in being more specific, as that included rational as well as irrational existence. It is obviously obnoxious to the same difficulties, and needs therefore little further consideration. It is, however, adopted by many critics of great name.† In support of their opinion they alledge the general use of the word itself. But from a careful examination of the passages quoted, we find, either, that the term signifies the whole creation generally, rational and irrational, or that the context most clearly points out how far the restriction upon the proper meaning of the word should extend. The passages cited are Book of Wisdom, v : 17 ; ix : 2 ; Judith ix : 12 ; xvi :

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\* Vide, e. g. Calvin, et. Platt ad. loc.

† Vide Stuart's Commentary on Romans, p. 333, for a list of these. It ought, perhaps, to be noted here, however, that in making out this list the author has confounded the two last mentioned senses, classing with those who suppose, that the material creation only is intended, critics who understand by the term the whole visible creation, rational and irrational.

14; and 1 Tim. iv: 4. They further urge, that the context allows this interpretation, on the ground of a supposed personification of inanimate nature; a supposition which we have already had occasion to notice. They appeal, moreover, to the doctrines about a future renovation of the material creation, which they suppose the scriptures to inculcate, as falling in with and supporting their view. But here they assume, that these passages, as 2 Peter iii: 10—13; Rev. xxi: 1, &c., are to be taken in their literal sense; while, even if we admit their interpretation of these prophecies to be correct, it would not, obviously, tend much to establish their view. All that can be made from it is, that their exposition of the passage in hand *may* or *may not be* correct, *if* this theory of a literal new creation be sound. All the other considerations urged in favor of this interpretation—as the supposed antithesis in the expression, *αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις*, *the creature itself*, which, it appears to us, is merely a mode of expression designed to render *κτίσις*, the creature, emphatic, and the universality of idea conveyed in *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*, *the whole creation*, together with what is predicated of *κτίσις*, in verses 20 and 21, “vanity” and “bondage of corruption,” which last considerations favor, to say the least, as much the view we have given, as the one before us,—are plainly indecisive, and can weigh but little against the difficulties that attend this exposition.

The other meanings, still more specific than the one which we have assigned to the word in our running commentary,—such as unconverted men, unconverted Jews, or heathen, christians generally, and Jewish or Gentile believers in particular,—which severally have received the support of different interpreters, are more specific than the context requires, and therefore are to be rejected on the principle which we have laid down, that a term, generic in its proper and natural import, should not be restricted beyond the clear necessities of the case. We deem it unnecessary, therefore, to occupy time in a further consideration of them.

We advance, then, the position, that the idea of *mankind*, *the human race generally*, is the true idea conveyed by the term in this position. With this understanding of the term, everything appears to us, at least, clear of difficulty. The only serious argument which can be urged against this interpretation, is, that it seems to teach what is untrue respecting the anxious longings of the race at large for the revelation of the sons of God. But, we ask, Is it not the characteristic of men, as a race, that when contemplating the evils of this present mortal condition, they do



sigh and long for a time when all the mysteries of this life shall be unfolded, all these seeming contradictions explained and reconciled? Have we not in our introductory remarks expressed truly the feelings of the race generally on this subject? If to any portion of the human race such language seems unsuitable, it must certainly be the pagan world. Yet hear that oracle of heathenism, the chief of Roman orators and philosophers, when rising from the dejection and sadness which the death of an accomplished and beloved daughter had occasioned, he comforts himself with views of the nature of man, and of his relations to the present and the future life, worthy of an enlightened christian mind.

‘ Indeed I know not who they are for whom it is better to be born. For what do we discover grateful or cheering when entering upon miseries and cares? With what are we not rather shocked and grieved? Which that first crying and wailing of new-born infants abundantly shows. For this is the appointment of kind maternal nature, who utters nothing unmeaning, who rather in all she does ever gives forth wonderful lessons of piety, or justice, or prudence. From this we perceive, that it is far best not to be born, nor strike on these rocks of life; and next to this, if born, to die as soon as possible, and escape as it were from the furnace of fortune. \* \* \* Wherefore, if death brings an end to sorrow, and the beginning of a more secure, a better life; if it averts future, and heals present evils; if it leads us forth from our many exposures to diseases, troubles, afflictions, why should we so much murmur at it, or derive from it sorrow, when we ought rather to draw from it consolation and joy? \* \* \* For it is certain, that not a place of abode but merely a temporary halting place has been allowed us here; on leaving which we ought to set forth with eager minds, as if from an inn full of troubles and inconveniencies, and fly away with most joyful spirits to the future life, as to our native land. \* \* \* The body, indeed, may well be mortal; since it has derived its origin from the earth, to the mutability of which it is subjected by nature, and should go back to it, when the course of life is finished. But the mind, as it proceeded forth from God, longs after heaven itself; for it ever desires to return whence it originated. The earth, if desired at all, must be by the body alone; but by spirits, the eternal rest of heaven must be sought; that is their proper home. For there is nothing in the constitution of spirits which has originated from earth or has been formed from it; nothing, even, of water, air, or fire. For in these elements there is nothing which has the power of memory, thought, or feeling, that it can retain the past, foresee the future, and comprehend the present. These attributes, are exclusively divine. It can never be discovered whence they could come to man unless from God. There is, therefore, a peculiar nature and power to spirit, distinct from these common and familiar elements. So whatever that is which knows, which wills, which grows, is heavenly and divine,

and for that reason it is necessary, that it should be eternal.' Ciceronis, Consolatio. Opera Omnia, ed. Bost. vol. xvii. pp. 289, 292, 335.

Surely, if paganism could give utterance to such thoughts and such feelings, it were no unpardonable license in the apostle to represent the race generally as "waiting for the revelation of the sons of God;" as "groaning and travailing in pain together." We ask our readers to ponder these expressions of this bereaved but comforted pagan father, and then decide whether it is unsuitable to ascribe to the human race generally such desires for the day when these mysteries of this present existence shall be unraveled, and all its sorrows and miseries healed and passed away. "The spirit longs after heaven;" *animus coelum ipsum appetit*. "Spirits must seek the eternal rest of heaven, that is their own proper home;" *animus aeterna coeli sedes quaerenda, eaque propria illorum patria*.

Although the particular meaning we have attached to this word is not essential to the general view we have taken of the passage, since the interpretation given by some of the visible creation generally, rational and irrational, harmonizes with it, we yet consider it the true meaning of the word as used in this connection, and think we have sufficiently defended our position.

We shall briefly touch on the remaining expressions requiring notice.

*ὑποτάγη, was subjected.* This word, taken in connection with the next following *οὐχ ἐκούσα, not willingly* gives force and emphasis to the thought conveyed that the union of the "creature" with "vanity" is a forced, unnatural union—against all the inclinations and tendencies of the creature.

*τῇ ματαιότητι, to vanity.* The apostle has seized upon a single feature of the present state as representative and illustrative of its whole character. It is a state of vanity, where reigns disappointment—where nothing satisfies. Hence, impliedly, the state to which the creature is subjected is one of imperfection, frailty, corruption. We see no reason for extending its meaning so as to include moral imperfection or sin, and feel constrained to give it its ordinary import. Compare Ps. 39 : 5, 62 : 9; Eccl. 1 : 2.

*τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, him who subjected.* This obviously refers to the Creator. The notion of some, that it refers to Adam or Satan has no sufficient support.

*ἐν ἐλπίδι, in hope.* The only question that can arise as to the form of this expression is, whether it denotes the motive or design of the Creator in subjecting men to vanity, or merely describes the state to which man is thus reduced. The latter

opinion is entertained by some critics, as Prof. Stuart. But we have the following objections to this opinion. It does not give the preposition *ἐν*, its proper force, which with the dative denotes motion, or rest consequent upon implied motion; and is better employed to express design or motive. It separates words by position joined together, and which the mind can hardly fail to connect. It renders it necessary to throw the words *not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected the same*, into a parenthesis, and thereby breaks up the natural flow and ease of the passage. It moreover leaves a member of considerable length, the whole of the 21st verse, to hang loosely and heavily upon the rest, and makes the whole passage lame and disjointed. We therefore predicate the hope or expectation here intimated, of God, as the Creator, who, with this hope or expectation and under the influence of it, chose thus to subject man to vanity.

The succeeding verse declares what is the nature or object of this hope, "that the creature also should be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

*ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις, that even the very creature.* Notwithstanding the apparently strong fetters and bonds which bind man to misery, and frailty, and sin, a deliverance is practicable; for this was the very design and expectation of God in subjecting him to vanity. Such, we conceive, is the nature of the emphasis given by *καὶ αὐτὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς, from the bondage of corruption.* By corruption we understand here moral corruption, sin. Such is a common meaning of the word. Comp. 2 Pet. 1 : 4, 2 : 12, 19. Such is the meaning which the antithesis in the expression requires; the "bondage of corruption" being obviously the opposite state from that of "the glorious liberty of the sons of God." Such too is the meaning which the whole passage requires. The notion of mere physical weakness and frailty, liability to misery and destruction seems abhorrent to the design of the writer. It also represents God the Creator in a repulsive aspect; as having subjected man to vanity for the simple purpose of delivering him again; a design unworthy of his infinite goodness and wisdom. This objection, indeed, does not hold against Prof. Stuart's interpretation, as it is obviated by predicating the expectation of deliverance, of the creature and not of the Creator. But we have already presented our objections to that exposition.

This then is the interpretation which, it appears to us, must be put on the whole passage,—that the spirit of man was subjected to the state of vanity and corruption, contrary to all its native

tendencies and sensibilities, by the will of its Creator, in the benevolent expectation, that it would, by passing through this state, be delivered from the bondage of sin and established forever in the free and glorious service of God.

Lest this interpretation should fail to find favor with any of our readers from the seeming novelty of the truth which it makes the passage teach,\* we will now, as proposed, endeavor to sustain it by referring to the analogy of scripture as well as some considerations derived from fact and reason.

We may cite for this purpose a passage in the second epistle to the Corinthians, 5th chap. and 5th verse. "Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God." The connection in which this passage stands is obviously similar to that of the passage in Romans. Paul is affording consolation to the Corinthian christians, burdened with the weight of the misery and corruption brought upon them through their body of flesh. "For we," he says, "that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit." What is this self-same thing for which believers had been wrought? Is it not "that mortality might be swallowed up of life?" To refer it back to the desire spoken of in the second verse seems to us unnatural, forced, and in violation of the most common laws of interpretation. But what is the force of "wrought" *κατεργασμενος*? Some have considered it as of the same import as *κτισας*, created. Rosenmüller *ad loc.* But this, we conceive is stretching the signification of the word beyond its lawful use. It appears to us

\* The doctrine is by no means a novel one in fact. We find, in our note-book, the following extract from the works of Gelasius the Cyprian, bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine, in the latter part of the fifth century. "The world was made imperfect because of foreknowledge, for God foresaw that man would sin." So Origen clearly held and maintained the same doctrine, although unfortunately he connected with it his Platonic notions respecting the pre-existence of the soul. In paraphrase of this very passage, he says: "The erring creatures sent down to earth or to the stars, are subjected to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected them in hope that they would purge themselves and become again vessels of honor prepared unto glory." *Princip. II. c. 9. 2*, as quoted in *Bib. Repos. vol. 4, p. 198.*

So again: "But when many of these spirits, created at first alike and equal, had fallen, his object in creating the visible universe, was to afford suitable places for the punishment and purgation of these lapsed beings, as various in condition as the endless variety of character assumed by them." *Id. p. 200.*

In like manner, Chrysostom, in commenting on 2 Cor. 5:5., says: "But he did not form him [Adam] for this end, that he should die; but that he should even work out for himself immortality."

to be precisely the word which the apostle would have used, had he intended to convey the idea, that God had taken the spirit, after its creation, and so wrought upon it, by placing it under the conditions of a fleshly existence, as to secure the great result expressed in the language, "swallowed up of life." That this is the precise shade of meaning belonging to the word in its proper ordinary use, cannot be questioned. Why should we depart from its lawful signification? Certainly the context does not require such a departure. On the contrary, it seems to demand the signification naturally belonging to the word. The apostle had been speaking of "the earthly house of this tabernacle." He dwells on the condition of man in the present life, and its relations to the future. He derives consolation, under the miseries incident to that state of existence, from these relations. The mind of the reader is all prepared to receive light and instruction on the design of the Creator in instituting these relations. From the nature and character of that design, as its source, it is roused to expect, that the sought-for consolation will flow. It falls back disappointed, unless it finds this design here set forth.

We feel ourselves fully authorized, therefore, to cite this passage in confirmation of the interpretation which we have given to the passage in Romans.

We will now turn from this more express and direct annunciation of the design of God in subjecting the spirit of man to the frailty, weakness and evil of a fleshly existence, to more general declarations of this design. As these declarations are scattered throughout the scriptures, we shall content ourselves with referring to a single passage, which will serve as an illustration of the general tenor of scriptural instruction on this point. The pious Elihu, (Job xxxiii.) when rebuking Job for his complaints under his afflictions, endeavors to show him the wickedness of such murmurs, by representing to him the grand design and aim of God in all he does respecting man. He enumerates particulars of his operations as illustrative of all.<sup>a</sup> Thus he tells him, God sends a constant influence upon the soul of man,—never intermitted, not even in his slumberings on his bed, for even "then he openeth the ears of men and sealeth their instruction;" he likewise saves their "lives from perishing." He, too, layeth them upon beds of pain and weakness, and with wasting disease consumes away their flesh. He sends the faithful instructor to teach them the way of knowledge, and brings upon them, to influence them, the mighty power of example. And "all these things," he declares, "God worketh with man" for

one single purpose, "to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living."

Now it is plain, that the particular things here spoken of are designed to represent the general operations of God; and the passage teaches, that all are done of God with a single aim and intent, which is, the exaltation of man to the ways of holy obedience. It is obvious, also, that these things enter into the constitution of man, and that this same design must have been in the mind of God in giving man his peculiarity of constitution. If, for example, God seeketh to seal instruction on the hearts of men "in dreams and visions of the night," and "to bring back their souls from the pit" by the powerful influence of pain and disease, then this end must have been in view when he formed man and made him susceptible of those conditions of being, repose and sleep, disease and languishing; and these are conditions which mark and distinguish a fleshly constitution,—a purely spiritual existence being an existence of untiring activity, and not subject to corruption. We conclude, then, from the representations in the word of God of the design and aim of all his particular acts in reference to man, that God has subjected the spirit of man to the present temporary condition of weakness and corruption, for the purpose of affording a medium through which he could raise it to holiness and secure it in blessedness.

Again, we alledge *the adaptedness of man's peculiar nature* to the great end contemplated in redemption,—the recovery of sinning souls, and their confirmation in holiness.

We begin in the consideration of this argument with the accredited truth before our minds, that no purely spiritual existences, who have fallen, have been reclaimed; and with the strong probability, indeed with the full certainty, so far as certainty can be reached in such a case, that this reclaiming act of God is confined to beings constituted, like ourselves, of body and spirit. Although we would not too hastily leap to the conclusion, that therefore no state but such a complex one as this can be fitted to a system of reclaiming grace, we are warranted in the inference, that such a complex state of being is peculiarly adapted to this end. A close examination of this state of being will show us clearly the fact of its admirable suitableness to such a design. In the *first* place, the spirit is, to a great degree, hidden from its own view. Even by the most energetic and persevering efforts at direct examination of its own nature and condition, it can learn but very little of itself; while in point of fact, so continually is its attention called off and interrupted by the

cares which the body brings upon it, and by the weakness and feebleness of the body itself, the organ of all its investigations, that, however successful might be its endeavors to pry directly into the mysteries of its own existence, from the necessary interruptions to which it is subject, it could collect but a small amount of self-knowledge. Hence it perceives but little of its odiousness and loathsomeness, as sinful, as in rebellion against God. It knows and can know but little of the odious quality of sin, its power, its corrupting and debasing character. The difficulties that lie in the way of eradicating its power and correcting its corrupting influence, are of course but feebly apprehended. Return therefore to God appears not so formidable a task. Although some perception of the nature of sin, of its odiousness and degrading character, may be necessary in order to repentance, yet a full apprehension of its deadly nature might, and probably would, drive the sinner to utter despair of deliverance. The veil thrown over the spirit by the body, obscures also its view of God,—his spotless purity, his perfect holiness, his infinite benevolence. At best, with all possible exertion, the glory of God can be brought to shine, before the eye of faith, but with faint and diminished effulgence. Hence, the fearful opposition, the infinite repugnance between its own polluted character and the perfect character of God, are but dimly seen. The difficulties of effecting a reconciliation and producing a similarity in characters so opposite to each other, is therefore not felt to be so great, as to drive to despair, which might be the case were there a full and unobscured perception of the glory of the divine character, and of the degradation of the sinful soul. Could the spotless excellence of God shine forth in unclouded splendor upon the eye of the spirit, and could its own blackness and deformity appear in full view, is it going too far to assert, that the declarations of eternal truth itself, proclaimed in the tones of infinite love and pity, might hardly avail to break up the fell despair that would stretch its icy bonds over the soul?

In consequence of this connection of the spirit with a material body, moreover, sin is made to take a form and a course of development, that does not bring the will of man in incessantly fretting and perceptible collision with the will of God. A sinful spirit, laid bare to itself, and perceiving the will of God obstructing its way at every turn, when seeking its own, rather than the pleasure of its sovereign, and thus always brought in direct contact and opposition with him, would feel its malignity ever stirred up and incensed by this continual galling and opposition; and every step forward in its rebellion would be adding fuel to

the fires of its rage against its God. Not so with man. He can pursue his own chosen ways of sin, and feel but occasionally and imperfectly that opposing will of God crossing his path. That the soul of his subject might not be incensed by this galling opposition to an indomitable fury, God has partially withdrawn the manifestations of his own will, and the evil principles of man's rebellious heart are not now forever lashed up to a more stormy bitterness and hate, by being made to strike continually against the will of God. This peculiarity of his condition, so important, so necessary to keep him from a desperate state of malignity towards God his maker, may be attributed to his fleshly constitution, which not only breaks and softens the promptings of his own rebellious spirit against the authority of God, and, like oil, mollifies the chafings and collision in him of their opposing wills, but also forms the inlet of ten thousand enjoyments to the soul, from which he almost forgets, that the anger of God burns against him.

This complex constitution of man, once more, makes him susceptible of mingled good and evil. We have no reason to believe, that a pure spirit can, from its nature, otherwise than enjoy unalloyed bliss, or suffer unmingled woe. As all good and evil are, except in a world of grace, the manifestations of the supreme approbation or displeasure of God,—all being bestowed or inflicted by him as the moral Governor of the universe,—so when his will shines ever forth to view, and his approbation is manifest to every spirit, we must believe, that no souls not obedient to his will can enjoy *any good*, or any obedient spirit undergo any evil. Indeed, even in this world, the full consciousness, that all blessings are the gift of God and the expressions of his will, often turns the same blessings into curses to the guilt-stricken soul. But through his flesh, man can receive enjoyment, without necessarily concluding, that it is an expression of God's approving heart, speaking to it his soft voice of peace and complacent love. Hence it can consistently be bestowed, and without defeating that main purpose of God in bestowing it, to lead the heart to him who has made it to overflow with gladness.

Now such a mingling of good and evil in the cup of human experience, is absolutely essential to bring the soul to repentance and to obedience. Good is necessary, to convince of God's willingness to receive and bless the penitent. Evil is necessary, to convince of God's displeasure at sin, and to warn of the final evil consequences of continuing in it. Unmingled good would lead to presumptuous confidence ; unmingled evil, to hopeless des-



pair. The fleshly nature of man admits the combination of the two, and therefore renders man's recovery a possible, yea a hopeful event. We see, then, that the subjection of the spirit to a union with flesh and blood, however unnatural such a connection at first might seem, is yet, if not absolutely essential,—as there is reason to believe,—is still highly conducive to the end of recovering fallen spirits and confirming them in holiness; and that this animal constitution of man is admirably adapted to this great end. Since, too, no other equally probable end can be perceived, we infer, that it was for this end God in his infinite wisdom originally ordained and established it. We urge, in farther support of this view, the consideration, that it fully vindicates the character of God in certain respects, which otherwise would, in those same respects, appear sullied with partiality or injustice.

One of the first inquiries, that agitates thinking minds after the clear discovery of a God of perfect holiness and inviolate justice, sitting upon the throne of the universe, and wielding his scepter of righteousness over his vast kingdom, is, Why are good and evil so unequally distributed among men? Why are the comparatively virtuous forced to undergo the most distressing trials and misfortunes, while the vicious and abandoned often seem to go on through life with but few of its evils fastening upon them. Why should a God of strict impartiality, who regards no man's person, thus distribute his blessings and his evils? To the murmuring rebel against the severity of God it may be a sufficient reply, that with all his sufferings man receives far less of evil than is due to his sins, and all the good he enjoys flows unmerited from the free grace of God; and to vindicate the final justice of God, it may be sufficient to urge, that this world is not the place where the ultimate allotments of God's justice are made, and that in a future world all shall receive according to their respective merits. Still, the mind of the anxious inquirer rests unsatisfied, till it sees, that a fit and substantial reason may be discovered for thus disturbing the equable flow of good and evil in this life. Through the light furnished us by this view of our constitution, we can perceive a satisfactory reason why God should distribute good and evil in unequal shares to man while on earth. As his great design in his measures here is the recovery of men to holiness, and as the dispositions of men vary, and as consequently they require various means and methods to be used with them in order to influence their conduct,—some yielding to a less, others needing a greater degree of influence,—some demanding more of the

influence flowing from good, others more of that which proceeds from inflicted evil,—we should expect, that God would treat them in various ways ; drawing such as may be so drawn by the manifestations of his love through the attractive power of goodness ; and breaking and subduing the stout hearts of others by the softening force of suffering ; mingling the two in such proportions as best to accomplish his great design ; employing now more of this, now more of that, according as their ever varying circumstances may require.

This view helps us also to vindicate the character of God in his determination of *the mode* in which the moral character and condition of Adam are connected with that of his posterity. We say *the mode* of connection—for as to the general propriety of connecting moral beings together so that the character and conduct of one shall influence and affect that of others, none can doubt. Why then has God so ordered it, that “by the offense of one many should become sinners,” through the relation of parent and offspring ; in other words, through a propagated animal constitution ? How are the wisdom and benevolence of this condition to be demonstrated ? Here we look at the design of God. We see, that by causing the developments and workings of sin to take place through a body of flesh, he opens facilities for meeting and overthrowing it. There is a good and worthy purpose to be subserved by making sin thus work and exercise its influence on other moral beings through the flesh. And so long as no compulsive necessity is imposed on man of yielding to the power of temptation, which comes on him through his animal constitution corrupted by Adam, so long as his will is left free, no room is left for complaint against the appointment of God. This, then, is a satisfactory reply to those who murmuringly inquire why God has thus occasioned their character as sinners to depend on that of Adam. Moral beings must, from their nature, be influenced by the example and character of other moral beings ; this influence of Adam on his descendants is made to come through the flesh,—through a propagated animal constitution,—since such a connection of our race with their first parents was incidental to the great design of God in framing a system of redemption.

In support of the view we have presented, we urge, once more, the consideration, that it accords with and explains *the facts in the case*.

There are many things growing out of the present condition of existence which appear strange, mysterious, unaccountable, and contradictory. We deem it no small recommendation of the

correctness of our view, that it falls in with these perplexing facts, harmonizing and shedding light upon them all. We can scarcely enter into the broad field which is now opened before us. All that we can do will be merely to select a few of the most perplexing facts as they occur, and just show how they will appear when viewed in the light of this explanation; leaving it for our readers to judge of the correctness of the application, and, if they see fit, extend the illustrations to other phenomena.

The first that we shall notice, is the existence of so much and various error in the world. How is it, has been probably the anxious inquiry of every thinking mind, how is it, that the creature of a God of truth, surrounded by a universe of truth, endowed with an intellect fitted to discern and enjoy truth, should yet imbibe so much error?—that beings invested with similar capacities for perceiving and apprehending truth, with the same storehouse of truth before them, should yet differ so much in their notions and opinions?

We may find an answer to this in the constitution of man. There the contradiction is perceived of the union of spirit and matter in the same being. In a being made up of such contradictory materials, we might expect a life of perpetual contradictions. So we find it to be.

The spirit, forced to derive its knowledge of external things, and, to a great extent, of its interior operations, through the flesh, which is but a broken and uneven mirror of truth, distorting and misrepresenting continually whatever it reflects, must occasionally err in its judgment. The appointed medium, too, of its investigations and reasonings, language, is derived from the same source,—from a material world; and hence arises a fruitful occasion of error. Its entire intercourse with its fellow beings, also, conducted through the body of flesh, exposes him constantly to false conceptions and apprehensions. Thus is error incidental to man's mortal nature. Still the view presented enables us to see its uses and its suitableness to the present condition of things. Though wholly an evil in itself, though as such men are bound to guard against it and strive for its diminution and extirpation, yet, like pain, it is overruled by God for good. It in fact sustains the same relation to the grand design of God in originating and establishing men's constitution, as suffering and misery. Its uses may be pointed out. Man learns to prize truth, and thus to prepare his mind to admit and feel its proper influence. He is put on his guard, and thus is inculcated the virtue of watchfulness, so important to him

against the temptations and wiles of the adversary. He is invited to the diligent investigation of truth, and this creates a relish for it. How many in this very way, by the grace of God, while investigating truth for the sake of exploding error, have been brought to welcome the truths of the gospel, and yield submission to their power? Thus a long train of virtues are taught and inculcated, which forms part of that wonderful process of grace adopted by God for the recovery of sinning souls.

This view explains further, why it is, that God and the world, or God and mammon, are set forth as the two great rivals in the hearts of men. Why, it is often anxiously asked, Why are the world and its Creator at such variance? Why is it, that the one must have my affections to the exclusion of the other? It is because the rebellion of the human heart against God is made by him to take this form of manifesting itself through the love of the world. In the first temptation and sin of Eden, it was sensual good, that assailed and drew away the hearts of our first parents. It is the flesh, that now holds away the affections of man from his sovereign. God has caused the alienation of the will from him to develop itself in this particular mode; and not in direct defiance of his authority, and for the reason already intimated, because here it is tamed, and checked, and brought more effectually under his reclaiming influence.

It explains, moreover, the consistency of the fact of total depravity with the possession of a tolerably sound morality. The will may be in decided, open rebellion against Jehovah, and at the same time a passably sound external morality may be manifested. This is a fact that has often caused great perplexity. How can so much apparent virtue co-exist with a heart so wholly depraved? Can it be, that so much honesty and probity, so much filial piety and parental fondness, so much propriety and consistency of conduct, so much kindness and benevolence can dwell with a heart wholly perverted and corrupt? Such is the fact that scripture declares, and reason attests. But how—why does this take place under the government of God?

To these questions the view we have taken enables us to give a satisfactory answer. For these seeming, and, in a certain sense, these *real* virtues, that so deservedly draw forth our esteem and approbation are the mere exhibitions of selfishness, by means of the habitudes of mind produced by an animal constitution. Does a parent feel for his offspring—watch and toil and suffer willingly and cheerfully for its good? So does the irrational brute. But is not the natural affection of a man different from that of a brute? Certainly, of a vastly higher

order—more lovely—more estimable. But the question is, whence does it flow? from a right state of will—or is it but the dictates of selfishness, and from the promptings and instincts of an animal nature? These are the results in a perverted will placed under the restraints and influence of a fleshly body. And so of other acts of mere morality in the irreligious. They may be lovely, useful, and may conduce much to the happiness of society. But they do not flow from a cordial submission to the will of God. They can proceed, therefore, only from a self-idolized will, or from the natural instincts of an animal frame. Is it demanded, why should this be? Why should God cause such seeming excellence to be so deceptive, so rotten at the core? It is because through the fleshly constitution of man God seeks to reclaim him. Hence he leads the self-worshiped rebel to do acts and cherish feelings which savor of virtue and excite self-approbation and complacency; and thus gives him a taste and induces a relish for what is really and truly virtuous. The moral virtues, so far from being despised and neglected, should be honored and cherished, because they are designed by God to aid the way for man's return to perfect virtue. Take from man his fleshly body and this material frame for which it is adapted, and these merely moral virtues of domestic and social life vanish at once. They cannot possibly subsist longer. Take away the design of God in subjecting man to this complex nature, and no reason can be given why a heart at enmity with its maker should still co-exist with such praiseworthy external actions; nor why the same outward actions in one should be abomination to God and in another should draw down his warmest approbation. Cain and Abel offered sacrifices alike to God, but one was accepted, the other rejected. The plowing of the wicked is declared to be sin, and his very sacrifices to be abomination. How this may be, the view presented may enable us to perceive.

It explains to us, further, why it is, that men are so insensible of the *turpitude of sin*. The word of God represents sin as the greatest of evils—as utterly abominable in the sight of God—as that which his soul hateth. Reason, also, teaches us, that a heart in alienation from its maker, in rebellion against its God, must be base and corrupt in the highest degree. Yet men live on carrying in their bosoms corruption and baseness, careless and indifferent, seemingly wholly unconscious, that there dwells within them such a hateful and abominable principle. When the monstrous evil is represented to them in the unvarnished tale of truth, it stirs up no self-loathing, no self-

abomination, and too often appears to them a hard saying. The reason of this wonderful fact is, that God has subjected the spirit to the flesh, for the very purpose of rendering its restoration to holiness more hopeful and practicable, obscuring from view the full turpitude of sin, which, if seen in all its blackness and loathsomeness must drive the sinner to despair of recovery. It is not because sin is not base—is not hateful in the highest degree ; it is not because the rebel against God can, in no state, see and feel its blackness and odiousness ; it is because the fell remorse which a view of its real nature would enkindle, would burn with such a fury in the bosom of the sinner, that the coolness and calmness necessary for penitent reflection could find no place within it. It is because such a clear perception of its real nature would drive all idea of the practicability of overcoming it and rising from it, forever from the mind, and thus render the recovery of the sinner utterly hopeless. Were proof wanting of this, it is to be found in the case of those to whom some feeble discoveries have been made, of the character of sin against God, before they have left this world of grace. Pressed down with the heavy load of guilt, and but too conscious of its deep-seated power, even the declared mercy of God in Christ Jesus could bring to their agonized souls not a ray of hope, that recovery was practicable.

Necessary as may be some conviction of the turpitude of sin in order to repentance, obligatory as it may be in man to attain as deep a conviction of its evil as he can, still the full conviction of its extreme odiousness and evil must drive to helpless despair. Hence, God in his mercy has wrapped the spirit in garments of flesh and obscured the perception of the actual state of a soul under the bondage of sin.

This view, again, explains to us, why men are so generally conscious of no malignity towards God. They often deny the fact, that they do indulge feelings of hatred towards him ; and are prone to imagine, that they who are represented in the word of God as hating him, must indeed be sinners more than the rest of men. They do this, because they do not perceive the manifestations of this spirit of enmity and hatred. They do not find, that their animosity against God is breaking out in acts of opposition and hostility. This however by no means proves, that there is no actual malignity in the heart against him, but only, that the occasions which should call it forth do not arise. This is because God has provided a channel in which the selfishness of the human heart shall flow out and yet not sensibly clash against the will of God. In this state of the soul, it may

pursue its course of sin, and come not in direct contact with the opposing authority of God! And hence is there no furious animosity and malicious rage manifested. The rushing waters move on with a smooth surface and a quiet stream, if no obstacle impede their course; but let rocks or earth obstruct, and then they dash and swell, and boil and rage, with impetuous fury. So let the will of selfish men move on uninterrupted by God, and all is still, and quiet, and gentle; but let it strike against his will, and there clash, and dash again, and chafe and fret, and the feeling of hatred rises and swells, and bursts out in implacable resentment and fury. To allow this, would defeat God's design in his efforts of redeeming grace; and therefore has he given man a material body, in which his rebellious spirit shall work and move on, till grace can check, and tame, and destroy it.

We adduce but one perplexing fact more, which the view we have considered explains, and for which it accounts: it is, the imperfection of christians here. Why is it, that the will once renewed, the heart once regenerated, brings not forth the good fruits of righteousness always and invariably? If the will be once subdued, and the heart once delivered from sin and fastened on God, why is it, that rebellion and sin, worldly-mindedness and selfishness still continue to mar and sully the christian character? Can a heart be true to God, which yet at times suffers its affections to twine around earthly objects? Can a creature so imperfect, so frequently at fault, so often defiled with sin, pass at once into a world of perfect purity and holiness? The apparent difficulties which attend this subject originate from a failure to perceive, that this is not a perfect state of existence; that here the true tendencies of sin and holiness are but partially developed; that while an entirely depraved heart may consist with much that is outwardly good and lovely, so a heart right in the sight of God may consist with occasional deviations from rectitude.

The affections put forth through a body of flesh, having been, by a long course of sin, bound around forbidden objects, demand a severe, it may be a protracted effort, to be entirely drawn back and raised to proper objects of attachment. Fiber after fiber is to be cut away, one object after another struck off, ere the soul, with all its various powers and sensibilities, is wholly turned to God. Though the ways of sin be renounced, and the full and cordial purpose be formed to enter and continue in the ways of righteousness, yet, through its connection with the flesh, by reason of its being subject to an influence from the body, so long corrupted by sin, the endeavors of the renewed spirit must

be weak and feeble, and imperfection must still be naturally expected. Not that this is necessary ; not that the will has no power to rise above this tide of corruption and resist this stream of defilement ; but it is not a surprising circumstance, that it actually does yield, and is occasionally borne away. Still, it clings fast to God ; of him it will never release its hold. And like the supernatural grasp of the man on the rope which has been thrown out for his rescue, it will hold him firmly against all the waves of temptation, and, though often apparently plunged irrecoverably into the depths of sin, will bring him at last to the shore of safety. For when this body of pollution shall be laid aside, and the many avenues of temptation which it opened to the soul are closed ; when it shall be sensibly in direct opposition against God, or in positive and direct friendship for him, then he shall find every feeling, every thought, every act, brought under the perfect control of his renewed will, and in entire conformity to the will and law of God.

A view commended to us by considerations strong as these,—one, too, that sheds such a luster of glory on the ways of God in this dark world of sin, and pours such healing balm upon the wounded christian soul, we find it hard to reject. So wholesome, so refreshing is it to our spirits, when saddened with the view of earth's many ills, and so seemingly free from all hurtful tendencies. Every christian, enlightened by the oracles of God, we are persuaded, finds solace from some form of the general truth, under the woes of earth, even although he may not recognize it in the shape of a logical proposition. And is not he, truly, an object worthy of our pity, who shuts out these revelations of the gospel on the grand design of man's existence on earth ? How wretched, indeed, is his case ! On the broad sea of human life, stretched out before his view, no light shines. He sees no haven, near or remote. No inviting shores attract his gaze or tempt his wishes. No cheering light from heaven guides him to his destined home. He floats on life's restless billows, with no anchor, no compass, no star, or sun,—dashed hither and thither, as the ceaseless winds may drive, or the objectless ocean-swell may drift him. He sees no reason why he should be here on earth,—why he should live. The condition of life is so made up of mingled hope and disappointment, of enjoyment and suffering, health and disease, strength and weakness, that it brings with it nothing inviting, nothing desirable. All is uncertain, insecure, unstable, changing. Yet no reason why it should be so can be perceived. He can find no solution for the seeming contradictions and mysteries of his being. He



burns now for immortality, and at the same time feels death wasting his vitals. He longs for stability and security, yet his sad experience contradicts the testimony of his reason. He feels himself born for freedom, yet galling fetters confine all his movements. He seeks for truth, and finds but error. Reason tells him there must be an end in all things; but none is discernible by him. To him, human existence is but a dream, a mystery, a contradiction. A dark impenetrable veil is thrown upon his soul: a gloomy night spreads its heavy mantle over his spirit. Wretched, inconceivably wretched, is human existence, without the gospel to shed its bright beams upon it. How often has this been exemplified in the history of man! Hear the melancholy sighings of one who drank deep of worldly pleasures and honors. "Why, at the very height of desire and human happiness, does there mingle a certain sense of doubt and sorrow,—a fear of what is to come,—a doubt of what is? If it were not for hope, what would the future be?—a hell! As for the past, what predominates in memory?—hopes baffled. From whatever place we commence, we know not where it must all end. And yet what good is there in knowing it? It does not make men wiser or better. *If I were to live over again, I do not know what I would change in my life, unless it were not to have lived at all.*" Wretched, miserable man!

We cannot close this article without directing our readers' attention, in few words, to the light which this view sheds on the event which terminates this unnatural union of soul and body,—which closes, too, the scene of God's redeeming work. How different the aspect with which it clothes the king of terrors! How cheering, how attractive, is his face, when irradiated by its bright beams! Death is the dissolution of a connection between mutually repugnant natures. It is the close of the great conflict between the flesh and the spirit. It is the release of the soul from the prison-house of the body. It is the unlocking of that repugnant embrace between the warm sensibilities of the soul and the cold clammy mass of corrupt matter. It is the unloosing of the spirit's wings, and their unfolding to feel its pure proper native atmosphere. At death, it leaves the mists of earth, soars into the clear depths of heaven. Infinity is expanded before it. There it roams at large, unshackled and unchecked. Death terminates its course of weakness and frailty. It plunges into the dark waters, and emerges a spirit of immortal strength, of undecaying powers, of undying energies.

Why should death be esteemed an evil? Alas! alas! the sting of death is sin. But may not still the escape of the cap-

tive soul from the bondage of the body be a welcome, a joyful deliverance? "Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Let man fulfill the design of God in subjecting his spirit to the flesh, let him enter the ways of holiness, and death will no more seem a curse,—an evil. It will be welcomed as one of man's greatest blessings. True, it may have its pang, but it is the pang of the long tenant of a dungeon, as he leaves the sad scene of his tears, his griefs, his disappointed hopes, his sufferings, his prayers, to regain the long-lost light and air of heaven. He may kiss his chains, for they have felt his tears, have worn his flesh, have clanked to his tossings of agony. Will he therefore esteem deliverance an evil? It is the pang of the long-exiled wanderer, as he leaves the land of his exile,—which has supported his weary head on its cold and damp bosom, has felt the pressure of his prayer-bent knee, has heard the sad tones of his complaints, and drunk in his tears,—to revisit the country of his birth, of his undying affections. The scene of his loneliness and grief, and the land of his pilgrimage, he may break from with a heartfelt sorrow. But shall he therefore count the termination of his melancholy exile an evil? Shall he not welcome it with heartfelt gladness? He who has fulfilled the design for which God has placed him on earth has nothing comparatively to lose, but everything to gain by the change. He leaves his bondage of sin, of sorrow, of death. He regains his freedom, his liberty; and that liberty is the glorious liberty of the children of God. Death is but the door to the home of his heart,—the veil that separates his spirit from its only resting-place,—the stream that divides it from the domain of the blest. So have they who have fulfilled the design of God in sending them to earth, regarded it. So have they found it. Hear their triumphant testimony. "O! the glorious time," says the dying Brainerd, "the glorious time is now coming. I have longed to serve God perfectly; now God will gratify these desires. I long to be in heaven, praising and glorifying God with the holy angels." "O blessed God! I am speedily coming to thee: hasten the day, O Lord! if it be thy blessed will. O come! Lord Jesus! come quickly!" "O!" echoes the departing Martyn, "when shall time give place to eternity! when shall appear the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness! There, there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth: none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts; none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of any more."

## ART. VIII.—SPIRITUAL ECONOMY OF REVIVALS OF RELIGION.

WE do not undertake the defense or apology of revivals of religion. The Divine Husbandry in them is rather our study. Shall we mask our conviction, that here is a want which has long demanded grave attention,—that the views of this subject entertained by many are unripe and partial, and their instrumentality in revivals unskillful and desultory to the same degree. The discredit accruing from this cause is really the heaviest argument, that lies against them,—heavier than all the attacks of their adversaries. Indeed, if we had it in hand to convince the adversaries, we know not how we could hope more effectually to succeed, than by unfolding the Divine Husbandry, the Reason of God's Economy in them,—which now is our attempt.

The term *revival of religion* is one not found in the scriptures, and one to which we have some objections. Since, however, it has obtained currency, as a term to denote the times of refreshing, that come from the presence of the Lord, convenience will probably give it perpetuity. It is of more consequence to measure and guard the term, than to avoid it.

This not being done, the real position, if any, which revivals hold in the economy of God's spiritual administration not being well ascertained by the christian body, they are viewed by christians themselves, with all the possible varieties of feeling between idolatry and distrust. Even the same mind often fluctuates between these extremes. To-day, the face of God is bright upon his people, and the whole community is, in a sense, visibly swayed by his power; and now, in the happy freshness and vitality of the scene, it is concluded, that there is no true religion but in a revival. To-morrow, as the freshness of new scenes and new feelings is manifestly abating, there begins to be an unhappy and desperate feeling,—something must be done,—religion itself is dying. And yet what shall be done, it is very difficult to find; for every effort to hold fast the exact degree and sort of feeling, to make a post of exercises, which in their very nature have motion and change, only sinks the vital force more rapidly. But the calm at length comes, and now the prostration is the greater for the desperate outlay of force used to prevent it. A dissatisfying look now begins to rest, when it is reviewed, on the scene of revival itself; discouragement, unbelief, sloth, and a long age of lead follows. Secretly sickened by what is past, many fall into real distrust of

spiritual experiences. Many have made so heavy a draft on their religious vitality or capacity, that something seems to be expended out of the sensibility even of their conscience,—they sink into neglects, or crimes close upon the verge of apostacy, or they betake themselves to the cheap and possible perfectionism of antinomian irresponsibility and lewdness. The extreme we here depict is not often reached; but there is very often a marked approach towards it. The consequence is, that the religious life, thus unskillfully ordered, is unhappy, wears a forced look, goes with a perplexed and halting gait.

Our present aim, then, is to ascertain the real office and position of revivals,—to furnish, if possible, a view of them which may be safely held at all times, and must be so held, if any steady and intelligent conduct in these matters is to be secured. We hope to establish a higher and more solid confidence in revivals, and, at the same time, to secure to the cause of evangelical religion a more natural, satisfactory, and happy, as well as a more constant movement.

They are grounded, we shall undertake to show, both in honor and in dishonor. They belong in part, to the original appointment and plan of God's moral administration, in which part, they are only records or varieties of divine action, necessary to our renewal and culture in the faith. For the remainder, they are made necessary by the criminal instability of God's people, or take their extreme character from unripe or insufficient views in their subjects and conductors. The two sides of the subject, thus stated, will require to be prosecuted separately.

If we are to show revivals of religion in place, or as they stand related to the general system of God's works, purposes, and ends, we need, first of all, to show in place the doctrine itself of spiritual agency. In speaking of the divine agency in men, we are obliged to use many and various figures of speech, by way of giving sufficient vividness and practical life to the truth, to make it answer its moral ends. We speak of the Spirit of God as "descending," or "coming down," or "sent down," as "poured out," as "present" in a given assembly or place, as "grieved away," or "dwelling" in the heart of the believer. In all this, if we understand ourselves, we only dramatize the divine action with a view to give it reality and conversableness. But some, there is reason to fear, use these terms intending too literally in them. They separate the divine agency in men, from the general system in which it belongs,—

they make the doctrine special in such a sense, that God is himself desultory in it, coming and going, journeying between the earth and the sky, while all his other operations go on by a general and systematic machinery which takes care of itself.

The word of God sometimes speaks of the divine or spiritual agency in men, as if it were only a new or varied extension of the divine presence, and uses the term *presence* as convertible with *spirit*. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, whither shall I flee from thy presence?" "Cast me not away from thy presence, take not thy Holy Spirit from me." "When the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

Favored by this example, if we leave out of sight the distinctions of the trinity, which we may for the sake of greater simplicity in our subject, we shall readily see, that the doctrine of spiritual agency is grounded in the simple doctrine of God's OMNIPRESENCE. Here it is in place. Of this, in fact, it is only a member.

What do we mean by God's omnipresence? If we speak intelligently, not the extension, not the local diffusion of the divine substance. We mean, negatively, that we can conceive of no place above God's works or outside of them, where the divine nature resides; since all known or conceivable spaces are probably occupied with created substance. We are, therefore, obliged to think of God as in-resident in his works. Next we mean, positively, that God is potentially present,—present in act and sway, (whatever may be true of his substance or its relations to space,) filling all things. The most ready illustration of this subject is the soul residing in the body. In what precise organ its throne is we know not; but virtually or energetically, it is all in every part. It is there to perceive, to have control and use, and it is one will which actuates and systematizes the action of all the parts together.

Let it not offend, that we reduce the warm and glowing doctrine of the agency of the Holy Spirit to mere cold omnipresence. But rather let some just degree of warmth be given to the latter,—a doctrine chilled by the stagnant unbelief, and the more stagnant philosophy of men. The true notion of omnipresence shows God in action everywhere, as much as in the matters of grace. He is in all things, not simply as staying in them, perchance asleep; but he is in them by a presence of power, design, and feeling, moving in all, advancing in all, towards his great appointed ends. God is not entombed in his works. That vital touch, which the bier felt and sent into the quickened youth, touches all things and they live unto God.

Forms are his pliant investiture. Laws are the currents of his will, flowing towards the ends of his reason. The breast of universal nature glows with his warmth. It enlivens even the grave, and the believer's flesh, feeling the Lord of the resurrection by, resteth in hope. When we reduce the work of the Spirit then in man, to a branch of the divine omnipresence, we seem, on the other part, to hear the eternal voice lift up itself to the worlds, the forms, the forces, and thunder their holy inaugural through the burnished pillars of the universe, saying, "Know ye not, that ye are the temple of the living God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you!"

But observe more distinctly, the doctrine of God's omnipresence does not affirm, that he is present to all things in the same sense. Presence being identical with act and sway, it has of course this law in itself, that God is present to each thing according to what it is and according to what he is doing with it. Thus he is present to matter as matter, and not as mind molding its forms, constructing its incidents. To vegetable natures he is present according to what they are, and according to their several growths and kinds. So to man he is present as animate in body, in spirit an image of himself. If man falls into sin, he is then present to him as a sinner, offended by his transgressions and averse to his character. If he undertake to redeem, he is then present as prosecuting such an object; convincing of sin, righteousness, and a judgment to come. And now, if any one is brought to repentance, God is present to him in a still more glorious way. In all the orders of created being before named, God has found nothing to reciprocate his moral feelings; but here he finds something which suits and sympathizes with his joys, his principles, his whole spirit. Here his holiness enters into a resting place and a congenial hospitality. He calls it his home, his palace, his sanctuary, and there he dwells, bestowing the cherishments of a God in friendship. This, by way of eminence, is called the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. But here the great law of omnipresence still pertains,—God is present to believers according to their character, their times, their works, their wants, and the great result he purposes to bring them to. We are to expect, of course, that there will be great variety in the manner of his presence, or in the kind of act and sway he will exert in them. He will strengthen what is good, fan out what is evil, shed peace, impart knowledge and understanding, invigorate hope, stimulate, try, purify,—in a word, he will order his agency in every way so as to communicate more of himself to them, and complete them in his like-

ness. So Paul, contemplating the Spirit in believers under the figure of an air-medium, common, or present, both to the divine mind and to ours, says, "the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." Like some breath of wind, which has passed through fragrant trees and banks of flowers, searching them and bringing grateful flavors of them; so the all-present Spirit ever wafts upon us the deep things, the hidden fragrance and the treasured sweetness of the divine nature.

The doctrine of divine agency in men amounts, then, to this,—that God is present to men, according to what they are and his purposes in them, just as he is present to material natures, according to what they are and what he will do with them. No man who believes in the divine omnipresence, the universal act and sway of God, can reasonably question the work of the Spirit in men. So far from being any presumptuous claim in us, to think, that God works in us to will and to do, that he may mold us unto himself, it is rather presumptuous to question it. To believe, that God is present in act and sway to the vital functions of a finger, and not to a mind, or the character and welfare of a mind, is to reverse all notion of justice and real dignity in the divine counsels.

If these reasonings concerning the doctrine of divine agency are somewhat dry and abstruse to the general reader, it is yet hoped, that such as are more practiced in questions of this sort, will have a higher estimate of their importance. They enable us to enter on the spiritual economy of revivals at a great advantage, and from ground high enough to command the whole field.

It is too readily conceded, indeed it is often stoutly insisted on, even by those who may be called extreme revivalists, that everything of a periodical or temporary nature in religion, is, of course, dishonorable and suspicious. The adversaries of revivals are ready, as in duty bound, to coincide. Further, they are specially offended, when it is claimed, that God exercises any temporary or periodical influence on men. In their view it is nothing but a weak conceit, or a wild enthusiasm, when God is supposed to be specially operative, in the conversion of men at any particular time and place, or in any single community.

But if a periodical agency be so derogatory to God's honor, what shall be thought of the seasons, the intervals of drought and rain, and all the revolving cycles of outward change? If the adversaries of revivals believe in God's omnipresence, is there not a presence of act in all these things according to their nature and his purpose in them, as there is supposed to be in the

spiritual changes which affect communities? On their principle, nature ought to perfect her growths in the scorplings of an eternal sun, or in the drenchings of an everlasting rain. The flowers ought to stand from age to age changeless as petrifications. They ought to see, from year to year, the same clouds in the same shapes glued fast upon the sky, and the same wind everlastingly exact to a degree of their thermometer, ought to blow upon them. But no, nature is multiform and various on every side. She is never doing exactly the same thing at one time which she has done at another. She brings forth all her bounties by inconstant applications and cherishments endlessly varied. A single thought extended in this direction, were enough, it would seem, to show us, that while God is unchangeable, he is yet infinitely various,—unchangeable in his purposes, various in his means.

Is it said, that God however acts in nature by general laws? No doubtless he does in the periodical and various cultivation of his Spirit. All God's works and agencies are embraced and wrought into one comprehensive system by laws. But he is no less the author of variety, that he produces variety by system.

It is said, that God produces the changes of nature by second causes? Is it meant, we ask in reply, to deny God's omnipresence? Having instituted second causes to manage for him, has the divine nature gone upon a journey, or is it, peradventure, asleep? Or is God still present, (present, remember, by act and sway,) inhabiting all changes? The notion of a second cause in nature, consistent with the divine omnipresence,—meaning anything by the term,—it is somewhat difficult to frame.

But we pass on. And it is instructing to advert in this connection, also, to the various and periodical changes of temperament which affect men in other matters than religion. Sometimes one subject has a peculiar interest to the mind, sometimes another. Sometimes the feelings chime with music, which at others is not agreeable. Society of a given tone is abhorred to-day though eagerly sought yesterday. These fluctuations are epidemical, too, extending to whole communities, and infecting them with an ephemeral interest in various subjects, which afterwards they wonder at themselves, and can no way recall. No public speaker of observation ever failed to be convinced, that man is a being, mentally, of moods and phases, which it were as vain to attempt the control of, as to push aside stars. These fluctuations, or mental tides, are due, perhaps, to physical changes, and perhaps not. They roll round the earth



like invisible waves, and the chemist and physician tax their skill in vain to find the subtle powers that sway us. We only know, that God is present to these fluctuations, whatever their real nature, and that they are all inhabited by the divine power. Is it incredible, then, that this same divine power should produce periodical influences in the matter of religion,—times of peculiar, various, and periodical interest? For ourselves we are obliged to confess, that we strongly suspect that sort of religion which boasts of no excitements, no temporary and changing states: for we observe, that it is only towards nothing, or about nothing, that we have always the same feeling.

Need we say, again, that progress, which is the law of all God's works and agencies, necessarily involves variety and change. Spring, for example, is the first stage of a progress. The newness, therefore, of spring, the first beginnings of growth, must wax old and change their habit. So it is impossible, that the first feelings of religious interest in the heart should remain. There is a degree of excitation in the strangeness of new feelings, and so likewise in the early scenes of a revival of religion, which belongs to their novelty, and which is by no means inconsiderable or improper. Such is human nature, that it could not be otherwise. In fact, there is no reason to doubt, that God, in framing the plan or system of his spiritual agencies, ordained fluctuations and changing types of spiritual exercise, that he might take advantage, at intervals, of novelty in arresting and swaying the minds of men. These are the spring-times of his truth, otherwise in danger of uniform staleness. Thus he rouses the spiritual lethargy of men and communities, and sways their will to himself by aid of scenes and manifestations, not ordinary or familiar. Nor is it anything derogatory to the divine agency in the case, that the spiritual spring cannot remain perpetual; for there is a progress in God's works, and he goes on through change and multiform culture to ripen his ends. Doubtless, too, there may be a degree of sound feeling, apart from all novelty in a revival of religion, which human nature is incompetent permanently to sustain; just as one may have a degree of intellectual excitement and intensity of operation, which he cannot sustain, but which is nevertheless a sound and healthy activity. In writing a sermon, for example, every minister draws on a fund of excitability which he knows cannot be kept up beyond a certain bound, and this without any derogation from his proper sanity.

But we come to a stage in the subject, where the advantage of our doctrine of spiritual agency is to be more manifest. God

has a given purpose to execute, we have said, in those who have entered on the religious life, viz., to produce character in them. To this end he dwells in them, and this is the object of his spiritual culture. And here he meets, at the very beginning, this grand truth, that varieties of experience and exercise are necessary to the religious character. How then shall he adjust the scale of his action, if not to produce all such varieties as are necessary for his object? We have just remarked on the changes of temperament in men and communities, by which now one now another theme is brought to find a responsive note of interest. What is the end of this? Obviously it is, that we may be practiced in all the many colored varieties of feeling, and led over a wide empire of experience. Were it not for this,—or if men were to live on, from childhood to the grave, in the same mood of feeling, and holding fast to the same unvarying topic of interest, they would grow to be little more than animals of one thought. To prevent which, and ripen what we call natural character to extension and maturity, God is ever leading us round and round invisibly, by new successions of providence and new affinities of feeling. Precisely the same necessity requires, that religious character be trained up under varieties of experience, and shaped on all sides by manifold workings of the Spirit. Now excitements must be applied to kindle, now checks to inspire caution or invigorate dependence. Now the intellect must be fed by a season of study and reflection; now the affections freshened by a season of social and glowing ardor. By one means bad habits are to be broken up, by another good habits consolidated. Love, it is true, must reign in the heart through all such varieties; but the principle of supreme love is one, that can subsist in a thousand different connections of interest and temperaments of feeling. At one time it demands for its music a chorus of swelling voices, to bear aloft its exulting testimony of praise; at another it may chime rather with the soft and melancholy wail just dying on its ear. And so, in like manner, it needs a diversity of times, exercises, duties, and holy pleasures. It needs, and for that reason it has not only revivals and times of tranquillity, but every sort of revival, every sort of tranquillity. Sometimes we are revived individually, sometimes as churches, sometimes as a whole people, and we have all degrees of excitation, all manner of incidents. Our more tranquil periods are sometimes specially occupied, or ought to be, in the correction of evil habits; or we are particularly interested in the study of religious doctrines necessary to the vigor of our growth and use-

fulness ; or we are interested to acquire useful knowledge of a more general nature, in order to our public influence, and the efficient discharge of our offices. In revivals we generally prefer the more social spheres of religious exercise ; so now the more private and solitary experiences may be cultivated. Such is the various travail which God has given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith.

Another end prosecuted by the Spirit, in his work, is the empowering of the christian body, and the extension of good through them and otherwise to the hearts of others. Here also there is no doubt, that changes and seasons of various exercise, like those called revivals, add to the real power of the faith. We are so prone to think nothing of that which always wears exactly the same color and look, that holiness itself needs to change its habit and voice to command notice or impress itself on the attention. The power too, of the christian body, rests, in the main, on its appearing to the world to be inhabited and swayed by a power above nature. And this can never appear, except by means of changes and periodical exaltations in them. Nature would make no manifestation of him who dwells in her forms, if all stood motionless ; if the sun stood fast and clear in everlasting noon ; if there were no births, decays, explosions, surprises. Nature is called the garment of the Almighty, but if there were no motion under the garment, it would seem a shroud rather than a garment of life. God is manifested in nature by the wheeling spheres, light, shade, tranquillity, storm,—all the beauties and terrors of time. So the Spirit will reveal his divine presence through the church, by times of holy excitement, times of reflection, times of solitary communion, times of patient hope. A church standing always in the same exact posture and mold of aspect, would be only a pillar of salt in the eyes of men, it would attract no attention, reveal no inhabitation of God's power. But suppose, that now, in a period of no social excitement, it is seen to be growing in attachment to the bible and the house of God, storing itself with divine or useful knowledge, manifesting a heavenly-minded habit in the midst of a general rage for gain, devising plans of charity to the poor and afflicted, reforming offensive habits, chastening bosom sins,—suppose, in short, that principles adopted in a former revival are seen to hold fast as principles, to prove their reality and unfold their beauty, when there is no longer any excitement to sustain them,—here the worth and reality of religious principles are established. And now let the Spirit move this solid enginery once more into glowing activity, let the

church, thus strengthened, be lifted into spiritual courage and exaltation, and its every look and act will seem to be inhabited by divine power,—it will be as the chariot of God, and before it the enemies will tremble.

We have spoken already of the probable fact, that God has designed to take advantage of novelty in his plan of spiritual action. Quite as great an addition is made to the efficacy of his operations, by the advantage he takes of the social instincts of men. There is no impression which is not powerfully augmented by participation. What a community, what a crowded assembly feels, is powerfully felt. Hence it is an article of the divine economy in revivals, that whole communities shall be moved together, as it were by common gales of the Spirit. The hold thus taken of men is powerful, often to a degree even tremendous, and many a covenant with death is disannulled which no uniform or unvaried tenor of divine agency, no mere personal and private dealing of the Spirit, would ever have shaken.

There is one more advantage taken of men by periodical or temporary dispensations, in the very fact, that they are temporary. The judgment and observation of many who preach the gospel will bear us witness, that the certainty felt by those who are at any time enlightened and drawn by the Spirit, that they will not long be dealt with as now, that by delay they may dismiss the grace of God, and lose the favored moment given them to secure their salvation, is the strongest and most urgent of all motives. This, in fact, is absolutely requisite to the stress and cogency of all means and agencies. Such is the procrastinating spirit of men, so fast bound are they in the love of sin, that however deeply they may feel their own guilty and lost estate, nothing but the fact, that God is now giving them an opportunity and aids which are temporary, would ever foreclose them from delay. We need look no farther to see the folly of supposing, that God must not act periodically or variously, if he act at all, in renewing men. Why act uniformly when it would defeat all the ends of action?

This attempt to exhibit the spiritual economy of God in revivals, might be prosecuted much farther. It would be useful too, if we could stop here to admire the wisdom of God's spiritual husbandry, the systematic grandeur with which he compasses all his ends, and the illustrious honor, that shines on his works of Almighty grace.

But we must hasten forward. And here, on the second side, or the side of dishonor, we pass to views and exhibitions less agreeable, though not, we hope, less welcome.

We should be sorry, if in what we have advanced, a shadow of countenance has been given to the impression that the christian is allowed, at some times, to be less religious than at others. He is under God's authority and bound by his law at all times. He must answer to God for each moment and thought of his life. His covenant oath consecrates all his life to God, and stipulates for no intermission of service. At no time can he shrink from religious obligation, without dishonor to his good faith, together with a loss of character and of God's favor. Furthermore still, it is his duty and privilege ever to be filled with the Spirit. The believer is one chosen for his indwelling. He is consecrated to be the divine temple, and God will never leave his temple, except he is driven away by profanation—grieved away. "I have somewhat against thee," said the Savior, "because thou hast left thy first love." He did not require, of course, that the novelty and first excitement of feeling should last, but that love, the real principle of love, should lose ground in them was criminal. Let us not be mistaken. The christian is as much under obligation at one time as at another, though not under obligation to be ever doing the same things—no intermission, no wavering or slackness is permitted him; nay he is bound to increase, or gather strength in his religious principles, every day and hour of his existence.

But how shall we harmonize this with what we have advanced in the first side of our subject? The answer is this—God favors and appoints different moods or kinds of religious interest, but not backslidings, or declensions of religious principle. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are diversities of operation, but it is the same God which worketh all and in all. There is a common mistake of supposing that the Spirit of God is present in times only of religious exaltation, or if it be true, that such need be the case. It is conceivable, that He may be doing as glorious a work in the soul, when there is but a very gentle, or almost no excitement of feeling. He may now be leading the mind after instruction, teaching the believer how to collect himself and establish a regimen over his lawless will and passions, searching the motives, inducing a habit of reflection, teaching how to carry principles without excitement, drawing more into communion perhaps with God, and less for the time with men. And while he conducts the disciple through these rounds of heavenly discipline, we are by no means to think, that he is, of course, less religious, or has less of supreme love to God, than he had in the more fervid season of revival. A soldier is as much a soldier

when he encamps as when he fights, when he stands with his loins girt about, and his feet shod with the preparation, as when he quenches the fiery darts of the enemy. The christian warfare is not all battle. There are times in it for polishing the armor, forming the tactics, and feeding the vigor of the host.

These remarks bring us to conclude, that there is, in what we call revivals of religion, something of a periodical nature, which belongs to the appointed plan of God in his moral operations; but as far as they are what the name imports, revivals of *religion*, that is, of the principle of love and obedience, they are linked with dishonor; so far they are made necessary by the instability and bad faith of Christ's disciples. But here it must be noted, that the dishonor does not belong to the revival, but to the decay of principle in the disciple, which needs reviving. There ought to be no declension of real principle; but if there is, no dishonor attaches to God in recovering his disciple from it, but the more illustrious honor is his due. Thus it is very often true, when a revival seems to have an extreme character, that the fact is due, not to the real state produced, but to the previous fall, the dearth and desolation with which it is contrasted. And generally, if the ridicule, thrown upon a revival, were thrown upon the worldliness, the dishonorable looseness of life and principle which preceded, it would not be misplaced.

We now pass on to a stage, in which dishonor attaches to the scene of revival itself. This is when it takes an extreme character, which is not given it by the Spirit, but originates in some mistake of opinion, or extravagance of conduct in the subjects and conductors. We cannot pretend here to specify every sort of error which may vitiate a revival, or give it an extreme character; but we will note a few leading mistakes which have a prevalent influence.

And a capital mistake is that of supposing, that we ought to have a revival, so called, or the exact mood of a revival, at all times. It is taken for granted, when the peculiar fervor of the work begins to abate, that the disciples are sinking into sloth and criminal decay, and never, that the Spirit is now giving a varied complexion to his work. Prodigious efforts are made to rally the church to renewed activity. The voice of supplication is tried. But all in vain,—it is praying against God and nature, and must be vain. Not, that it must be vain in every case; but only in cases where God's plan is otherwise ordered, or where the natural excitabilities of the church are so far exhausted as to demand a different sort of exercise. Effort spent in this way, produces additional exhaustion and discourage-

ment. A tedious intermission of life follows. At length the susceptibilities of nature to excitement and attention recruit themselves, as by a very long sleep, and there flames out another period of over-worked zeal to be succeeded as before. If, instead of such a course, the disciple were taught, as the revival so called declines, that God is now leading him into a new variety of spiritual experience, where he has duties to discharge, as clear, as high, as in the revival itself; if he were encouraged to feel, that God is still with him; if he were shown what to do and how to improve the new variety of state,—taught the art of growth in the long run,—how to make the dews, the rain, the sun, and the night, all lend their aid alike; in a word, if he were taught the great christian art of discerning the mind of the Spirit, so that he shall be ever pliant thereto, and not pass backwardly into his progressive moods of culture and duty; can any one fail to see, that extremities of action would thus be greatly reduced. He has not some strained and forced sort of religion to live always, which, after all, no straining or forcing can make live. The pendulum swings in smaller vibrations. There is no wide chasm of dishonor, no strained pitch of extravagance, but only a sacred ebb and flow of various but healthful zeal. It is the great evil in that sort of teaching, which insists on the duty of being always in what is called a revival state, that it tries to force an impossible religion. The supposed obligation is assented to, and the christian struggles hard to answer it. But nature struggles against him, being utterly unable to keep up such a state. At length he yields, in a perplexed and half-despairing manner, not knowing what it means. Still he owns very dutifully, that it is his sin, and as he tries no more to avoid it, he seems to himself to be sinning by actual and daily consent; and this becomes in fact the real temper of his heart. He gives over all care of his spirit, violating his conscience in other ways, since he must do it in one, and sinks into extreme declension. More judicious views of duty would have saved him.

The feeling, extensively prevalent, that if any thing is to be done in religion, some great operation must be started, is another pernicious mistake. The ordinary must give way to the extraordinary. Machinery must be constructed, and a grand palpable onset moved. Let it not be suspected, that we are afraid of all stir and excitement. The views advanced in the former part of our subject should teach us higher wisdom. The greatest and best actions have ever been performed, in stages of excited feeling and high personal exaltation. Nothing was ever

achieved, in the way of a great and radical change in men or communities, without some degree of excitement; and if any one expects to carry on the cause of salvation, by a steady rolling on the same dead level, and fears continually lest the axles wax hot and kindle into a flame, he is too timorous to hold the reins in the Lord's chariot. What we complain of and resist is, the artificial firework, the extraordinary, combined jump and stir, supposed to be requisite when any thing is to be done. It seems often not to be known, that there is a more efficacious way, and that the extraordinary got up, in action, as in rhetoric, is impotence itself. It must come to pass naturally, or emerge as a natural crisis of the ordinary, if it is to have any consequence. How often would the minister of Christ, for example, who is trying to marshal a movement, do a more effectual work in simply reviewing his own deficiencies of heart and duty, charging himself anew with his responsibilities, and devoting himself more faithfully to his people and to God's whole truth. A secret work thus begun, is enough to heave in due time, a whole community; and it is the more powerful, because it moves in the legitimate order of action. It begins, bowing to duty first and chief, and leaves results for the most part to come in their natural shape. It works in the hand of God, trustfully, humbly, pertinaciously, and following whithersoever he leads. And when God leads his servant, as certainly he will, into a crisis of great moment, he is in it naturally, he molds it unto himself, as if constituted for the time to be its presiding power.

Where too much is made of conversions, or where they are taken as the measure of all good, it has a very injurious influence. The saying, constantly repeated and without qualification, that it is the great business of the gospel and of christian effort to convert men, has about as much error as truth in it. As well might it be said, that the great business of travelers is to set out on journeys. The great business of the gospel is to form men to God. Conversion, if it be any thing which it ought to be, is the beginning of the work, and the convert is a disciple, a scholar, just beginning to learn. If all the attention of the church then be drawn to the single point of securing conversions, without any regard to the ripening of them; if it be supposed, that nothing is of course doing when there are no conversions; if there is no thought of cultivation, no valuation of knowledge and character, no conviction of the truth, that one christian well formed and taken care of is worth a hundred mere beginners, who are in danger perhaps of proving, that



they never begun at all ; if revivals themselves are graduated in their value, only by the number of converts, and christians in declension are called to repentance only for the sake of the unconverted public ; the whole strain of movement and impression is one-sided, distorted, and tintured with inherent extravagance.

We name only one more mistake having a pernicious influence on the character of revivals, which is, the want of a judicious estimate of the advantages to be gained, in times of non-revival. This is the great practical error of our times. Let it startle no one, if we declare our conviction, that religion has as deep an interest in the proper conduct of times of non-revival, as in these periods of glowing excitement. For many religious purposes, and those not the least important, a revival is less advantageous than other times. There is very little trial of principle in a revival, as is proved by facts always developed afterwards, in some of the brightest examples of supposed conversion. The time, pre-eminently the time to strengthen principle and consolidate character, is, when there is no public excitement. And for this reason, God's spiritual husbandry includes such times, and makes them so prolonged as to constitute the greater part of life, showing very conclusively the estimate he has of them. At such times, the disciple is occupied more in study and doctrine, in self-inspection, in contemplation of God, in acting from principle separately from impulse. In times of revival, foundations are broken up, and new impulses received ; now, those impulses are consolidated into principle, and permanently enthroned in the heart. This, at least, ought to be so. And because it is not, revivals, when they come, have less power, and a more limited sphere of influence. They are looked on, often, by those who weigh their effects, as only shallow frets of excitement, and in many cases, none but the less considerate and feebler class of minds feel their power. Let not the intervals of revival be undervalued, or the duties belonging to them disesteemed. Great occasions are not necessary to good actions. To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun. **HE HATH MADE EVERYTHING BEAUTIFUL IN HIS TIME.**

We have thus attempted to ascertain the divine economy in revivals of religion. We see them to be in no degree desultory, except as they partake of human errors and infirmities. They lie imbedded in that great system of universal being and event, which the divine omnipresence fills, actuates and warms. Here

they are cherished, and will be, as long as the redemption of man is dear to the eternal heart, and constitutes one of the ends of God's pursuit. As the gospel is enlarged in the world, and the christian mind enlightened, they will gradually lose their extremities and dishonorable incidents, and will constitute an ebb and flow, measured only by the pulses of the Spirit. The church will then make a glowing, various and happy impression. Her armor, though changed, will always shine, and will have a celestial temper in it. Changing her front, she will yet always present a host clad in the full panoply of God.

But really to act on views like these, and give them their legitimate effect, would require the ministry, or many of them, to change somewhat the tone, and enlarge the sphere of their instructions. Many would need to acquire a nicer, more complete and proportional sense of character themselves, and thus learn to go beyond the line of exercises which only urge repentance, and test the state of their people. By this confined method; this continual beating on the same spot, they only produce a sense of soreness, which recoils from their attempts. It were only necessary to open the epistles of Paul, we should suppose, to see, that he moved into a range of topics and duties which find no place in the concern of many modern preachers,—discontent, envy, anger, jealousy, ambition, gentleness, purity, modesty, decency, candor, industry,—a catalogue that cannot be recited. We see at once, that he does not regard the religious character in his converts as a thing by itself, a conversion well tested and followed by a few duties specially religious. He considered the whole character of the disciple,—mind, manners, habits, principles,—as the Lord's property. He felt, that the gospel was intended and fitted to act on everything evil and ungraceful in man's character, and applied it to that purpose. And thus he sought to present his disciples perfect and complete in all the will of God,—a much more difficult and laborious way of preaching than the one to which indolence, we fear, now adds prevalence. Let the minister of truth, then, occupy such intervals as are suitable, and which we have supposed to be ordered of the Spirit for that purpose, in forming the character of his people to things lovely and of good report. Let him take advantage of scripture history, and especially of the history of Christ's life and manners, to draw out illustrations of character, and beget what is so much needed by the christian body, a sense of character,—of moral beauty and completeness. Let him not use the parable of the talents always to enforce the duty of usefulness. Sometimes, at least, let mention be made

of doubling the talents, making the ten twenty, the five ten. Let him follow the people into their business, into their civil duties, and especially into their domestic relations, shewing the manner in which children may be trained up in the nurture of the Lord, seeking to surround the christian homes with christian graces, teaching how to make them pleasant to the youth, and at the same time spiritually healthful. And let him do all this in the manner of Paul or Oberlin, as a work of the Spirit, a work into which the Holy Spirit leads him as truly as into any other. The tendrils of the vines are small things, but yet they support the grapes. In like manner this disposition to adorn the doctrine of Christ by a nice obedience and a faithful copying of the Savior, is that which knits the christian, tendril-like, to God's support. On the other hand, the gross movement, always aiming at a chief point of christian character, without any care to finish a christian conscience and a christian taste, is only trying to make the vines adhere by their trunks.

We are not without a sense of deep responsibility in giving these views to the public. If they are misunderstood or misapplied, they may work incredible injury. We are anxious, indeed, lest they be perverted to the justification of real declension from God and made to sanction a lower and perhaps more inconstant piety than we now have. And yet we are sure that they provide for a higher class of attainments, a more constant growth towards God, and favor the preparation of a new order of christians who shall really walk by faith from year to year. In showing the use and necessity of times of non-revival, we do not justify the present habit of christian declension in these intervals; we rather show the sinfulness of it, that it is unnecessary, that it is a rank abuse of sacred means and privileges. We make it possible for the christian at such times to be as holy, to do as good a work, to have the communion of God as really as in a revival, and since it is possible to be done, it is only faithlessness without excuse when it is otherwise.

Our doctrine naturally terminates here,—in proving it to be the great business and art of the christian to watch for the mind of the Spirit, and shape the life evermore pliantly thereto. They that walk in the Spirit shall be led by the Spirit; this we firmly believe. Hence the Savior was at great pains to inculcate on the disciples readiness, watching for their Lord's coming, and observation of the signs of the times. And his Spirit is to help their infirmity of discernment, and guide them by his intercessions or inward intercourse, to such praying, such works and occupations as are according to God's will. I will

guide thee with mine eye, is the sure declaration of God. But in order to this, the christian must look at the indications of his eye; and in order to this he must have a single eye himself. He must walk by faith, he must never acquiesce in sin, he must never allow the world to get dominion over him. Doing this, he will be directed what to do, where to go, exercised in the best ways, perform the best service. **THE EYE OF THE LORD** will lead him about through all the rounds of the Spirit, and the glory of the divine holiness will ever encompass him.

O christian! man renewed by grace, dost thou indeed believe that God inhabits thee with his holiness, and makes thee his temple? Be thou then a temple indeed, a sacred place to him. Exclude covetousness; make not thy Father's house a house of merchandize; deem every sin a sacrilege. Let all thy thoughts within, like priests stoled in white, move round the altar and keep the fire burning. Let thine affections be always a cloud, filling the room and inwrapping thy priest-like thoughts. Let thy hallowed desires be ever fanning the mercy-seat with their wings.

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#### ART. IX.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CHOLERA IN 1832.

A MANUSCRIPT has lately come into our hands, written by a friend at a distance, containing some graphic sketches of scenes witnessed by himself during the progress of that scourge, the approach and ravages of which struck terror into thousands in our land. The details given in this paper are painful in the extreme, yet we have read it with a melancholy interest, and thinking it might be acceptable to some of our readers, and useful to all who may peruse it, we have given it a place on our pages. This we have done, both as a record of the past and also on account of the monitory lesson which it reads us of our frailty and of the value of timely preparation for death. It is in such scenes as here described we realize the utter emptiness of reliance on the closing hour in which to secure our acceptance with God. When the body is racked with pain; when the mind is unhinged for its appropriate exercise, how wretched the hope of then performing the work to which the best faculties of a sound and vigorous state, both of body and mind, are sufficiently needful. The contrast furnished between the chris-

tian's and the infidel's death-bed at such a period, speaks more than volumes. The position occupied by the servant of God in a season so replete with distress is one most trying to his feelings. He must visit multitudes panic-struck, and cheer them on, while he warns them to prepare for every possible event of providence. To others he must repair, feeling, that he can but offer sympathy, and see them expire unblessed by hope, while the long-rejected message of grace, and the salvation of the gospel, is, as it were, shut out from their reach. The frequent sight of the dying and the dead, too, after the first alarm has passed, hardens the hearts of the living, and they meet the calls and warnings he is commissioned to deliver with a heedless apathy, or with a scornful denial. There is a moral heroism in the simple narrative given by our friend of his performance of duty, in such circumstances, which entitles him to high praise; for it was at the risk of his own life he devoted his time and his strength to impart his assistance to others. These sketches before us, too, were, we believe, not originally written for publication, but simply to place before the eye of here and there a friend an image of some events which providence had recorded in lines of desolation and gloom. We will detain our readers no longer from the tale of death, than to say, that we feel assured the utmost reliance may be placed upon this record of facts.

“This fearful scourge has twice visited the city of ———. In those seasons have occurred facts unequaled for deep and tragic interest.

The severe and exhausting duties imposed at such times on physicians and clergymen, leave no leisure for recording the passing events of the day, and subsequent professional engagements either erase the record of the past or diminish our interest in the events. Perhaps, however, the following reminiscences, which originated in a wish to beguile a few hours of partial illness, may possess some interest.

The pestilence burst upon us like a tempest, in the summer of 1832. We had heard of its progress from Asia, and with sympathy for the sufferers, but with no personal apprehension had traced its course from country to country. At length it reached the westernmost border of Europe, and lingered awhile on its shores, as if to wait the bidding of the Almighty, or to gather strength and mark its prey, ere taking its mighty leap over the waste of waters which separated us from its ravages. During the spring considerable anxiety had been felt. But as some weeks elapsed after the first arrivals from Europe, and

no case of the disorder had occurred, apprehension subsided, and we began to breathe with the freeness of entire security.

Suddenly, on a summer morning in June, the fearful intelligence was whispered about with partial credence, that one or two cases of the disease existed on board a steamboat laden with emigrants from ———. On Monday morning, however, the most sceptical were compelled to believe. The fearful certainty, that the cholera was among us, struck us with dismay. It was not creeping about with the slow movements of ordinary disease, but with lightning rapidity was leaping from house to house, grappling and crushing its victims, like some hideous monster delighting in misery and blood.

Then commenced a scene of panic, at the very recollection of which the mind sickens. Some flying from the city with the seeds of the pestilence in their constitution, were taken on the road, and almost literally died by the way-side. Others, superstitiously afraid to leave the city, lest like Jonah they should seem to attempt to baffle God, had recourse to preventives, and by the frantic use of powerful and improper medicines, disordered the functions of their system, and opened the way for the hidden miasma of the pestilence to the seat of life. Still greater numbers had recourse to the brandy bottle to cheer their spirits and keep up the tone of physical action, and thus were swept down by hundreds, almost while the cup was at their lips.

All this while the daily number of deaths was increasing. It mounted upward from 20 to 50, 80, 100, 150 each twenty-four hours, till it seemed as if our fate were sealed, and the curse of heaven was to sweep us all to the grave. When we walked out, the deserted streets, the unfinished buildings abandoned by the workmen, the hearse and dead-carts—for the transportation of the corpses put in requisition all kinds of vehicles—was frightful. To our disturbed imagination it seemed as if the very stones of the street wore an air of melancholy. The man whom we met yesterday, was to-day carried to the grave; the person who rose in health was by sunset in his coffin.

The first case to which I was called, left an impression on my mind which no time can efface. He was a stout laboring man, who had been ill but a few hours. As I entered the dwelling every face was clothed in dismay; all occupations were neglected, and the members of the family listlessly sat or walked, as if stupefied by terror. No one ventured to enter the room, to minister to the sufferer, except one affectionate, devoted girl. Proceeding to the low, confined apartment in which

the patient lay, a scene was there which might well startle my unpracticed eye. On a bed, thrown into confusion by his convulsive and incessant tossings, lay the miserable victim of the pestilence. Though but a short time ill, his features had already assumed the sharpness of a long and consuming disease, and the hideous discoloration of the skin, was at once loathsome to the sight and the fatal precursor of death. It was indeed terrible to see a robust man groaning and writhing, and wildly tossing his arms, as if crushed in the folds of an enormous serpent. Medical relief was out of the question. Spiritual consolation could not be offered to such an agitated and enfeebled mind. We could only give him our look of sympathy, arrange the clothes which his violent spasms displaced, and witness the fearful struggle of the hardy laborer with death.

Soon after, I learned the illness of a young friend, married but a few months, and whose wife, a young woman of uncommon beauty and fascinating manners, had presented him a few days before with a lovely infant. A short time previous I had seen them, had watched her maternal pride as she showed her babe, and cheerfully talked with her of the future.

I found him now with the fatal symptoms of the disease rapidly developing themselves. At my approach he grasped my hand, and with a look which told the hopeless agony of his soul, said, "Oh, sir, I am not prepared to die!" I attempted to converse with him, but the incessant vomiting, and the still more agonizing spasms, which seemed to tear the very life-strings asunder, allowed little time for anything but attention to his physical wants. I was surprised to see his wife at his bedside. At a time when perfect rest and tranquillity were indispensable, she was in laborious attendance on his sick bed, and her mind agitated by terrible forebodings. I trembled for the consequences, and urged upon her the duty of self-preservation. But her pale and agitated countenance indicated but too well what was to follow.

After a day spent in hurried attendance on the sick, I called early the next morning. In one room I found him lying, gasping for breath, beyond all hope. In the next room lay his lately blooming bride, her delicate frame distorted by spasms, while the destroyer was executing his work of death upon her with fearful rapidity. Soon her husband died, and with a haste which seemed unfeeling, but which imperious necessity demanded, they laid him in his coffin and were carrying him down the staircase. Though the whole sad office was performed as gently as possible, it caused some noise. She hearing it,

inquired with some anxiety what was the matter in her husband's room? She was evasively answered, that "he was going down stairs." "He is better, then," was her remark, apparently pleased. A few hours afterwards I repeated my visit. He was in his grave. She lay a lifeless corpse. The little orphan was left in a world of strangers.

While these transactions were going on, I had spent much of the intervening time at the house of a gentleman, whose illness though alarming, as wearing the type of the prevailing epidemic, was not at first considered dangerous. Towards evening, however, his medical attendants despaired of his life, and to me was assigned the melancholy task of communicating to him and to his family the sad intelligence, that there was no hope of his recovery.

As I returned to the room from the outer door, whither I had accompanied the physician, I was oppressed. How could I plunge a dagger into the heart of that affectionate wife, and clothe this lovely family with mourning, lamentation, and woe! But the duty was imperative. I took my seat on the bedside, gently supporting the patient's head on my arm, as I had done much of the day, and in the gentlest and calmest manner I could assume, inquired if he was in much pain, and then assured him, that his pains would soon end, and we hoped end forever. He looked with startled gaze, as though not understanding the import of my address; his wife who stood near, regarded me with a bewildered and horror-struck air. I tenderly repeated my remark, and added a few observations of such consolation as I could offer, for the dying man was a christian of most lovely and consistent character.

But such a wild tempest of grief, as burst from the broken-hearted wife, it had never fallen to my lot to witness before. Such groans of heart-rending anguish, of bitter, stinging, despairing woe, I never heard. After leading her from the room, I returned to the bedside of the dying christian. His only reply to my annunciation was, "that is sudden,—I could wish to live longer, in hope, that I should serve God better." As his strength gradually failed, I often whispered in his ear such passages of scripture as, "the Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want."—"Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."—"God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

With calm resignation, his mind ever reposed on these beautiful passages of the word of God, he gently expired about midnight.



Another scene which I was called to witness, was of an entirely different character. Late in the night, amid the severe beating of a summer's tempest, an urgent request came, that I would go and visit a dying man. I followed my conductor to a remote part of the suburbs, through the darkness and rain, till we reached the house. As I ascended the staircase, I heard the sounds of distress, and as I entered the room, the scene was truly terrifying. A stout, iron-framed man, was grappling with the cholera, while the attacks of the disease seemed like the heavy blows of some tremendous engine, under which the massy walls of the castle tremble from their foundation. The spasmodic action, severe in proportion to the muscular power of the victim, was wrenching every sinew to torture, and extorting from the sufferer cries of heart-rending anguish. But his mental distress was still more acute. Taken down in the midst of health and strength, he saw himself crowded to the very verge of life. In a few hours he knew that he must plunge into the yawning abyss; another sun he must never behold. Before the darkness of that night had fled, his unprepared soul must be in the presence of his neglected and insulted God. At one moment, the relentless wrench of the spasm extorted a piercing shriek or groan, the next, as if a sense of bodily pain was drowned by distress of mind, he would break out with a voice of despairing misery, "God be merciful to me a sinner." This alternation of his mind, formed a combination harrowing to the soul of every spectator. I approached, and attempted to direct his distracted mind to the only source of a sinner's hope. He tried to listen and lie calmly, amid the heavings of the tempest of pain. But agitated and incoherent, he would one moment speak in palliation of his sins and allude to his good deeds, and then, as stung by conscience, would again cry out in bitterness of soul, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Alas, with a mind agitated by fear, a body racked with pain, and the confusion of attendants and medicines, how could the mind think or act in turning to God. I left him, and in a few hours he breathed his last.

But some of the most painful scenes were witnessed at the cholera hospital. This was a long low building, hastily erected in the outskirts of the city, for such of the poor as could not elsewhere be relieved: Many of the scenes here were too loathsome almost to excite pity, and one could not but turn away in disgust and horror. This was particularly the case in the earlier stages of the pestilence, when the building was crowded and the arrangements necessarily imperfect.

One morning after breakfast, though my own frame was enfeebled by constant exertion, yet called by professional duty, I was compelled to visit this hospital. As I approached, a number of coffins, or rather boxes made of boards unplanned and mis-shapen, lay about the door, some empty, some containing a corpse hastily thrust in, with part of the clothes or perhaps a discolored hand or leg protruding. Near by, lay a corpse just dead, brought from the inside, and laid out of the door with the face merely covered with the cloth. As I entered, the long low room was occupied by beds, placed against the wall on each side, leaving a space or alley down through the centre. But actual inspection alone, can convey any idea of the varied scenes of human suffering which met my eye. On my right lay a corpse; he had that moment breathed his last; his unclosed eyes glared horribly upon me, and the flies with loathsome appetite, were filling his mouth and covering his whole person. In the next bed I heard a feeble wail, touching the heart, even before the meaning of the words reached the ear. It was the wail of one in the last stages of distress begging help. I approached the sufferer, and found that it was one of the patients imploring water: "Water, Water," were the only words he could utter. But this, in accordance with the strict injunctions of the physician, the nurses were obliged to refuse, while the sufferer at times, as his strength allowed, raised his piteous cry to every one that passed that way, "Water, Water." I spoke kindly to him, and tried to make him see the necessity of compliance with the physician's directions. He looked at me incredulously, and only repeated his cry, "Water, Water." Though seemingly barbarous, I was compelled to turn away and leave him to his fate.

Suddenly my attention was attracted by some words spoken rather harshly, and going up to ascertain the cause, I found one of the nurses standing by the side of a female patient with a bottle in her hand, and from the tenor of her reproaches I ascertained, that hot water having been put to her feet, she had contrived to get at it with her hand, extract the cork, and relieve her thirst. Being discovered, she had thus caused the altercation which had attracted my notice.

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I next turned to a bed, on which lay a man apparently near his end. At his head stood a woman, evidently his wife, neither sobbing nor groaning; but with a mute expression of anguish and despair, which might have melted a heart of stone. Now she gazed on the features of her expiring husband, and then

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turned to a group of little children standing around the bed. I approached her and endeavored to introduce conversation. She shook her head in token of not understanding me. Others came around,—one spoke in French, another in Irish, another in Gaelic ; but she understood not. As well as could be ascertained, it was a Welsh family just arrived, on their way to join some of their countrymen. The father and husband was taken sick, and here forlorn, miserable and poor, they were shut out from the kind tones of sympathy and pity. We could only look upon them with pity and turn away saddened.

I soon discovered the young man whom I came to see. On inquiry, I found that he was without friends, had come to this country alone, had been here but a few days, was taken sick, and brought here to die friendless and alone. I sat with the poor fellow, comforting him, and directing him to the Savior of sinners. He was deeply grateful for my attention, and hoped to recover. He died the next day.

One morning I had been obtaining some medicine for a poor man, when I learned the following fact. In that same house, *three* had died the day before. At night one of the inmates came home from his labor, damning the people for being sick ; declaring with an oath, that he did not believe in any God, and was not afraid of the disease. That very night, almost as soon as the words were uttered, vomiting and spasms seized the miserable wretch, and he was taken to the hospital to die.

But to narrate all the scenes which a professional man was called to pass through, would fill volumes. These may serve as specimens. But no one, except the man who has seen it, can conceive the horrors of the pestilence in a crowded city. To sit in your dining room and see a dozen funerals pass, in the moderate interval of sitting at table ; to hear even in the wakeful hours of night, the slow rumbling of the death-cart ; to be constantly in the midst of wretchedness beyond relief ; to see faces distorted and discolored ; to hear the groans of the sick, the cries and tears of the widow and the orphan ; to reflect as you lie down at night, that the morning's sun may find you writhing with the cholera, or actually in the grave,—are dreadful. They are scenes to which the mind recurs, as to some terrific dream. Yet such were the scenes amid which the writer lived, during the memorable summer of 1832."

## ART. X.—TALFOURD'S ION.

*Ion ; a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By THOMAS NOON TALFOURD.  
Third Edition. New York: George Dearborn & Co. Gold street. 1837.

THIS tragedy of ION has already been more than a year before the public in the United States, and has passed through several editions: many of our readers are, no doubt, familiar with it, and it has been called to a high place in modern literature by the general voice. It might seem, therefore, that in now noticing it we offer a dish of dried fruits, instead of the fresh products of the season: but the truth is, that the admiration expressed for this play, just as we allow it to have been, seems to us to have been rather indiscriminate; and we therefore wish to look at it as critics, somewhat in detail, rather than to select a few brilliant passages, and varnish them over with general praise. We may also profitably examine the merits of Ion, in a moral point of view, as setting up a standard of character, and giving a lesson of action to the public mind.

We shall begin our remarks with the story of the play, partly in order to give an idea of its main features to those who have not read it, and to refresh the memory of those who have; and partly also in order to lay a foundation for our own subsequent remarks:—At the birth of Adrastus, eldest son of the king of Argos, a divine curse was pronounced upon him, that his life should be attempted by one born of him, and that by his own and his offspring's death the royal line should be extinguished. The curse began to do its work upon him by the horror which he aroused in every breast: a younger brother stole away the affections of the family; and when that brother died by a fall from a precipice, Adrastus was suspected, though without evidence, of procuring his death. Already shut out from the sympathy of those who should love him, and thus left a prey to wild passions, to hatred and pride, he forsook his home, and sought to cool the fever of his heart amid the solitudes of nature. Here he found what home should have given,—answered love. A maiden left alone by her father's death becomes his wife, and brings him a son. Just at this time, the spies of the Argive king break in upon the new joy of Adrastus, and wishing to prevent the fulfillment of the oracle, snatch away the child, with a view to destroy it. Adrastus supposed it slain, and saw the only being that loved him die of grief in his arms. He returned

to reign in due time at Argos with a tyrant's soul in his breast ; a heart seemingly obdurate ; a love for sensuality, and a dark spirit of cruelty :—he is, in short, passion, kindled by want of sympathy, and desperately drowning thought by momentary expedients.

All this is but a preface to the play, and is gathered from the confession which he makes, as we shall see, to Ion :—before his subjects he stands as a furious tyrant, and every redeeming trait, every palliation, is unknown to them. Meanwhile the slow but sure oracle takes another step, and a plague lays waste the state. The king, after sending a messenger to consult the oracle at Delphi as to its cause, thinking that his time of destruction had come, gives himself up to desperate revelry, and denies audience to his sages on pain of death. The principal sages have taken refuge from the plague in the temple of Apollo. There is in the temple a very lovely and remarkable youth called Ion, whom the priest had rescued from death when an exposed infant, and in whom are displayed the highest qualities belonging to noble birth. He visits the plague-stricken, comforts the dying, and of late seems, even in his more dilated form, much more in his reflecting melancholy, to be filled with some great idea. The sages meet on the platform of the temple, and consult whether they shall not essay once more to persuade the king to come forth from his revelry, and take such measures with them as the crisis in the city requires. Ion persuades them to send him upon the embassy to the king, instead of risking their own lives, and the argument which wins their consent, is that “high promptings, which could never rise spontaneous in his nature, bid him plead for the mission.” The sages acknowledge his call, and put him into their place. We are the more minute in describing the result of this scene, because the action afterwards depends upon it, and our judgment of the whole plot must be affected by what is thought of the motives, that determine the conduct of the actors here.

Before Ion goes forth upon his errand, he has an interview with the daughter of the priest : having lived together from infancy, the young pair loved each other without declaring it, and without Ion's suspecting the strength of the maiden's feeling. But now, when Ion is making ready to meet probable death, the confession bursts from Clemanthe's lips. He receives it with deep joy, yet at a moment when the high call of duty swallows up other thoughts.

In the next act, Ion is found in the palace court, demanding audience of the tyrant, who allows him entrance only on pain

of death. Ion accepts the condition, and stands before him undismayed. His heroic boldness, his self-devotion, his thrilling appeals to the heart of Adrastus, and his tones of voice, resembling those of the king's lost wife, so touch a long-neglected chord in the heart of the latter, that he not only reprieves Ion, but confides to him all his own secret history, and consents to meet the sages. Ion comes back to tell the success of his mission just as Phocion, the priest's son, returns from the oracle of Delphi. At the meeting nothing is effected—Adrastus has relapsed into his old obduracy. Phocion reads the words of the oracle,

"Argos ne'er shall find release  
Till her monarch's race shall cease;"

and the king attributing the words to sedition rather than to divine wisdom, has him seized, for punishment or death. Ion rescues his friend by a strong appeal to the king, over whose heart, now that he has his secret, he possesses a great power; and the meeting is dismissed, though not without a concert between Phocion and another young man, whose father had been cruelly treated, to take measures for the king's assassination.

A number of conspirators now assemble, headed by these two young men. They had not invited Ion, as being of too soft a nature for a work of blood. But his fate draws him into the scene. He surprises them before the lot pronounces who shall do the deed; his name is put into the helmet, and comes out first. He is to strike the blow, and Phocion, whose name is drawn next, is to strike him if he prove faint-hearted. He takes a most solemn oath to destroy the king and his race; and now, for the first time, feels some relief from the burden of agitated thoughts. Already had the belief that he was called to some great work as a minister of providence ripened into full conviction, already the marble statues of the Argive kings had opened their mouths to call him Ion the devoted; but now all was clear and plain before him, and as he dreaded not death, he could breathe more freely and feel more calmly, because he knew his destiny. Delay would be fatal to the success of the conspiracy; for Adrastus had gone to rest upon his return from the meeting, and his soldiers neglected the watch of the palace for a carousal. Ion therefore bursts away from Clemanthe, and hastens to the scene of death. Scarce is he gone, when new and strange tidings change the complexion of the plot. A man had that day landed at Argos, was taken with the plague and died. Before his death he has just time to write to the priest of Apollo, that he was employed of old to murder the infant child

of Adrastus, and that he did not execute the commission, but only exposed the child upon the spot where he saw the priest take it up. That child—the priest knows—is Ion. Immediately the priest learns from his daughter, that Ion is gone to slay the king, and bethinks himself of a short secret way from the shrine to the king's chamber, by making use of which, he may prevent the parricide.

Meanwhile, Ion gains the chamber of Adrastus unobserved; the king wakes with his murderer standing over him, and no help is nigh; Ion proclaims himself the minister of divine justice, and the king is just yielding submissively to the stroke, when the priest rushes in and reveals the dreadful secret. It costs no trouble to satisfy Adrastus of a relationship, when he sees in every feature and tone memorials of his deceased wife. The two retire, at Ion's suggestion, to an inner chamber, that the king may be more safe; but his time is come, and Ctesiphon, the youth who had so deep a wrong to avenge, does the work from which Ion shrunk. Phocion, in obedience to his oath, seeks the life of his friend Ion, is disarmed, and forgiven. Meanwhile, the sages and the people receive the news of Ion's royal birth with joy, and he appoints the next morning as the time of his solemn entrance into power. The oath to destroy the king and his race is yet unfulfilled, and the plague unassuaged. Ion assures his friend Phocion, that he has not forgot what he had sworn. From Clemanthe he parts with his heart rent, unable to tell her of his purpose, and seeking, under the disguise of coldness, to conceal his emotions. With the sages and others he arranges the ceremonials of the crowning. The time comes: he bids a mysterious farewell to his foster-father, the priest of Apollo, leaves a legacy of exhortations to the assembled citizens, and stabs himself in his throne. Justice has now victims enough, the truth of the oracles is brought to light, and the plague suddenly abates. Ion, who had lived long enough to hear this, dies with joy at the tidings, and in Clemanthe's arms.

We are well aware, that by such an analysis as this, it is impossible to do justice to any piece of composition, especially to one the very essence of which is emotion. The impression on our readers' minds hitherto must be a cold one, if they have not read *Ion* itself, or, to use an anatomical metaphor, have only seen the dead subject. But it must be remembered, that critics are dissectors by profession. We hold it to be necessary, therefore, to do as we have done, and shall proceed to the reflections which have been called up in our minds by a careful examination of the tragedy before us.

Ion may then be looked at in the light of art, as belonging to the class of the Greek or classical drama. It is true, indeed, that we have no chorus, and true also, that the scene shifts more frequently than the ancient drama allows; but these are not so essential differences as to bring it under another category.

We can trace several of the leading features of the play in its Greek relations. In the foundling, reared up within the precincts of a temple, and turning out to be born of royal parents, we have a new portrait of the principal character in the play of Euripides, which has the same name. In the plague, that visits Argos, on account of the crimes of its line of kings, and cannot be made to cease but by their extirpation, we discover what the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles may have suggested to Mr. Talfourd. But these are the body, or rather a part of the members of the work; the soul, so far as we can see, is his own. Now in this soul there are several qualities (and we say it without any intention to disparage or to praise, for why may not an author, if he pleases, unite ancient form with modern spirit?) which materially depart from the antique. In the first place, the great sway borne by passion and feeling, the high rank in the work which reflection and self-study hold, stamp it with the seal of modern times. To give an instance: so pure and unsensual love as the author paints, is above the standard of heathen conceptions. Christianity has here ennobled our ideal of character. The highest love of the old drama moves within the circle of the family affections. In the next place, the sentimentalism of the piece appears to us to be unclassic. In the opening scene, the hoary counselor Agenor talks about the new development of Ion's character, finely indeed, but in a style unlike the ancient sages; in such a way, in short, that we think every moment we hear Mr. Talfourd preparing us for the marvelous self-devotion and heroic strength of character of the beautiful youth. Adrastus, again, has too much fury and desperation, too much Byronism, to accord with the traits which distinguished the petty Greek sovereigns. We seem, when he speaks, to hear the great king blustering amid his eunuchs, and when he unfolds his history, it is all modern,—that of a character formed by action on the mind, and by the mind's reflex acts, rather than by the world and nature.

What especially brings this play nigh to the Greek drama is, the idea of fate which reigns in it. Concerning this idea, and the plan in general, the author uses the following words:

'The idea of the principal character, that of a nature essentially pure and disinterested, deriving its strength entirely from goodness and



thought, not overcoming evil by the force of will, but escaping it by an insensibility to its approach, vividly conscious of existence and its pleasures, yet willing to lay them down at the call of duty, is scarcely capable of being rendered sufficiently capable in itself, or of being subjected to such agitations as tragedy requires in its heroes. It was necessary, in order to involve such a character, in circumstances which might excite terror, or grief, or joy, to introduce other machinery than that of passions working naturally within, or events arising from ordinary or palpable motives without, as its own elements would not supply the contents of tragic emotion, nor would its sufferings, however accumulated, present a varied or impressive figure. Recourse has therefore been had, not only to the old Grecian notion of *DESTINY*, apart from all moral agencies, and to a *prophecy* indicating its purport in reference to the individuals involved in its chains, but to the idea of *fascination*, as the engine by which *FATE* may work its purposes on the innocent mind, and force it into terrible action, most uncongenial to itself, but necessary to the issue.' *Preface*, pp. v, vi.

If our author, by "destiny apart from all moral agencies," means to exclude human free will from co-working with destiny, as the Greeks viewed it, he is, we believe, wholly wrong. We challenge him to point out a play of Sophocles or Æschylus,—for in Euripides reference to destiny is almost idle and lifeless,—where human agency is not necessary to carry out the decrees of higher powers. And indeed his own *Ion* resembles them in this respect, so that we are not sure of having fathomed his meaning. His destiny also has more of fate in it, as we think, than the Greek fate itself had; it is a more blind and mechanical power, unaccompanied by foresight and moral sense. The fate of Sophocles is so intelligent, and so much like a governing principle in the world, that M. Süvern, of Berlin,—perhaps the first critic now living,—does not scruple to call it providence. It is to this view of fate, that we must ascribe part of a certain feeling of dreariness and desolation, that the reading of *Ion* leaves on our minds. There is here no governing God. Virtue can suffer and freely suffer; but it is crushed by the weight of mechanical necessity; it falls into a chasm, where all is dark, and which is closed to hope.

Mr. Talfourd extends the ancient idea of fate by assigning to it, as a means of action, the principle of fascination; that is, destiny not only leads *Ion* to self-destruction, but leads him by a species of excitation, by giving him the persuasion, he cannot tell why, that he is called and singled out for something great. This influence on the mind of *Ion* answers to that which the christian gives to the Spirit of all goodness, something as enthusiasm answers to holiness. This fascination, which is almost

unknown to the ancient poets, Mr. Talfourd himself seems to be afraid of, or rather, to be half conscious, that it is not necessary to his piece. It is so much in the background, therefore, that an ordinary reader would hardly notice it. We object to this principle, that it is neither ancient nor modern,—it existed neither in the belief of the old world, which Mr. T. certainly has a right to found a piece upon, nor in that of christianity. It rather needs, therefore, to be accounted for, than serves to account for what exists. No literary man has a right to invent, in action or character, what has neither been nor is believed to have a being. He may not, for instance, join profligacy and consummate virtue together in the same person, or piety and abominable hypocrisy, or make a new moral system of the universe, with the present race of men placed under it.

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam  
Jungere si velit,—risum teneatis?

But, with submission to Mr. Talfourd's better conceptions of a creation of his own, we join issue with him as to the necessity of introducing such an idea in order to explain a character like *Ion's*. We differ in this: he speaks of a character "not overcoming evil by the force of will, but escaping it by an insensibility to its approach, and yet essentially pure and disinterested, deriving its strength entirely from goodness and thought, vividly conscious of existence and its pleasures, and yet willing to lay them down at the call of duty." Now, we ask, has Mr. T. conceived of a character exactly human? or, is he not led aside from reality, by the distorted or unnatural beings which figure in our novels? What strength has any character, but that of goodness and thought, given and confirmed by the Divine Spirit? And is not the will to act and suffer in proportion to the amount of goodness and thought? Further, what is more common, where christianity ennobles the character, than to find characters like *Ion*,—a shrinking female, for instance,—sacrificing themselves for others, enduring pain and going through trying scenes with martyr-like constancy? Who bore the stake and flames more firmly, in the days of persecution, than just this kind of characters? If there be a person then represented of such a mold, situations entirely new are sufficient to account for displays of heroic virtue of which others had not before suspected him, or he perhaps thought himself capable. It would not, indeed, be natural for him to throw himself, like *Ion*, into the first situation of this sort; and here only does the play need to be altered, in order to do away with the principle of fascination.

Here we will concede, that something like what Mr. Talfourd means by fascination is consistent with truth, and may be introduced into christian literature. That man is prepared for the part which he is to act in some cases, we presume no christian will deny. Now this preparation is, or may be at least, something aside from the action of divine providence and of sanctifying grace,—an action upon the mind, ennobling and shaping it, filling it with enthusiasm, and even with dim presentiments of its future dignity. And on the contrary there is a preparation of the wicked for their downfall, and the part of shame they are to act, a panic fear, an unaccountable foreboding, which asserts without reasoning and above reason the cause of divine justice. We should not object to this relation of the mind to its supreme governor, if sparingly introduced into literature. We say *sparingly*, for to give it prominence or tangibility would be to divest it of its nature, which is essentially indistinct and shadowy.

We pass next to the *plot*. This is arranged in the main with very great skill and judgment. The author shows himself a master-workman in his architecture, and especially in so constructing the short action as to throw the greatest interest into Ion's part. There is but one thing to which we seriously object. The *denouement* is brought about, as our readers have been already told, by a certain man, who was appointed with another to murder the infant Ion, and who, having failed to finish his work, leaves the infant where the priest of Apollo finds it. This man returned to Argos on the day when the events of the play took place, was taken with the plague and died. Before his death he wrote to Medon a full account of the affair, and of Ion's parentage. Now we object not to the sufficiency of the proof which attends this discovery; nor to accident considered in itself. What men call accident, is, we believe, as legitimate a part of true tragedy as cause and effect, mind, or providence. But the resort to accident here is too plainly seen; it is too evidently a device to move the plot along. It destroys the dream, that we have been contemplating truth. We know it may be said many actual things are wholly improbable; many things more strange have happened, than that this man should return from his exile of a life on the day, and just at the moment of the day when Mr. T. wanted it. But how are we to produce the impression of conformity to nature, which is essential to a work of art occupied with human life, if we introduce not merely improbable coincidences, but such as are evidently resorted to out of a necessity created by ourselves.

But in addition to this there are two places where we are not sure, that Mr. Talfourd is treading upon safe ground. The first is near the beginning, where the sages are persuaded to send Ion instead of one of themselves, on a message to the tyrant; the motive alledged being, that they see him to be divinely called to the office. Now that Ion should conceive himself to be thus called, enthusiasm, or Mr. Talfourd's "fascination," if admitted, would explain. But we see no sufficient reason why the sages, as men of ordinary prudence, should attribute Ion's altered conduct and heroic determination to a special divine cause, or why they should intrust an important matter to hands so young.

The second is of slight importance to the whole plot, and perhaps would be thought by many hardly worthy of notice. We refer to the covered way, of which Medon suddenly bethinks himself, as leading from the temple to the king's chamber. This looks too much like the awkward invention of an ordinary mind. It is a piece sewed over a hole by an unfortunate cobbler. If the passage was there, why had it not been used? But how could it have been there and have been open, when it might have led assassins at every instant to the bedside of a tyrant?

But aside from these few faults, as we regard them, the felicity of Mr. Talfourd in weaving the web of his plot is wonderful. Every incident seems to have been put into its place in conformity with the dictates of the deepest and most careful reflection. A story and a moment of time are chosen, which allow the author to press into the brief space of a day the events of years. The reader's mind seems to have passed down a long stream of time, and yet, when we think of the moment, that we have been with the characters, everything seems probable in the adjustments of the piece, and nothing requires us to make a longer stay. There is no hurry, and what is more deserving of praise, no agitation, but rather entire calmness. The events are as unlike those of a melo-drama as are the actors.

We come next, by a natural progress, to the *situations* of the tragedy before us. These are, as may be gathered from our abstract, often novel and deeply interesting. The love of Clemanthe breaking out just at the time when Ion is torn away, and their passages with one another, afterward, when the calm enjoyment of requited affection lay in the future on the borders of hope and despair, although appendages to the main action, deepen its tone in no small degree. Of Ion's first interview with Adrastus, we may speak more fitly in another place. Of the second, where he comes into his chamber to destroy him, and is discovered to be

his son, we hardly know what to say. Recognitions like this are so aside from human experience, that they are difficult to succeed in, and difficult to judge of. We think Mr. Talfourd has done well in giving but a glimpse of this secret to his reader until he was ready to have it come out, and well also in so preparing Adrastus by the tones of Ion's voice, and his lineaments to receive the secret, that he needs no proof when the truth is revealed to him. But still we ask, was the firm persuasion of many years, fortified by all the testimony to which he could have access, that his infant child was dead, was *this* to be overthrown without proof by a likeness, and the mere word of an enemy? Is not joy itself incredulous, and hope inclined to fear? We know not how Mr. Talfourd could have managed this part better than he has done, but we are more doubtful of it than of any other scene. And this remark we extend to the whole interview between Ion and his parent up to the time of the latter's death.

There is little opportunity for *character-painting* in this tragedy; the ideal and general nature of the ancient drama, to which as a class it belongs, removes it from those particular views of human nature which give the works of Shakspeare one of their greatest superiorities over all others. There are properly not more than two prominent characters which possess individual traits, those of Adrastus and of Ion; and these traits consist so much in emotions, that we shall not attempt to draw a precise line between our remarks upon these two points. Of the influences under which the character of Adrastus was formed, we have a probable account given. He could hardly fail to become what he is described to be. It may be doubted how far it is true to nature, that he should change his purpose when Ion is admitted into his presence, and instead of destroying him make him the sharer of his dearest secrets. At least, if a divine fascination is needed to lead Ion upon his course, it is as much needed to melt and transmute the hard metal of his father's soul. But we will lay no stress upon this. The play opens with this great advantage, that from the first the author's conception of Ion is powerfully brought out. It captivates us at once, even as we learn it from the mouths of the sages before we hear his own voice, and we become so full of Ion through the whole piece, and so interested in the developments of his character till it is consummated by his self-sacrifice, and this too, with nothing but a dark and bottomless grave to leap into, that we can think of nothing else. What of earthly loveliness can be more beautiful than a youth with

a soul so alive to everything great and good, with the deepest relish for all that is valuable in life, and living in the love of others and for others, giving up all hope and all joy for the sake of others, and seeking death without a reluctant thought. Angelic benevolence and loveliness could do no more. Yet we should have been better pleased if our author had painted Ion with more struggles when ready to cast life away ; it would have given more human probability to his character, and would have shown, that he had counted the cost, and knew what it was to die. Here we come again to what we conceive to be an original and serious defect in our author's conception of Ion. As he himself says, his hero does not overcome evil by the force of will, but escapes it by insensibility to its approach. In other words, Ion does not partake of that part of human nature which renders our life on earth so important, susceptibility to temptation ; and therefore needs no struggles of soul to resist it. His is not that virtue which "unshaken, unsubdued, unterrified, keeps its loyalty, its love, its zeal ;" but by a self-prompted, spontaneous instinct, he recoils from evil, or by an insensibility to it he can breathe it like some atmosphere of pestilence, without apprehension or danger. He is like a man who has lost the sense of feeling, and throws himself into the fire for some good end. What would the Romans have thought of Scevola if his arm had been of stone ? Now it is no sufficient bar to our objection, that the character of Ion is ideal. We do not quarrel with our author on that account. Let him paint a character as ideal as he will, it is thus only raised above ordinary human nature, and not withdrawn from its sphere. But our author exhibits a romantic goodness which has no base to rest upon. We take the difference between the ideal and the romantic in character, to be something like this,—the one is man approaching that perfection which is possible for a nature like his, and therefore equally beautiful and moral ; the other is man approaching a false standard of perfection, or approaching it without being under those laws which can or should guide our nature, and therefore only beautiful to the diseased eye, and moral to the unregulated moral sense.

We shall have more to say of this before we are through. At present we shall break the chain of our remarks, no doubt to the great satisfaction of our readers, by quoting one or two passages as samples of the whole. The first shall be the first interview between Ion and Clemanthe, beginning with her appeal to him against exposing himself to the plague, and ending with their confession of love :—

ION.

'How fares my pensive sister?

CLEMANTHE.

How should I fare but ill when the pale hand  
Draws the black foldings of the eternal curtain  
Closer and closer round us—Phocion absent—  
And thou, forsaking all within thy home,  
Wilt risk thy life with strangers, in whose aid  
Even thou canst do but little?

ION.

It is little:

But in these sharp extremities of fortune,  
The blessings which the weak and poor can scatter  
Have their own season. 'Tis a little thing  
To give a cup of water; yet its draught  
Of cool refreshment, drain'd by fever'd lips,  
May give a shock of pleasure to the frame  
More exquisite than when nectarean juice  
Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.  
It is a little thing to speak a phrase  
Of common comfort which by daily use  
Has almost lost its sense; yet on the ear  
Of him who thought to die unmourn'd 'twill fall  
Like choicest music; fill the glazing eye  
With gentle tears; relax the knotted hand  
To know the bonds of fellowship again;  
And shed on the departing soul a sense  
More precious than the benison of friends  
About the honor'd deathbed of the rich,  
To him who else were lonely, that another  
Of the great family is near and feels.

CLEMANTHE.

Oh, thou canst never bear these mournful offices!  
So blithe, so merry once! Will not the sight  
Of frenzied agonies unfix thy reason,  
Or the dumb woe congeal thee?

ION.

No, Clemanthe;

They are the patient sorrows that touch nearest;  
If thou hadst seen the warrior, when he writhed  
In the last grapple of his sinewy frame,  
With conquering anguish, strive to cast a smile  
(And not in vain) upon his fragile wife,  
Waning beside him,—and, his limbs composed,  
The widow of the moment fix her gaze  
Of longing, speechless love, upon the babe,  
The only living thing which yet was hers,  
Spreading its arms for its own resting-place,  
Yet with attenuated hand wave off  
The unstricken child, and so embraceless die,  
Stifling the mighty hunger of the heart;  
Thou couldst endure the sight of selfish grief  
In sullenness or frenzy;—but to-day  
Another lot falls on me.

CLEMANTHE.

Thou wilt leave us!

I read it plainly in thy alter'd mien;—  
Is it for ever?

ION.

That is with the gods !  
 I go but to the palace, urged by hope,  
 Which from afar hath darted on my soul,  
 That to the humbleness of one like me  
 The haughty king may listen.

CLEMANTHE.

To the palace !  
 Knowest thou the peril—nay, the certain issue  
 That waits thee ? Death !—The tyrant has decreed it,  
 Confirmed it with an oath ; and he has power  
 To keep that oath ; for, hated as he is,  
 The reckless soldiers who partake his riot  
 Are swift to do his bidding.

ION.

I know all ;  
 But they who call me to the work can shield me,  
 Or make me strong to suffer.

CLEMANTHE.

Then the sword  
 Falls on thy neck ! O Gods ! to think that thou,  
 Who in the plenitude of youthful life  
 Art now before me, ere the sun decline,  
 Perhaps in one short hour, shalt lie cold, cold,  
 To speak, smile, bless no more !—Thou shalt not go !

ION.

Thou must not stay me, fair one ; even thy father,  
 Who (blessings on him !) loves me as his son,  
 Yields to the will of Heaven.

CLEMANTHE.

And he can do this !  
 I shall not bear his presence if thou fallest  
 By his consent ; so shall I be alone.

ION.

Phocion will soon return, and juster thoughts  
 Of thy admiring father close the gap  
 Thy old companion left behind him.

CLEMANTHE.

Never !  
 What will to me be father, brother, friends,  
 When thou art gone—the light of our life quench'd—  
 Haunting like spectres of departed joy  
 The home where thou wert dearest ?

ION.

Thrill me not  
 With words that, in their agony, suggest  
 A hope too ravishing, or my head will swim,  
 And my heart faint within me.

CLEMANTHE.

Has my speech  
 Such blessed power ? I will not mourn it then,  
 Though it hath told a secret I had borne



Till death in silence :—how affection grew  
To this, I know not ;—day succeeded day,  
Each fraught with the same innocent delights,  
Without one shock to ruffle the disguise  
Of sisterly regard which veil'd it well,  
Till thy changed mien reveal'd it to my soul,  
And thy great peril makes me bold to tell it.  
Do not despise it in me !

ION.

With deep joy  
Thus I receive it. Trust me, it is long  
Since I have learn'd to tremble midst our pleasures,  
Lest I should break the golden dream around me  
With most ungrateful rashness. I should bless  
The sharp and perilous duty which hath press'd  
A life's deliciousness into these moments,—  
Which here must end. I came to say farewell,  
And the word must be said.' pp. 15—19.

Humanity and charity never were painted in lovelier colors, than in the beginning of this extract. It made us feel, when we read it, the words of Christ, that he who gives a cup of water in his name shall not lose his reward. With the declaration of love we are not entirely satisfied. The author seems afraid of himself, like a person upon the ice, and therefore represses the feelings which should have burst more freely from both parties. Clemanthe ought not to excuse, or half excuse her affection by what she says in her last speech ; still less ought she to dream, that Ion can despise her for telling it. What noble person would think conventional reserve necessary at a crisis like this. Ion also, we think, might have manifested a little more strength of feeling, in perfect consistency with his enthusiastic pursuit of the object before him. Was it not right for him to feel a struggle, to hang for a moment poised between the sweet hope now assured to him and the strong call of duty ? One would think the fascination had deadened, to some degree, even his emotions. We should like to extract a deeply tender scene from the beginning of the third act, but our limits will only allow us to quote part of another, and, as we conceive, a very beautiful scene at the close of the play. It is the last interview between the same pair. Fate, having revealed to him his lineage, has made it necessary for him, if he will not break his oath, to destroy in himself the last scion of the Argive race of kings. He means to do it at the coronation, and conceals it by a disguise of coldness from Clemanthe, but yet must bid her farewell. In this interview, the weak disguise bursts apart :

ION.

'What wouldst thou with me, lady?

CLEMANTHE.

Is it so?

Nothing, my lord, save to implore thy pardon,  
That the departing gleams of a bright dream,  
From which I scarce had waken'd, made me bold  
To crave a word with thee;—but all are fled—  
And I have nought to seek.

ION.

A goodly dream;

But thou art right to think it was no more,  
And study to forget it.

CLEMANTHE.

To forget it?

Indeed, my lord, I cannot wish to lose  
What, being past, is all my future hath,  
All I shall live for; do not grudge me this,  
The brief space I shall need it.

ION.

Speak not, fair one,

In tone so mournful, for it makes me feel  
Too sensibly the hapless wretch I am,  
That troubled the deep quiet of thy soul  
In that pure fountain which reflected heaven,  
For a brief taste of rapture.

CLEMANTHE.

Dost thou yet

Esteem it rapture, then? My foolish heart,  
Be still! Yet wherefore should a crown divide us?  
O, my dear Ion!—let me call thee so  
This once at least—it could not in my thoughts  
Increase the distance that there was between us,  
When, rich in spirit, thou to strangers' eyes  
Seem'd a poor foundling.

ION.

It must separate us!

Think it no harmless bauble, but a curse  
Will freeze the current in the veins of youth,  
And from familiar touch of genial hand,  
From household pleasures, from sweet daily tasks,  
From airy thoughts, free wanderer of the heavens,  
For ever banish me!

CLEMANTHE.

Thou dost accuse

Thy state too hardly. It may give some room,  
Some little space, amidst its radiant cares,  
For love and joy to breathe in.

ION.

Not for me:

My pomp must be most lonesome, far removed  
From that sweet fellowship of human kind  
The slave rejoices in: my solemn robes  
Shall wrap me as a panoply of ice,

And the attendants who may throng around me  
Shall want the flatteries which may basely warm  
The sceptral thing they circle. Dark and cold  
Stretches the path, which, when I wear the crown,  
I needs must enter ;—the great gods forbid  
That thou shouldst follow in it !

CLEMANTHE.

O unkind !  
And shall we never see each other ?

ION. [*After a pause.*]

Yes !

I have ask'd that dreadful question of the hills  
That look eternal ; of the flowing streams  
That lucid flow for ever ; of the stars,  
Amid whose fields of azure my raised spirit  
Hath trod in glory : all were dumb ; but now,  
While I thus gaze upon thy living face,  
I feel the love that kindles through its beauty  
Can never wholly perish ;—we *shall* meet  
Again, Clemanthe !

CLEMANTHE.

Bless thee for that name ;  
Call me that name again ;—thy words sound strangely,  
Yet they breathe kindness. Shall we meet indeed ?  
Think not I would intrude upon thy cares,  
Thy councils, or thy pomps ;—to sit at distance,  
To weave, with the nice labor which preserves  
The rebel pulses even, from gay threads  
Faint records of thy deeds, and sometimes catch  
The falling music of a gracious word,  
Or the stray sunshine of a smile, will be  
Comfort enough :—do not deny me this ;  
Or if stern fate compel thee to deny,  
Kill me at once !

ION.

No ; thou must live, my fair one ;  
There are a thousand joyous things in life,  
Which pass unheeded in a life of joy  
As thine hath been, till breezy sorrow comes  
To ruffle it ; and daily duties paid  
Hardly at first, at length will bring repose  
To the sad mind that studies to perform them.  
Thou dost not mark me.

CLEMANTHE.

Oh, I do ! I do !

ION.

If for thy brother's and thy father's sake  
Thou art content to live, the healer Time  
Will reconcile thee to the lovely things  
Of this delightful world,—and if another,  
A happier—no, I cannot bid thee love  
Another !—I did think I could have said it,  
But 'tis in vain.

CLEMANTHE.

Thou art mine own then still ?  
I am thine own ! thus let me clasp thee ; nearer ;  
O joy too thrilling and too short ! pp. 97—101.

The mind of Mr. Talfourd is, we should judge, highly philosophical; his idea of excellence must be lofty,—and we are far from denying, that he gives in his *Ion* abundant proofs of true genius. But still, reflection must be more predominant in his mind than strong and controlling feelings, or than genuine ardor and single-heartedness. Hence, there is too much describing and too little acting in the piece,—too much analysis, and too little working of the mind and heart. It accords with this character of reflection which we are disposed to attribute to Mr. Talfourd, that every part of the work manifests care and labor. The language itself is much elaborated,—occasionally intricate, and involved, through fullness of thought and through an unfortunate propensity of the author, to pursue a reflection or a figure to a wearisome extent. An instance of this, for which a good plea may be put in, is the following, where *Ion* is alone, and has a right to muse :

## ION.

'O winding pathways, o'er whose scanty blades  
Of unaspiring grass mine eyes have bent  
So often—when by musing fancy sway'd,  
That craved alliance with no wider scene  
Than your fair thickets bordered, but was pleased  
To deem the toilsome years of manhood flown,  
And, on the pictured mellowness of age  
Idly reflective, image my return  
From careful wanderings, to find ye gleam  
With unchanged aspect on a heart unchanged,  
And melt the busy past to a sweet dream  
As then the future was ;—why should ye now  
Echo my steps with melancholy sound  
As ye were conscious of a guilty presence ?  
The lovely light of eve, that, as it waned,  
Touch'd ye with softer, homelier look, now fades  
In dismal blackness ; and yon twisted root  
Of ancient trees, with whose fantastic forms  
My thoughts grew humorous, look terrible,  
As if about to start to serpent life,  
And hiss around me ;—whither shall I turn ?—  
Where fly ?—I see the myrtle-cradled spot  
Where human love instructed by divine  
Found and embraced me first ; I'll cast me down  
Upon that earth as on a mother's breast,  
In hope to feel myself again a child.' p. 57.

But when *Adrastus* attempts the same thing, it amounts to rant. The most faulty passage, perhaps in the play, is the one where twenty-two lines are employed in describing a burning pine-tree, which is to illustrate the manner in which the "royalty of Argos shall pass in festal blaze to darkness !" This comparison comes from the mouth of a man out of breath with anger, and seated in a public assembly amid his enemies. Mr.

Talfourd clearly does not understand action or strong passion as well as eloquence and sentiment.

On the whole this is a very admirable play, whatever defects a strict or impartial eye may see in it; and reflects the highest credit upon its author. It becomes therefore the more important—especially since *Ion* seems destined to please the unthinking many as well as the reflecting few—to ask what its *moral* influence is likely to be? how far it is calculated to subserve the great cause of moral education, which literary men are so apt to overlook. We trust, that we can carry our readers along with us in this inquiry, for we presume, that none of them have adopted that German notion, that it is of little importance for a work of taste to have a good moral tendency, as though these two departments were as distinct as algebra and politics. *Ion*, then, viewed as representing a character actuated by the highest benevolence cannot but be useful. Benevolence looked at in its higher displays tends to raise the standard of feeling and action in the mind. Still more useful is it in this world of sorrow and sin to have examples of suffering benevolence placed before us, for that is the hardest part for human nature to act. But here the good effect of the play ends. Mr. Talfourd has stolen the fire of benevolence from christianity, but he has forgotten to carry it in the reed which could keep its flame alive. He has represented an impossible virtue; we do not mean one in itself impossible, but impossible under the government of a rewarding God. Even such heathen as Socrates could not have made their actual attainments in morals without God and without hope. But *Ion* looks forward to no joy set before him; he has respect to no recompense of reward; his moral power, unaided by such considerations, is strong enough to enable him to rival martyrs. Their virtue, then, was of an inferior order. The best possible virtue is that which needs no heaven and no God. It is sufficient for itself. Such we conceive may be the reflections of a mind morally undisciplined, as it contemplates this beautiful but unreal virtue of *Ion*. And such may have been the proud virtue of the Stoics; such may now be the virtue of a certain romantic school, but it is not that of the scriptures; it cannot be that of a moral system, in which there is seated upon the throne one who judges right. Still less can it be the virtue of feeble mortals, who—under the pressure of all the motives that appeal to the sense of right and the love of happiness—can hardly be induced to rouse themselves to virtuous action. The truth is, that many persons of more than the ordinary depth of mind, and who have a high standard of excellence,

conceive of virtue without God, and independent of him. And this tendency is encouraged by the fashion of the day, of resolving all virtue into benevolence,—a mode of statement which may be theoretically true, but, as we conceive, practically of pernicious tendency. For the mind has need, above all things else, of feeling, that true virtue consists in its connection with God, in its right recognition of him in all his relations. There might have been but one creature made, and then good will in the lower sense of the term would have been impossible, but there cannot be no God, and the duty of piety can never cease to be necessary. That idea of goodness, then, which is formed without taking him into consideration, is far more incomplete than that which includes no one else. Further, the tendency of our mechanical philosophy, is, perhaps, unavoidably to shut God out of his own world ; to throw up a thick wall of second causes before him ; so that it is hard, very hard, to see and feel God in nature—here, then, atheism has the advantage ; but if the soul can be made to recognize a moral law, we need not fear the atheism of the natural philosopher. But here a new and more dangerous kind of atheism invades the mind of this age. We have a moral universe framed and put into motion with no God in it. The idea, the sentiment of virtue, is to be our law, and to guide us onward to excellence without a sense of obligation to obey a holy moral governor, and without another world urging its motives upon us. Thus God is put aside in both worlds, the outer and the inner. In the outer the atheists show themselves ; we see where the mine lies, and can suspect that all is not right, but in the inner they gain their point without noise and in secret, under the form of elegant literature ; and minds that would scorn the imputation of having an atheistical notion of virtue are poisoned before they are aware. In many instances the conception of virtue which our popular writers express is so imperfect, or so much at variance with human nature, that they carry their antidote with them, or at least the poison is not very strong ; so much the greater is the danger, when a man of true genius, like Mr. Talfourd, succeeds in constructing a beautiful and exalted character, and in making it seem to rest on a solid basis, when there is nothing in truth or nature to support it. That others are far more worthy of blame in this respect than our author, we readily concede ; but we are not excused, for that reason, from raising a note of warning concerning this error so dangerous because so much overlooked, and so insidious.

## ART. XI.—DAY ON THE WILL.

*An Inquiry respecting the Self-determining Power of the Will; or contingent volition.* By JEREMIAH DAY, President of Yale College. New Haven: Herrick & Noyes. 1838.

WE hail with pleasure the appearance of this volume on so important a subject by its venerated author. As it comes to us just at the moment we are closing our present number, we have been able to give it but a cursory perusal, and our notice of it must of necessity be brief. We can assure our readers, however, that it will amply repay the trouble and expense of purchase and examination; and we rejoice to point to so valuable an auxiliary in the defense of important truth. Those who are acquainted with Pres. Day's habits of thought and writing, will scarcely need be told, that the work is neither a hasty production, nor wanting in perspicuity. The style is peculiarly neat and simple, and the illustrations and reasoning familiar and easy to be understood. Our space will not allow us to say much, but we shall give as full a view of the work as our limits will permit.

Pres. Day, as our readers may know, wrote for the *Christian Spectator*, of 1835, a review of Cousin's *Psychology*. In that article he was unable to consider at length the French philosopher's opinion on the subject of the will; and this omission has led to the publication of the present volume. His chief object is to combat the notion of the *self-determining power of the will*. President Edwards, in his discussion of this subject, considered the doctrine of self-determination, as involving the alternative, "that every volition is determined either by a *preceding* volition, or by *nothing at all*. The latter is contingent self-determination." "This appeared to him," as Pres. Day remarks, "so obviously absurd, as not to call for a logical statement, expanded into the form of a regularly constructed demonstration. To the other branch of the subject he has done such ample justice, that the question concerning it may be considered as definitively settled. This may be the reason why the advocates of a self-determining power of the will, adhere so tenaciously to that form of the doctrine which implies *contingence*, as being the only ground left on which they can hope to maintain their position." pp. 10, 11. It is to this view of the sub-

ject, therefore, that Pres. Day chiefly directs his attention; though he occasionally adverts to the other scheme of self-determination, and enters into the general consideration of voluntary agency.

In the first section, he prepares the way for the discussion on which he is about to enter, by defining some of the principal terms to be used. *Cause* is one of these terms, and he explains it, like Edwards, in its broadest sense. It is "an *antecedent* on which something *depends*." "One thing *depends* on another when the one exists on account of the other; and when without the other, or something equivalent, it would not exist." The latitude thus given to the word *cause*, must be distinctly kept in view throughout the discussion, or the statements of Pres. Day will be liable to be misunderstood. When he speaks of volition, for instance, as being *caused* or *produced*, or the will as *determined* by an external influence, he means simply, that this influence is an antecedent "*on account*" of which the volition is put forth.

*Power* is next defined, with the same extent of meaning, to be "that belonging to a cause *upon which the effects depend*." It is, therefore, as here spoken of, an attribute equally of animate and inanimate beings, of matter and of mind. A kind of "absolute sense" has been given by some writers to the word *power*, which Pres. Day speaks of as rare, and which certainly is not its appropriate meaning. They consider the power to do anything, as including "*all the antecedents, the whole aggregate of circumstances on which the effect depends*." "In this comprehensive, though rather unusual sense of the word, a man has not power to do anything which he does not do." Such a sense of the term is contrary to the practice of most writers, and is adapted to mislead unless used with great care.

Pres. Day next remarks briefly on the classification of the mental powers, and then proceeds to a consideration of the *Will*. This he represents as embracing three things: 1st. Executive or Imperative Volitions. These are transient exercises of the voluntary faculty, "*determining to do something*." "In such cases the act which is willed immediately follows the volition." It is to this sense of the term, that the European writers generally limit the word *will*. 2dly. Purposes, or Generic Volitions. These are permanent states of the will, controlling to a considerable extent the executive volitions. Thus "a man determines to devote himself to the acquisition of property, to gaining applause, to sensual gratification, or to a life of benevolent effort." p. 38.



Other names given to this class by Pres. Day, are "predominant inclination," "governing state of the will," "dominant preference." 3dly. Emotions or affections. These our author unites with the elder Edwards, in considering as voluntary states of mind. "The affections," says the latter, as here quoted, "are no other than the more vigorous and sensible exercises of the inclination or will." The three are thus distinguished by Pres. Day: "Emotion is directed to an *object*; a purpose fixes on an *end*; an executive volition orders an *act*." Our readers are already familiar with this classification, which has been used in our discussions for many years. They are probably aware, too, that we have suffered some reproach on this account. We have spoken of the controlling disposition of unrenewed men, as a *generic volition*, or *governing purpose* of the soul; and of the change in regeneration, as a permanent change in this purpose, (i. e. disposition,) produced by the special influence of the Holy Spirit; and for so doing we have been stigmatized as heretics. We shall hope, under the shelter of Pres. Day's authority, to escape any farther reproach for the use of these terms.

In the second section, we come to "the point of inquiry," which is, "why we will one way rather than another, why we choose one thing rather than another?" And here Pres. Day first remarks, "there can be no doubt the man *himself* decides between the objects of choice." "He is the *author* of his own volitions. This, according to one signification of the term, is self-determination. And a *power* of choosing is, in this sense, a self-determining power." p. 43. But still the question recurs, what determines the man to will as he does? Is it a preceding act of the will?

'This is undoubtedly the case, in many instances. Taking the will in its most enlarged acceptation, as including not only *executive acts*, but *purposes* and emotions, acts of one class may be determined, by those of another. A man purposes to go to the post-office: every step he takes, on his way, is determined by this purpose. And the purpose may have been determined, by some strong emotion; an eager desire, perhaps, to receive intelligence of the recovery of a friend from sickness, or the safe arrival of a richly freighted ship. Farther, the emotions themselves are commonly excited, either by *perceptions* of external realities, or by the internal imaginings of our own minds. Imperative acts of the will, then, may be preceded by purposes, the purposes by emotions, the emotions by perceptions, or the workings of imagination. But all these belong to the mind. They do not reach beyond ourselves. So that, thus far, our emotions and volitions may be truly said to be self-determined.' pp. 43, 44.

But we cannot stop here. Trace back the series as far as we will within the mind, we must at last come to something *without* it. "*Every* step cannot be dependent on another *within* the mind. For this would involve the absurdity of at least *one* step *before* the first, or else of an *infinite* series of steps." p. 44. It is demonstrably certain, then, that the will is ultimately determined by something out of the mind, or by *nothing at all*. This brings us to the doctrine of *contingence*, i. e. that volitions are dependent on nothing; that they take place without any ground or reason why they thus take place, rather than otherwise. This is so absurd and monstrous a conclusion, that the bare statement of it is sufficient to overwhelm its supporters with derision. Pres. Day follows it out through the several departments of the will, mentioned above.

'If the kind of volitions which a man puts forth, is to be ascribed to accident, in *what part* of the series of mental acts, does this prolific contingency, this wonder-working nonentity, "this effectual no cause," do its work? Where does it break the connection, between volition and all preceding influence? Are *executive* acts of the will independent of purposes, and emotions, and appetites? Does the tippler resort to the dram-shop without any inducement? Or if, at any time, he denies himself his accustomed indulgence, has he no motive for his abstinence.

Is the forming of *purposes*, the place where the dependence upon preceding influence is broken off? When a man resolves to devote his powers and labors to the calls of ambition, is it done independently of any love of distinction? When the christian abandons his former pursuits, and forms the purpose of devoting his life to the service of God, does he do it without a *reason*; a reason of sufficient efficacy to control his decision? Do men form resolutions, for the sake of obtaining those objects to which they are perfectly *indifferent*?

If it be admitted, that our imperative volitions are influenced by our purposes, and our purposes by our desires and appetites; shall we find in the *latter* the independence which contingent self-determination implies? When objects are brought before our minds, is it altogether a matter of accident, whether we shall be pleased with them or not? Is it as easy for us to be gratified with contemptuous treatment, as with applause? pp. 50—52.

We regret that we cannot give the whole passage. Nothing can be more triumphant than the refutation it contains of this preposterous doctrine; and if there are any in this country who hold to contingent volition, they will find themselves the objects of general ridicule.

But, it may be asked, Is the ground or reason which determines volition, of such a nature as to prevent man from being

the *efficient* cause of his own actions? Certainly not. "There can surely be no reasonable doubt on this point," says Pres. Day, "if by efficient cause, be meant the *agent* who wills." "It is the man *himself* that wills, it is he himself that is the efficient cause of his own volitions." p. 59. This Pres. Day takes care frequently to repeat, in the progress of his reasoning. Man is the sole *agent* in volition. The other influences which conspire to this result, as motives, &c. "are not the agent." p. 59. "His volitions are his *own* acts, and *not* the acts of another." p. 111. On this subject he fully agrees with Dr. Dwight, who says, "We are *agents*, possessing active powers by which we can *originate* changes." Pres. Day gives no sanction to what Dr. Emmons has been supposed to hold on this subject, viz. that our acts of choice are also acts of divine power.

The next section is on the influence of motives. Here Pres. Day divides motives into two kinds, *external* and *internal*. By the former he means objects without the mind which hold forth inducements to volition, and by the latter, feelings within the mind which prompt to acts of choice. "A tree loaded with fair and delicious fruits excites desire in the beholder. This desire may move him to pluck the fruit. The fruit itself is an *external* motive. The desire which stimulates to the act of gathering it, is an *internal* motive." p. 57. This distinction is of high importance, and the want of precision on this subject has given rise to much misapprehension. A mere *object* presented to the understanding, the President goes on to remark, is not a motive; it must have the character of an *inducement*, or something suited to awaken acts of choice; and this characteristic lies not solely in the external object, nor solely in the mind, but arises out of "the *relation* between the one and the other." p. 63. Dr. Reid maintains, that motives merely "influence, but do not *cause* acts of the will." This depends wholly on the extent of meaning given to the word cause. In Dr. Reid's sense of the term they do not, in President Day's sense of the term they do, cause volition. The former limits causation to agency, the latter extends it to embrace every antecedent on which the result depends. Pres. Day is not tenacious, however, of his own phraseology on this subject. "It is frequently said," he remarks, "that motives are not the cause, but the *condition* of or *occasion* of volition. This phraseology may be very proper, provided it be granted, that volition is, in any degree, dependent on motives." p. 60.

In the third section, after some general observations on the various senses of the word "liberty," Pres. Day takes up the question, "In what *sense* is it true, that a man has power to will the contrary of what he actually wills?" This power has been asserted by writers of almost every class—by the believer in self-determination, and in moral necessity; by Cousin, who says, "the moment we take the resolution to do an action, we take it with a consciousness of being able to take a contrary resolution," and by Dr. Dwight, who says of man's sin, that it is "chosen by him unnecessarily; *while possessed of a power to choose otherwise.*" (Serm. 27.) In what sense, then, is this position true? Pres. Day here remarks, that "a correct answer to this question must depend on the extent of meaning given to the word power." If we take this term in the "absolute" sense mentioned above, as including *all* the antecedents to a given volition, there is plainly no such thing as power to the contrary; for in this sense of the term, as Pres. Day states, a man never has power to do anything but what he actually performs. Hence he observes, speaking of power in this "absolute" sense of the term, "The man who wills in a particular way, under the influence of certain feelings, might undoubtedly will differently, *under a different influence.* But while the same mind continues in precisely the same state, in the same circumstances, and under the same influence of every kind, has it power to will in opposite directions; or if it has this power, will it ever use it?" p. 80.

Certainly not in *this* sense of the term, which by its very definition excludes power to the contrary. But this is not the common and appropriate sense of the term power; it is not the sense in which any have meant to assert the existence of a "power to choose otherwise." What then is the sense in which man has power to will contrary to what he actually wills? Pres. Day replies, it is the *natural* ability or power of a free agent. On this subject he quotes with approbation the words of the younger Edwards:

'Referring to Dr. West's illustration of the power of choosing between things which appear to be equally eligible, he says: "If by power he mean *natural* or *physical* power, I grant, that we have *such* a power, to choose not only one of several things equally eligible, if any such there be, but one of things ever so unequally eligible, and to take the least eligible." Again he says, "it has been inquired concerning President Edwards' moral inability, whether the man who is the subject of it, *can remove it?* I answer, yes, he has the same *physical* power to remove it, and to do the action, which he is *morally unable* to do, which

the man concerning whom Dr. West supposes there is a certainty, that he will not do an action, has to do the action, and so to defeat or remove the said certainty. I agree with Dr. West, that he has a *physical* power so to do." p. 82.

Whatever may have been Cousin's views, this was all that was ever claimed by Dr. Dwight, Dr. Beecher, and the multitudes of others who have maintained, that the sinner has "power to the contrary" in every act of transgression. No one supposes, that fallen man will ever *exercise* this power previous to regeneration; he is the subject of a settled aversion to his duty, which makes it certain, that he will never do this without the intervention of divine grace. But his aversion as a sinner, however deadly in its actual effects, does not destroy his capacity as a moral being, his natural ability as a subject of the divine government, to do those very things which it is certain he will never do without divine intervention. This is the doctrine of "power to the contrary," which has been stigmatized of late, in some quarters, as rank Arminianism. We cannot see, we have never been able to see, that it is anything but a statement, in so many terms, of the old established New England doctrine of man's natural ability to do his duty. If any are disposed to give up that doctrine, Pres. Day is not of the number. He re-states it in the strongest terms; and adds his testimony to that of the two Edwardses, that man has what they call natural power to choose otherwise than he actually chooses. "According to these writers," he says, "a man may have a natural power to make a contrary choice, although, at the same time, he is morally unable to do it; that is, he is under the influence of such motives as will infallibly prevent him from thus willing." p. 84. Throughout the whole section, however, Pres. Day's main object is to guard against the idea, that this power involves the doctrine of contingent volition, or choice without motives; and hence a careless reader, misunderstanding his object in these remarks, might suppose him, in some instances, to deny, that man has, in any sense, "power to the contrary;" or at least to question the propriety of this phrase, as expressing the acknowledged facts of the case.

This section concludes with some remarks on philosophical or moral necessity, which Pres. Day says, in common with Clarke and Edwards; "is *not* necessity in any proper acceptance of the term." p. 90. The younger Edwards states the case very clearly, when he says, that it is mere *certainty*; that "absolute certainty is all the moral necessity for which we plead." Diss, 160.

Section fifth is devoted to the subject of "ability and inability." Here Pres. Day first states the meaning of natural ability, with reference to external conduct. In this sense "a man is said to be able to do a thing, if he does it whenever he *wills* to do it; in other words, when there is nothing to prevent his doing it but a want of inclination." p. 96. But this does not meet the case as to acts of the mind. What is meant by a natural ability to choose God as the portion of the soul? an ability distinct from inclination or disinclination of mind on this subject? On this point, Pres. Day states the opinion of various writers, but does not enter into any formal explanation of his own. We will venture to dwell for a moment on this topic, because it is one of high importance. All choice depends on the presentation of motives to the mind. A mere external object, as Pres. Day remarks, (p. 57,) is not a motive; it derives this character from its relation to the mind that chooses, (p. 63.) In other words, the mind must have susceptibilities which render the external object an *inducement* or *motive* to choice. If, then, a being were required to choose God as his portion, who had no susceptibilities, nothing in the constitution of his mind, suited to make the character of God a *motive* to such a choice, he would be *naturally* unable so to choose. He must plainly have a new attribute of his nature given him; and until this is done, he is unable to choose God, in precisely the same sense, that he is unable to fly or to create a world. If, on the other hand, he *has* such susceptibilities, in connection with the other faculties of a moral agent, if there is that in the constitution of his being, which is suited to make the character of God a *motive* to his mind, then he has the *natural ability* to choose God. Nor does it at all affect this fact, that he actually chooses objects addressed to *other* susceptibilities of his nature. He may be wholly devoted to objects which gratify his bodily appetites; he may be the absolute slave of selfish feelings. Still the constitution of his being is the same; he *has* within him the capacity, though never exercised, of being moved by the character of God to the choice in question. This is only an expansion of Pres. Edwards' statement at the close of Part I. Section 5th, of his Treatise on the Will. "To moral agency belongs a moral faculty, or sense of moral good and evil, or of such a thing as desert or worthiness, of praise or blame, reward or punishment; and a *capacity* which an agent has of being influenced in his actions by *moral inducements or motives*, exhibited to the view of understanding and reason, to engage to a conduct *agreeable* to the moral faculty." According to this

statement, man must have a capacity of being influenced by motives to *right* action, as well as wrong—to “conduct *agreeable* to the moral faculty,” as well as opposed to it—or he is not a moral agent. And this shows what we mean by “power to the contrary.” It is the *possession* of these faculties and capacities of a moral agent; and while man remains a moral agent he must have this power.

In section sixth, Pres. Day inquires, what testimony is given by “consciousness” and by the “sense of accountability,” on the subject before us? They testify he says, that man is the *sole agent* in choice, that “his volitions are his own acts, and not the acts of another.” pp. 111, 115. But they do not testify that he chooses without motives. No such power as this is recognized by either of these faculties. As all his arguments are directed to this point, there are remarks in this section which a careless reader might understand as denying, what he had previously affirmed, that man has “power to the contrary,” in the sense of natural ability. The word power in these cases, is used in the *absolute* sense mentioned above; and Pres. Day in using it, has no reference to man’s *natural* ability to do his duty.

In section seventh, common sense is called on to give its testimony on the subject. This faculty decides, that “a man is not accountable for failing to do what he has *no power* to do.” p. 126. But it gives no support to the doctrine that “the agent acts without motives, or that motives are merely *objects* upon which volition put forth fortuitously, may fasten.” p. 125.

In section eighth, Pres. Day meets the objection, that the mind is rendered a mere machine, the subject of physical causation, unless the doctrine of self-determination is admitted. Here he shows that the influence of motives involves no such consequence; and that there may as truly be moral certainty as physical certainty, without supposing them to rest on the same basis.

The ninth section is entitled “Moral Government.” Here it is maintained, that the very idea of moral government supposes the influence of motives, and that the doctrine of self-determination sets aside such a government. In this section, Pres. Day meets the objection resulting from the existence of sin. “If the volitions of moral agents are under the control of the Creator, the inquiry is made, why has he not wholly prevented the existence of sin?” p. 151. Many New England divines, it is well known, have answered this question by saying, that the present is the best supposable system; that we must of course conclude the sin it contains, to be a means of greater

good than would result from holiness in its stead ; that it is thus the necessary means of the greatest good ; and is really an evil only to our limited conceptions. But Pres. Day does not reason on the theory, that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good ; or that the present system of the universe was chosen at all for the sake of the sin which it contains. On the contrary, he considers sin (as to its prevention by God) to be merely incidental to the best possible system ; and not prevented, simply because the system must be sacrificed in the attempt to do it.

‘May it not be inconsistent with the nature of things, that all sin should be prevented, in a universe filled with intelligent beings, possessing such natures, capacities, and propensities, placed in such circumstances, and with such motives before them, as are best calculated for attaining the highest good ?

For aught that we can tell, it may be necessary, in carrying into execution the purposes of infinite benevolence, not only that means should be used, but that there should be a choice of means ; a selection of those which are better adapted than others to the great end proposed. And this system of means may be inconsistent with such a course of measures as would prevent the existence of all sin. This supposition does not imply, that *sin itself* is one of the necessary means by which the greatest good is attained ; but only that it could not be wholly prevented, except in such a way as would derange and impair the best possible system of means. According to this view, sin is neither good in itself, nor in its tendency. Though wholly evil, infinite wisdom suffers it to take place, rather than relinquish the course of measures which are necessary to the best good of the universe. These may have been adopted, not *for the sake* of the sin which follows, but *notwithstanding* the sin, for the sake of the good, which they are calculated to produce, and which greatly overbalances the evil of the sin and its consequences.’ pp. 156, 157.

To the objection that this view of the subject limits the power of God, he replies, as we have done more than once on the same subject :

‘Do we always understand ourselves, when we speak of limitations to the power of God ? May it not sometimes be the case, that what we call a limit of power, is really an inconsistency in the nature and relations of things ? It is not owing to defect of power, that the diameter of a circle cannot be made equal to its circumference ; that a straight line cannot be made to coincide in all its parts, with a curve ; or that a world cannot be made perfectly happy, while perfectly sinful. In the nature and relations of things supposed to exist, there may be inconsistencies not observed by us.’ pp. 154, 155.

To the objection, that the happiness of God is impaired if sin is thus a necessary result or incident of the best possible system,



he replies in a single sentence, which involves the objector in the same dilemma. "Why then must he not be unhappy, if it is out of his power to secure the highest good, except *by means* of the sin which he abhors?" p. 157.

The theory of sin's being necessary to the greatest good, has been advocated by some of the strongest minds of New England, with the purest intentions, and the sanguine hope of being able, on this ground, "to justify the ways of God to man." Deference to great names led no small part of our clergy to adopt it, at least in words; and the subtlety of the subject, and the despair of finding a better solution, served for many years to repress all attempts at further investigation. But it never formed any part of the popular faith. When propounded from the pulpit, it served only to perplex the minds of christians with apparent contradictions; with the doctrine that God forbids all sin, and yet prefers, in a multitude of instances, that men should sin rather than be holy. It has been used by Arminians, Universalists and Infidels, as a powerful weapon of attack on some of the most momentous truths of religion. These facts have brought it up again for discussion among the Calvinists of New England; and though some have been alarmed lest the doctrines which have been connected with this theory, might be sacrificed if it was given up, the conviction has been continually increasing in the public mind, that the theory must be abandoned. No reflecting man can doubt, that the time has come, when the doctrine "that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good" will soon be numbered among "the things that were."

For ourselves, we have no solicitude, and never have had any, to see any other theory substituted in its place. In bringing forward another, upon former occasions, our only object was, as we then stated, to present a *possible* supposition, as a point of rest to the mind, in pursuing its investigations,—to take away, what must always be a fatal impediment to inquiry, the feeling that there was no alternative; and that as sin actually exists, it could have been admitted into the universe only as the necessary means of the greatest good. This purpose has been answered; the discussion has gone forward; the charm has been broken as to the old theory, and it must soon pass away. Here then, we are ready to leave the subject, and to make it our only positive solution of the great problem of moral evil, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

But our limits remind us that we must bring our observations to a close. In the next section, entitled "activity and depend-

ence," Pres. Day shows, that the dependence of volitions upon motives, does not in the least impair the activity of man, as the sole agent in volition. This dependence, it should be remembered, consists simply in the fact, that if we choose, there must be something to be chosen.—something having the character of an *inducement* to the choice made. In speaking of this inducement, Pres. Day says, with the latitude of expression so frequent in this treatise, that it (the inducement) *acts* upon the mind and *causes* its choice, and of *coupe*, that the mind is *acted upon* and *caused* to act in choosing; and is thus *passive*, as well as active, in the process of volition. This language, he is aware, will appear self-contradictory to those who understand the term *passive* in its limited sense, as opposed to active. But this, he states, is not his use of the word. *Recipieny* may, perhaps, express very nearly the idea of passivity, as here spoken of; though even this word is hardly broad enough to cover all its uses. In this view, we are passive, as to all things out of ourselves, which become grounds of our acting. We are passive, as held up in existence by God. We are passive, when we contemplate a landscape, when we read a book, when we listen to an argument. This breadth of expression has been adopted by Pres. Day, to show more clearly, that there cannot, in the nature of things, be any inconsistency between the ideas of dependence and of activity. All the dependence of the will on motives, for which the President contends, is of the kind here described. It consists in the fact, that a perfect and complete *agent*, the sole originator of his own actions, cannot, in the nature of things, choose except as there is something to be chosen, which has the character of an inducement. The consistency of activity and dependence, as thus explained by Pres. Day, is self-evident.

Passing by a brief section on Fatalism and Pantheism, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell, we come to the concluding section, on the "testimony of scripture," for the sake of which the whole preceding part of the treatise was written. The main object of Pres. Day in this work, has been to remove those philosophical difficulties which steel many speculative minds against the influence of divine truth. On this, as on every question upon which God has spoken, his resort is to "the law and the testimony." Here we find the evidence accumulating upon us in every form, that man is dependent as to his volitions, while yet he is a free and accountable agent. If this be not granted, there is an end of all religion. Pres. Day truly says, in bringing his treatise to a close :

'The question, whether human volitions are contingent, is nothing less than this, whether God can, in any way, by the measures of his providence, by the precepts and sanctions of his law, by the mercy of the gospel, by the terrors of perdition, by the glories of heaven, or by the operations of his Spirit, have any influence over the voluntary acts of his creatures. It is, in short, a question, *whether God or chance is on the throne of the moral universe.*' p. 195.

Thus have we sketched a brief outline of this valuable treatise. Many interesting discussions connected with the leading topics now presented, are of necessity passed over in silence; but what is here given as the great characteristic features of the work, though thrown off in haste, is, we are certain, a correct exhibition of Pres. Day's views. It is not, indeed, easy to misunderstand so clear a writer.

We have one remark to offer, as to the wide extent of meaning in which Pres. Day has often employed the leading terms in this discussion, such as cause, power, efficacious, passive, &c. He was naturally, and almost necessarily, led to do this, by the nature of his subject. He was controverting the notion, that volitions are *fortuitous* events, and hence he speaks of them as "caused," "produced," or "determined." He was guarding against the error which strips motives of their true character as *inducements*, and hence he represents them as "efficacious" causes. He was opposing the doctrine of a power to choose without motives, and was thus led to use the word power in the broad and uncommon sense spoken of above, which embraces *all* the antecedents to an actual choice. He was exhibiting the consistency of dependence and activity, and therefore speaks of men as both passive and active in the exercise of volition. We are not to infer, then, that on other topics, and in other discussions upon moral agency, he would think it wise or prudent to use these terms with the same breadth of meaning. There has been an increasing tendency within the last forty years, especially in theological discussions, to restrict these words to a more limited and specific sense. This has resulted from the abuse of them by impenitent sinners. The distinction made by Pres. Edwards between natural and moral ability and inability, has been the means, probably, of saving hundreds of thousands of souls, by enabling ministers to press it upon the consciences of sinners, that they *can* repent, that they have *power* to do what they will, in fact, never perform without divine intervention. Such preaching does in no degree dispense with the fullest inculcation of the doctrine of dependence. The entire ability of man as a moral being, to obey the commands of

God, and the dreadful certainty, that he will never do it without the intervention of divine grace—these are pre-eminently the truths which rouse the sinner from his guilty slumbers, and pierce his soul with the anguish of remorse, and bring him (under God,) as a humble suppliant to the cross of Christ. No one can appreciate more highly than the venerated author of the treatise, the value and efficacy of such preaching.

But the best things are liable to perversion, and when perverted often prove the worst. Men of ardent feelings and undisciplined judgment, in their anxiety to fasten conviction on the sinner, to make him feel, that he is the sole author of his own destruction, are tempted to use language which may imply more than they intend, and involve the doctrine of the self-determining power. We know not, that this has been the fact in New England, but we believe there are preachers elsewhere who have fallen into this error. To such it may prove a salutary caution, to contemplate the absurdities of the doctrine of contingent volition.

In conclusion we would observe, that we anticipate as one happy result of the publication of this work, that men will see more clearly, how much the controversies of the present day, are owing to the ambiguity of language. The leading terms which relate to moral agency, as we remarked above, have two significations, the one limited and specific, the other general and comprehensive. Some of our divines, from early habit, from their course of reading, from the manner of preaching demanded by the character of their hearers, have been accustomed to use those terms in one of these senses, and some in the other. Hence they have very often, and very honestly, misunderstood each other's meaning. Debates have ensued, warmth of feeling has been excited, and the breach has only been widened by controversy. Now it happens, that Pres. Day, in the work before us, has been led by the nature of the discussion, to use these terms in both these senses; and he has done it so clearly by the aid of definitions and a proper shaping of the context, that he need not be misunderstood by any attentive reader. He has said, that man is truly an *agent*, the sole originator of his volitions, and yet that influences from without, are "efficacious causes" of every act of choice. He has said, that man has "power to the contrary," in the sense of natural ability, and that he has not power to the contrary, in the wider and less common sense of the term, as sometimes used by Brown. He has said, that man is both active and passive in every volition. In all this, he has in no instance contradicted himself; and it is

to be hoped, that some who imagine they have been contradicting each other, may find, after all, that they are equally agreed among themselves. We do not mean, that there are no real differences on these subjects, but we think they are far less than is generally supposed. Take, for example, three gentlemen from three different Theological Seminaries, whose opinions upon moral agency have been, to some extent, a subject of distrust and alarm; we mean Dr. Beecher, of Cincinnati, Prof. Stuart, of Andover, and Dr. Taylor, of New Haven; and we cannot find a syllable in the treatise before us, which militates in the least against their real sentiments. And yet we presume the work will have the cordial approbation of Dr. Tyler, and Dr. Harvey, we should hope also of Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller; and we fervently wish, that it may prove a common ground, on which brethren who have differed may meet in peace. If there is any man in New England who is qualified to act as a mediator between contending parties, it is Pres. Day. Emphatically the man of no party, he has the entire confidence of all. And if the healing influence of his peaceful spirit, should go forth with this treatise among the theologians of our country, he will have added one more to the numerous benefits he has conferred on the cause of science and religion.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*Oration before the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa, at New Haven, on the Principles of National Greatness.* By HORACE BUSHNELL.

WE are glad to see important topics of general interest, from time to time, engaging the minds of our literary and religious men, instead of being left to those who have neither intellectual nor moral capacity for the right treatment of them. To ascertain, set forth, and apply the great principles of political science, is a momentous work, worthy of the strongest and best directed minds; and it is not the prerogative of the statesman alone, but of every wise man according to the measure of his wisdom and opportunity. So far as enlightened and virtuous men, secure from any undue bias of interest or temper, will take no pains to teach nor even to learn these principles, so far "politics" will become for the most part the trade of office-hunters and demagogues, and most mischievously will they drive their business. On this account, as well as for its intrinsic merit, we take pleasure in noticing the Oration before us. Its subject is well stated in the author's own question

and answer: "What, then, is the object which it belongs to the civil state to preserve? Wherein consists the true wealth or well-being of a state? I answer, *in the total value of the persons of the people.* National wealth is personal, not material. It includes the natural capacity, the industry, the skill, the science, the bravery, the loyalty, the moral and religious worth of the people. The wealth of a nation is in the breast of its sons." This he maintains in opposition to the notion, that what is commonly called wealth, or the amount of lands, money, and other marketable commodities, is the chief end to be sought in political economy—the *weal* which that science ought to ascertain. After stating and illustrating this doctrine, he shows, that even if the wealth of a nation were to be chiefly sought, instead of their personal worth, it cannot be itself secured except by securing that other and better object; that it depends on the personal character of the people whether property shall be produced and accumulated, preserved from waste, happily distributed, and defended from encroachment. He then points out "some of the practical operations of this doctrine," in "preserving and ennobling the native quality or stock," of the people, in their moral and religious improvement, in cherishing their reverence for their ancestors, in the education of their youth, in the production of a national literature. The inquiry with which the author sets out, obviously goes to the foundation of the science of political economy; and as was demanded of him in such an undertaking, his discussion is at once profound and clear. The objection has been made, which he in some measure anticipates, that such views "are, after all, remote and impracticable;" and it might have been useful for him to dwell longer on this point; but to some extent such principles have been actually recognized and vindicated in the practice of more than one government; and though no nation should ever suffer them to be fully carried out within itself, still it is well to hold them up and press them to the public mind; for in regard to this science, as well as others, that are of practical application, familiarity with just theories tends to correct, if it does not remodel practice; the contemplation of ideal excellence animates and ennobles actual exertion. The Oration before us is well fitted to make this impression, not by the force of naked argument merely, but by apt illustration—a most effectual sort of argument—by animated imagery, racy language, and an enthusiasm not commonly associated with the discussion of grave questions in political economy. It might seem hypercritical to remark here and there a questionable use of words or phrases, when there is so little to be found fault with and so much to be approved. We could make extracts, but the pamphlet is within the reach of our readers. It will not be the author's fault if he has not "done the state some service."

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*Advent, a Mystery.* By ARTHUR CLEVELAND COX. New York: John S. Taylor. 1837.

We cannot indeed join in the excessive praise with which this work has been greeted by some who compare it to Milton; yet as the produc-

tion of a youth of nineteen, it displays a good degree of versatile talent, and is creditable to its author. We deem it a subject of praise, that he has been willing to turn the poetical stream of thought into the pure channel of christian feeling, rather than with so many others sully it with immoral and degrading themes. He is not wanting in genius, and exhibits an active mind passionately fond of poetry, especially, as we should judge, loving the muse of olden time. We cannot go into an extended analysis of the work, but will barely sketch the outline, and throw out a hint or two as to its plan and execution.—The title at once bespeaks the subject. It is an attempt, under a dramatic form, to shadow forth the scenes of the night of our Savior's birth. The personages are shepherds and shepherdesses, the wise men, Zacharias and Elizabeth, good and evil spirits. The whole time of action is from sunset to morn. The main incident of the author's invention is a meeting of Hecate and other evil spirits, to frustrate the annunciation of the birth of Christ to the shepherds. For this purpose Somnus is sent to seal up their eyes. This mission, however, is foiled by the precaution of a good spirit, Adiel, who was on the watch, and who also, under the form of a beautiful female, puts Reuel, a shepherd, who had lost his way, in his right path. Another good spirit summons Elizabeth and Zacharias to repair to Bethlehem and greet their Lord. The wise men, also, who had seen the star, are on their way, inquiring for the expected Messiah. Thus, by a variety of instrumentality, the different persons who figure in the drama are brought together at the time needed. The plot of the simplest kind, is too open, wanting in nice arrangement, and was meant, we presume, only to give form to the drama. The characters are for the most part natural enough, though we could point out some defects in them. Perhaps the lyrical portions are the most poetical ones in the work. These are in a great degree based on scripture-language, and a happy facility in weaving together the different predictions and descriptions is evinced. The scene in Hecate's cave is an evident imitation of Shakspeare's and Ben Jonson's witch-scenes, and shows considerable power of delineation.—Among other passages which strike us as possessing more than common merit, we may mention Adiel's soliloquy near the beginning of the poem; parts of Reuel's colloquy with Adiel; the first sage's account of Judea, and Reuel's story from the old Rabbins; Elizabeth and Zacharias' conversation, &c. We could point out some prosaic lines, and an occasional use of expletives, such as "full," "so," "right," &c., which mar the beauty and weaken the strength of the poetry. And now and then, also, we notice inversions which appear stiff and forced, and imagery stretched beyond its proper limits. Yet with all these defects, the poem will amply repay a perusal. More care and pruning would have improved it, and should the author continue to tread the path of the Muses, he would do well to elaborate his productions yet further. We would commend to him, in this respect, the Hadad of Hillhouse, and Mr. Talfourd's Ion.

*The Union Bible Dictionary. Prepared for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the committee of publication.* Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 146 Chestnut street. 1837. pp. 648, 12mo.

THIS is a valuable little work. It is not designed to supersede the use of Robinson's Calmet, and the larger Bible Dictionaries, but as there are many who have not access to them, a compend like the present was most desirable. It is peculiarly suited to sabbath schools and families. After having been prepared with great care, and revised by good judges, it has been stereotyped; so that its accuracy may be relied on. It is adorned with numerous cuts and maps, which aid in the explanation of the word, and convey a more accurate idea of the manners and customs of the eastern nations. The journals of our missionaries, and the volumes of the best modern Oriental travelers have been consulted, and the information there found condensed and brought in to illustrate scripture. Much superfluous matter, which not unfrequently fills up the pages of similar works, has been carefully excluded. The plan which has been pursued is eminently a judicious one; since it secures for the owner a true *Biblical* Dictionary. "No word is introduced, as the subject of an article which is not found in the canonical books of the common translation of the bible, and at least one passage is cited in which the word occurs." "No word is introduced \* \* unless it has a peculiar scriptural use or signification which would not be found in a common defining dictionary." "No word is admitted into the body of the dictionary of which all that can be said is found in immediate connection with the word itself." All sectarianism is scrupulously excluded. "The leading articles embrace, as far as practicable, the various topics that properly fall under them." This gives great value to the work, as we are thus presented with a picture of the dwellings, mode of life, clothing, implements of husbandry, or war, in a connected form, rendering the volume a true *multum in parvo* repository of information. We commend it to our readers as a work which will aid them much in the study and understanding of the sacred volume; and would acknowledge the obligations of the christian public to the American Sunday School Union for this as well as a variety of valuable works having a similar bearing, with the hope that they will go on adding to the treasury of knowledge which already is found on their shelves.

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\* \* Other notices are necessarily deferred for a subsequent number.



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ART. I.—MEMOIR OF WILLIAM C. WALTON.

*Memoir of William C. Walton, late Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Alexandria, D. C. and of the Free Church in Hartford, Conn. :* by JOSHUA N. DANFORTH. Hartford : Daniel Burgess & Co. New York : John S. Taylor. 1837. pp. 319.

THEY who almost idolize talent, and care little comparatively for the persevering devotedness of the humble christian, may not perhaps be greatly interested in these pages. Not that we mean to deny to Mr. Walton the possession of intellectual excellence. He was distinguished for good natural attainments, and his acquisitions were more than respectable ; but it has been the aim of his biographer to exhibit his piety and the sweet attractiveness of those virtues which borrow their lustre from the example of Christ, rather than to erect a memorial to perpetuate the recollection of those qualities which most often command the world's applause. It is not so much the scholar, or the man of genius, intelligence and refinement, who stands prominent in this record of his life, as the untiring efforts and their success of the minister of Jesus. His motto seems to have been, "for me to live is Christ ;" while his closing hours spoke out in language such as death-beds like his only can furnish, "to die is gain." It is no easy task to write a biography or memoir, such as will be generally satisfactory. Friends are apt enough

to feel, that all which might have been said has not been, while others, ignorant of the worth or character of the subject, are no less ready to believe, that his merits have been exaggerated. If the writer is comparatively a stranger, then he is unable to depict the man in the intimacy of home and the society of a circle of endeared friends: if a relative, or one who shared in his bosom's secrets, then he has looked upon the character and person, as the image was too brightly and strongly reflected from the mirror of gratified affection, and brought out the reminiscences of more private scenes into too great relief, while the portraiture of the public individual, where the community might be a better judge of its accuracy, has been touched more lightly, and with less attention. To avoid both these difficulties, and find the happy middle track, where universal approval awaits the endeavor, seldom falls to the lot of any one. The inequalities of character also often add to the difficulty. It is comparatively easy to portray the great outlines, but to catch the nicer shades of feeling in a variety of circumstances, which give out the full reality, is no easy task.

The biography before us is marked with several peculiarities. It is generally well written, though occasionally we meet with inaccuracies of expression. The style is lively and pleasing; the reflections judicious, and the exhibition of character natural. The digressions are frequent, and numerous anecdotes relating to conversion, revivals, &c. are interspersed throughout its pages, adding an additional charm of felicitous illustration to the detail of incidents and opinions. It is a work suited to the exigencies of the present time, when there seems to be a needless shrinking, even in good men, from acknowledging with favor the blessed effects of God's Spirit, manifested in revivals of religion.

The first thing with which we are struck on opening the volume, and commencing the perusal of the records of Walton's early life and condition, is the marked display of sovereign grace which he exhibited. It is usual in almost all instances of distinguished piety, to trace the germ of it, under God, to parental influence and example, but it was not so in the case of Walton. No father bore him in the arms of faith by dedication to a covenant keeping God. No family altar summoned him day by day to listen to that father's earnest supplications for the grace of Christ to rest upon him. No mother breathed over his cradle and childhood, the hallowed name of his Redeemer, and taught his lisping tongue to utter the words of praise; for they who should have led him to an inviting Savior, were

themselves strangers to the power of the Spirit of life. It was not till his seventeenth year, that he heard the voice of prayer in family worship by a pious uncle. His father had early fallen a victim to intemperance, and within the precincts of a tavern he himself had grown up, surrounded by sensual indulgence and every bad example. They who should have been foremost to counsel, with an eye of watchful guardianship ever bent on him, were heedless as himself of the claims of heaven, and no one cared for his soul. But though thus exposed to the thousand evil influences about him, there was an eye which kept him in view, and there was an arm which was thrown around him, to save him from the power of the great destroyer. More than once his life was most remarkably preserved, and the natural result of such associations as those with which he was constantly mingling, were prevented from being fully realized. God had a work for him to do; he was yet to be a brand plucked from the fire, to become a burning and shining light in the church of Christ. Who that reads the life of Walton, but must acknowledge a superintending Providence. But we are forgetting ourselves. Our readers have not been told the details of his early history. We will therefore hasten and place them in view—sketching the outline of his life, as presented to us in this volume, and adding such reflections as occur to ourselves. We do it with a melancholy interest; we remember the man, as many of our readers probably do; for our pages have heretofore borne an impress of his mind and heart, in more than one rich contribution from his pen. We shall gather without reserve from the materials his biographer has afforded, sometimes using our own, and sometimes his language, as may seem best suited to our purpose. The incidents related of his earlier life are but few, and they may have been such as his friend chose to let sleep in the oblivion which rested upon them, rather than to expose them more fully to the gaze of the world.

“William C. Walton was born in Hanover County, Va. on the 4th day of Nov. 1793.” His father, of whom he was an only child, was a blacksmith, and also kept a tavern, about thirty two miles from the city of Richmond, till the spring of 1803, when, in consequence of perplexity in his affairs, he removed to Hardy County, near Moorefield. At the age of thirteen, Walton was left, a fatherless boy. The early victim of intemperance, (for the parent died at the age of thirty eight,) no pure and healthful influence could have been exerted by him, although the sad story is dismissed in a few lines. He

seems to have been a man of more than common mind, and, by the force of his natural talents, to have risen above his circumstances, and gained a respectable position in society. Alas, that the withering grasp of the monster, who with such fearful rapidity has cast down from the high elevation of hope so many sons and daughters of promise, should have been upon him! Some lingerings of conscience seem to have led him to warn his child against profaneness, and such was the effect of the admonition, and the threatening of chastisement, that the boy was saved from the vile practice. What might not have been the bright period of his childhood and youth, had the same lips too taught him the evil of all sin, and a consistent example won him to the early practice of every virtue. We wonder not that he early entered into the spirit of dancing and other amusements, when we are told the state of the people around him. Barbecues, hunting, dancing, racing, drinking, and gambling, occupied a great portion of their time, and constituted their chief source of enjoyment. Breathing such an atmosphere, it is more a matter of amazement to us, that with every breath he drew not in corruption, and became hardened in the ways of the transgressor. So would it have been, but that he was already marked out in the designs of a gracious God, as a chosen vessel to bear his name to many, who, with greater advantages for learning, were far more ignorant and sinful. The same power that could stay the maddened Saul of Tarsus, and bring him, a humble disciple, among the very people towards whom he had bent his way, filled with threatenings and slaughter, knew how to guide on another servant through the mazy paths of temptation, so that he did not utterly fall into the snare of Satan. Let any one, who doubts the special interposition of Providence, read the story of Walton's early days, and then learn what he became in his pious faithfulness, as an ambassador of Christ, and he must see, that longer to doubt were indeed impious. Frequent were the instances, which occurred in his early life, in which he barely escaped death from threatened dangers. "On one occasion, by a very marked interposition of the good providence of God, at the moment of making a false step, near the open door of the second story of a building, instead of falling headlong to the earth, and being instantly killed, or maimed for life, his feet struck the rounds of a ladder, to which, by clinging also with his hands, he was mercifully preserved. On another occasion, he endeavored to provoke that noble, but sometimes fierce animal, the horse, to make use of his natural weapons of defense, and narrowly escaped a severe, if not a fatal kick."

Subsequently, also, "he was attacked with a severe illness, from which there was at the time, but little expectation of his recovery. For some days he lay in a state of insensibility, being nearly unconscious of what was going on around him. Being destitute of the aid of a physician, it seemed as if the hand of God was immediately stretched out to impart efficiency to the unaided efforts of nature, to recover the expiring energies of the system. As the process of recovery commenced, it was to him like life from the dead. He was raised indeed, but with enfeebled health, and without the enjoyment of that vigor of body and that elasticity of spirits, which indicate a thorough exemption from disease." For his moral renovation, too, he was at last unexpectedly brought under the operation of means suited to awaken his conscience and reach his heart. In a manuscript left by him, he says, of his first religious instruction :

' "The only religious instruction I received, was from an old negro woman belonging to the family, who professed to be a christian, but who probably was mistaken ; for she was very inconsistent. I would however hope she was sincere, though extremely ignorant. I remember hearing her, and a little daughter of her's, who nursed me, sometimes talk of Heaven and Hell, and the day of Judgment, and I remember sometimes at the close of the day, while looking towards the west, I have felt very solemn in thinking of the world's coming to an end." p. 17.

About this time also, when he was seventeen years of age, he first attended family worship. The fact is thus stated :

' About the time of which we have been speaking, an Uncle of Walton, a professing Christian, residing in Louisa County, Virginia, in journeying to the vicinity of Richmond, stopped and spent a night in the family. Before retiring to rest, at his instance, the family were assembled for the purpose of worshipping God. The pious Uncle sang and prayed. This was the first time William Walton, then seventeen years of age, ever attended family worship. The very novelty of the thing made some impression on his mind, but there is reason to believe that as a holy exercise, recognizing the government of God and the mediation of Jesus Christ, it was by the divine blessing productive of spiritual effects on the mind, predisposed to serious and anxious thought. On the return of this Uncle, a proposal was made that William should accompany him to his home, and spend some time with him, but it was never carried into execution. A casual expression of the old colored woman at that time also affected him ; she suggesting as a reason why he should go, that "*he would perhaps become a Christian,*" not seeming to think it possible such a thing should take place at home. The failure of this visit was a great disappointment to William.' p. 18.

During this period he was attending different schools, where though the course of instruction was extremely limited, he made a good proficiency in his studies, was distinguished for his correct moral deportment, and won the affections of his instructors. His biographer in speaking of his conduct says—"It should be recorded to the credit of his moral character, and as a reminiscence of his good moral behavior, in the giddy and dangerous season of childhood and youth, that neither from parent, teacher, nor any one else, did he ever receive corporeal punishment." A sprightly boy and of a kind and amiable disposition, he appears to have been a general favorite, and in the distribution of public honors, he ranked the very first—for while other boys had but two pieces to exhibit he was allotted four. His memory was ready and retentive and his varied talents were brought into exercise. Among these may be mentioned a taste for vocal music. "The teacher gave to each scholar a tune, to be learned, raised and sung by him independently of the rest." When any particular tune pleased him, on his way to and from school "he would make the woods and fields re-echo with its notes." It was at this point of his life, that another and important change took place in his situation, and he went forth from home to try his fortunes in the wide world. How successful he was will be seen as we proceed :

'A gentleman from Frankfort, in Hampshire County, having heard that Mrs. Walton desired to dispose of some property, came to see her on that business. To this stranger, young William ventured to show his manuscript books, in which, according to the custom of the schools, he had kept a neat transcript of all that he had done in Arithmetic, and the other branches of study, which had engaged his attention. The stranger was pleased, and being asked whether he knew of any merchant who wanted a clerk, he replied in the affirmative. Soon after his return home, Mrs. W. received a note from the brother-in-law of this gentleman, Mr. P——, of Frankfort, requesting that William might be sent down to him. This request was readily complied with, and in the employment of this gentleman, through many temptations, he continued for two years. He was pleased with his business, attentive to all his duties, and with great promptitude, not only obeyed the directions, but anticipated the wishes of his employer. By the probity of his character and the assiduity of his conduct, he won the entire confidence of Mr. P——, who at length confided to him the most difficult portions of his business, leaving his most intricate accounts to be settled by the young clerk. During the second year, besides the business of the store, William transacted the affairs of the Post Office, his principal having been appointed Post Master. When the year was concluded and the time of separation came, the merchant wept. Perhaps no more affecting trib-

ute to the fidelity of his clerk could be rendered. A more substantial one, however, was rendered in the offer which he made, to take William into partnership with himself, and establish him in business eighteen miles from Frankfort.' p. 21.

Here temptations thickened around him. His employer was not a virtuous man, and but that the Lord was watching over him, and by him was he kept and sustained, ruin must have befallen him. His own words tell the trials of his virtue :

" "There was not a Christian in the place, so far as I knew; while gambling, drinking, horse racing, fighting, profane swearing and lewdness were so common as to excite no surprise. My employer himself was addicted to all these vices, and they were not considered disreputable. He has had a gambling party in his counting room, where I slept, all night! Sometimes he would take me as his partner." p. 22.

His biographer adds :

"Of his achievements in still baser and more disgusting scenes of iniquity, he was very communicative to his young and guileless clerk, as also were certain young men of the place, who gloried in their shame. If the reader wonders he did not fall into these snares of the devil, so did Walton. He said he believed they were spread for his ruin, but "the accounts they gave of the *effects* of their wicked practices upon themselves made me afraid to venture upon that dangerous ground." \* \* \* \* "Much of his leisure time was passed in the society of refined and virtuous females, where decency of manners and purity of morals of course met with an approving smile, and where vice should ever meet the indignant rebuke which its meanness and vileness deserve." p. 22.

Walton himself traces it, however, mainly to a higher cause. "The GRAND CAUSE" he says "of my preservation from ruin was the secret, invisible hand of God which kept me back, *when every possible bad influence that the world and the devil could exert, seemed to combine for my destruction.*"

While at Frankfort, he heard one sermon from a Methodist minister. It is probable, that in such a place seldom did a servant of God pass that way; for in the midst of a community so openly vicious, and so entirely regardless of God, little encouragement could there be to invite them to the sanctuary and the house of prayer. Whatever may have been the cause, yet it is a striking fact in the history of one who himself became so successful a preacher of the gospel, that it was not till his sixteenth year he ever heard a sermon. "One expression in it seized on his memory:—'I don't want to see you go to hell.'" No strong impression, however, seems to have been made upon him, for he

continued as before, unreconciled to God. He seems to have devoted himself to elegant literature, and his aim was to improve himself in the art of conversation, which he sought to accomplish by treasuring up, in a little book, expressions and thoughts, to be brought out into use as occasions and opportunities might require or allow. This he persisted in, notwithstanding the ridicule with which he met from young companions, who are ever apt enough to throw obstacles in the way of those who endeavor to surpass them in what is useful or attractive. Walton was not, however, always thus to escape the arrows of the Spirit. The way was preparing for a messenger whose voice was to reach the soul dead in trespasses and sins, and call it forth to newness of spirit and life. In this, too, we may still recognize the providential leadings of the same divine hand which had been ever near him. His mother having removed to the vicinity of Winchester, where resided a daughter, a wish was expressed by this sister, that he would come to that place and reside. On inquiry, he found a situation in the store of a respectable merchant of that place, and an elder in the Presbyterian church. Here it was, that the Spirit of God found him, and, by his repeated strivings, brought the rebel to bow at the cross of Christ. It is interesting to trace the operations of this divine agent in the circumstances in which Walton was placed. There is much to make us admire and adore,—much to encourage the christian in his labors for the salvation of others, and much, too, to lead the impenitent to tremble lest he fail of the grace of God. Had that grace then left him, the redeemed spirit now in glory might never have joined in the songs of rapturous praise. No one can read the biographer's account of this period without feeling, that its subject was indeed "a brand plucked from the fire, to become a burning and a shining light."

'Mr. Walton, being now in the family of a Presbyterian elder, went regularly to church, an event of which he says: "It was something new and strange for me to be at church; but I never received any solemn impression, until on the evening of the first of January, 1811, Dr. Hill read a discourse of SAMUEL DAVIES, on the text, '*This year thou shalt die.*' My attention was arrested by the striking considerations contained in that discourse, and several times during the reading of it, I almost resolved to begin immediately to seek salvation. And if at the close of the service, serious persons had been invited to remain for conversation and prayer, the probability is, that I should that night have been converted. But the assembly was dismissed, and I soon mingled with the society of those, who dissipated all my seriousness. The



impression was entirely gone the next day." \* \* \* \* Again the Spirit of God returned to the bosom of the rebel, and whispered, *This is the way, walk ye in it*; but while he resolved he would be a christian, the resolution disappeared, like the morning vapor, before the breath of temptation.' pp. 25, 26.

A ball now intervened, and the consequence was, he deferred the work of attending to his soul's concerns, in order that he might enjoy this pastime. Still the Spirit lingered with him, and still did he struggle against its pleadings, by sinning yet more and more daringly. "He secretly played cards on the sabbath, in the counting-room of his employer," although conscience uttered its reproaches, and his days and hours were embittered by its solemn warnings :

'On the evening of that sabbath, he strolled to the Methodist meeting, rather to pass away the evening than to obtain any spiritual benefit. Mr. Wall, an aged, local Methodist preacher, occupied the pulpit. His venerable appearance, his simplicity of manner, his apparent singleness of purpose, and intense sincerity and earnestness of soul, while delivering his high message, arrested the attention of Walton. \* \* \* \* The truth flashed upon his conscience with an electric force and rapidity. His head dropped upon his breast, as if it had been transfixed by some mortal shaft. An arrow from the Spirit's bow was indeed quivering in his heart, and he burst forth into supplications for mercy, "*Lord, have mercy upon me, and pardon all that is past, and enable me to do better for the future.*" Fearful that he should lose the awful impressions now concentrating on his mind, he *ran* from the church to the counting-room for the purpose of seeking solitude. \* \* \* \* He continued for a long time in a sitting posture, pleading with God for mercy. But the ear of Heaven seemed closed against his entreaties. He retired to bed, but not to rest. He now understood the meaning of the passage, "The wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest;" and of that other in juxtaposition, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." Peace had fled his bosom. The law asserted its claims. He could not satisfy them. The law thundered its penalty. He could not endure it. It demanded a perfect righteousness. He could not, as he supposed, find such a thing in the universe. Conscience loaded him with reproaches. He felt they were just. The innumerable iniquities of his heart and life rose in dark array. His spirits sunk under the terrors of the spectacle. He continued praying on his bed, for he was afraid to go to sleep, lest he should awake in hell!

In the morning he entered the store as usual, but with a diseased and restless mind. How could he attend to the small concerns of this world, when eternal interests so imperatively demanded his attention? He leaned on the counter and prayed. As yet he was not brought to his knees. \* \* By the following Sabbath, (after the lapse of a week,) he succeeded, on his return from divine service at night, in bringing his knees to the floor. His friend and companion had returned with him,

and being in the same room, prevented him as usual from praying on the bed. While sitting on it, a violent struggle commenced in his mind. He tried to pray, but was not satisfied with his performance, feeling all the time that it was his duty to go on his knees, and pour out the sorrows of a broken heart at the foot of the cross. But his obstinacy prevailed.' pp. 26—28.

But for this reluctance to seek, in humble supplication, the offended Creator, he was doomed to experience the sharp reproaches of an awakened conscience. His heart was yet unhumbled; he was spurning from himself the kind and inviting Savior. His views of religion were evidently most defective. He seems to have felt, that he was to be a sort of passive recipient of grace, without any special concurrence of his own to render it effectual. Thus it is said, "He besought the Lord to grant him repentance, and to enable him to resolve on a life of holiness and devotedness to his service. He seemed somewhat humbled, and felt a kind of peace, but was sensible, that he was not sufficiently penitent for his opposition to the government of God." Mr. Walton, afterwards, referring to his experience at this period, says:

"Among the first books I read, was 'The Garden of the Soul,' a Roman Catholic book, but I did not then know it. I began to read some of the duties of a christian, which appeared to be opposed to my inclination. I saw, in some measure, the folly of attempting to continue in ignorance of my duty, in the presence of a heart-searching God, but was tempted to do so, but do not recollect that I omitted any thing in consequence of this temptation." p. 29.

His biographer, describing the feelings and incidents of the same time, informs us:

'The next book which fell in his way was Hervey's Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio. With this he was much delighted. He became inspired with a kind of false love for some undefinable Being. In contemplating the picture of the love and sufferings of Jesus Christ, as drawn by Hervey's fervid pencil, he was enraptured; his affections were wrought up to a very intense degree of excitement, and he could pray with a fluency that seemed almost inexhaustible. He could with difficulty, however, begin to pray, until his mind caught the spirit of one of those glowing passages. All this time he was looking for some very striking demonstration of divine power in his conversion. On reaching that part of the book where Aspasio visits Theron to establish him in evangelical religion, he expected to experience an extraordinary change. By the most earnest and importunate supplications, he endeavored to constrain the Lord to convert him. For this purpose he would protract them to a great length, even

till he was in danger of fainting from exhaustion. Rolling his eyes towards heaven, in this expecting attitude he would passively wait for the blessing to descend. He had heard of persons continuing all night in prayer; he admired such a reach of devotional achievement, and almost determined to imitate it, especially as by so doing, he thought he should accomplish his object, but did not execute any resolution of this sort. About this time, (owing probably to the mental excitement he had undergone,) he was frequently seized in the night with the cramp, a thing to which he was by no means subject. He fancied it to be a token that he should rise and pray. Accordingly, he obeyed the intimation for a few nights, but at length his love of sleep prevailing over this artificial sense of duty, he preferred the pleasures of undisturbed repose to the self-denial of those vigils, which conscience, like a hard task-master, was enjoining upon him. The consequence of this first omission was, that the succeeding day was one of remorse and self-reproach. Many of its hours were already spent, before he could satisfy himself that he had repented. Relief came on the adoption of the resolution never again to disobey such a call, but the resolution itself had no more firmness than the gossamer thread. He did, indeed, several times afterwards, arise in deep night, and spend a season in prayer, but more, as he confessed, to hush the clamors of conscience, than to indulge the overflowings of a devotional heart.' pp. 29, 30.

We have been more full in our transcripts from this part of Walton's life, as it is interesting to trace the progress of feeling while under conviction, in one who was afterwards so distinguished in revivals of religion. Several thoughts have suggested themselves to us, in perusing this record of his experience, which we will now familiarly present, instead of drawing them out in form. The effect of early religious instruction, or the want of it, in modifying religious experience in those under anxiety of mind, is most obvious. Had his views of truth been right; had he been acquainted with that word of life which in so many ways urges upon the sinner's conscience its claims of repentance and faith, as duties to be done; had the fact so clearly set forth in the scriptures, that we must *strive* to enter into the strait gate, been impressed upon his mind, we should not have found him described as passively waiting for the blessing to descend. The powers given him by his benevolent Creator, would have been quickened to obey the command of Heaven, or he would have felt, that should he perish, he only was in the fault.

Clear and discriminating views of divine truth exert a powerful influence in rescuing their subject from a listless state of reliance upon extraneous agency. Nor, in saying this, are we denying the proper office of the Holy Spirit. We believe in

the necessity and appropriate work of this divine agent, as much as any one can do ; but then we entertain no such opinion as makes man a mere recipient, for the whole tenor of the gospel is against it. It is only while in the exercise of his own active powers, that the sinner's will is bowed, and he becomes the subject of heavenly grace. Another thing suggested by the experience of Walton, as above detailed, is the union of various instrumental agencies in securing the result of conversion. Presbyterian and Methodist preaching both bore their parts in Walton's conviction, while a Roman Catholic work also lent its aid in influencing his mind. It will doubtless be a subject of no small surprise and admiration in another world, to trace out the union of agencies in securing the salvation of the converted. This thought most naturally urges on us the duty of cherishing a spirit of candor and charity in judging of other denominations, so far as a strict regard to truth and obedience to God will permit. Errors of doctrine, and grievous ones too, as well as errors in practice, may exist even in evangelical sects ; but it should ever be remembered, that with all these deficiencies, which mar the beauty and excellency of Christ's visible church, still there is no evangelical church but contains in its bosom the elemental truths, by believing which, through sanctification of the Spirit, men may not be made wise unto salvation. Perhaps some warm-hearted Methodist or Baptist, or some serious-minded Episcopalian, is brought in contact with a sinner awakened under the preaching of a Congregationalist or Presbyterian. Their reasonings or persuasives, the calls of the gospel or the denunciations of the law as they proclaim them, fall upon his ear, and he goes away more deeply convicted ; and so a variety of instrumentalities is around him, by which, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, he becomes reconciled to God. When the whole train of causes is fully known, he may be compelled to acknowledge, that, such was the ordering of Divine Providence, had any one of these instrumentalities been absent, or in some other place of its action, he would never have forsaken his sins and cordially surrendered his soul to Christ. These thoughts, even as possibilities, and much more as rendered probable by cases on record, inculcate on all consistent charity and brotherly love.

But to resume the thread of our narrative. As the season for communion in the Presbyterian church was now approaching, Walton felt himself called to close self-examination. He seems to have been much agitated in mind as to the course which it was proper for him to pursue. He knew it was his duty to pro-

less Christ before men ; but his youth, trembling fears as to the stability of his faith, and a dread of the world, were all present to deter him. He would have unburdened his soul to his pastor, but he was afraid. No kind friend marked him and led him on to uncover the desires of his heart. His mother shared in the secret of his feelings, but she was both incompetent and careless to encourage him. Ignorant as he was of the rules of the church, he was purposing to go forward, without examination, to participate in the ordinance. Long and painful were the struggles through which he passed. On his way to the sanctuary, while aiding the elder to convey the communion vessels, he sought, though unsuccessfully, again to relieve his mind. But his spirit was pressed within him, and as they returned he made one more effort, and opened his heart to his employer. They called on the pastor, and, after examination, he was admitted to the privilege he so much coveted. Still, however, he did not feel that glow of love and gratitude, and those deep emotions of penitence, which he thought must accompany a proper faith in Christ. But when mingling with his fellow-christians in the scene of that memorial, and with the pledges of dying love before him, the glory of the crucified Redeemer of men, and his all-sufficiency, became apparent, and his heart dilated with a stronger and before unfelt happiness. His mind was now tranquil for a time, though the tempter soon began to disturb him with doubts respecting the more difficult doctrines of revealed truth. Among these were predestination and its kindred topics. We cannot wonder, that on the untaught mind of Walton, characterized as it also was with strong native good sense, these doctrines, coming as they might have done in their most offensive shapes, should have wrought no little perplexity. With a tender conscience, and trembling lest he should be rejecting the declarations of God, yet struggling in his mind with a natural repugnance against the statements by which the simple truths were clothed and set forth, he felt all the painful agitations of the young and unlearned convert. Walton was not a man to be satisfied with the mere assertions of uninspired men. To the plain asseverations of God's word he was ready to yield an unhesitating belief. His reason, however, he knew was given him by the same Being from whom he held that revelation on whose pages he fixed the eye of faith to learn his duty, and this noble talent was never meant to be buried. These were subjects within the scope of its legitimate exercise, nor ought he, as one accountable for his opinions, to refuse the proper investigation. It was in such a way, that he now felt

and acted, and this course, doubtless, had not a little influence in preparing him to become so useful as a preacher of divine truth.

A number of interesting particulars are related of this period of his life. At the outset of his serious impressions, we are informed, his thoughts were turned to the ministry. Yet, so little was he acquainted with the conditions of entrance upon this office, he did not know "that any person ever received a liberal education for the purpose." He now gave up all thoughts of a partnership with his employer, which he had before in view, and left himself to the disposal of Providence. This step, with many, would have been hazardous. But the leading hand was before him, and he had not mistaken the voice which was urging him to his appropriate sphere of duty. His biographer thus narrates the course of events :

' While in this expecting attitude, he was invited by Dr. Hill, of Winchester, to his house, and there received from that gentleman *a proposal that he should be educated by the Presbytery of Winchester, with a view to the holy ministry!* This was a very agreeable surprise. To this proposal he of course gave his solemn consideration. In the mean time he consulted his mother, who at first opposed, but at length acquiesced in his views.

But how should he ever summon sufficient resolution to perform public ministerial duties, when oppressed with such diffidence? Scarcely had he courage to ask a blessing at meals, much less to conduct family worship. On various occasions, when visiting his friends, conscience pressed him sore to "take up his cross," as it is sometimes absurdly expressed; that is, to pray with them, (surely no cross to the *christian*.) Fear too often prevailed against his resolution, until at length, visiting his mother previously to his final departure to the scene of his studies, he felt it unbecoming any longer to yield to a timidity, which would gain strength by indulgence. Night came, and with it great agitation. Should he be ashamed to confess Christ before the mother that bore him? He went out, and prayed earnestly that he might know what was his duty, and that he might receive strength to perform it. He returned still undecided, and at length resolved to retire without praying, when his sister asked him to lead in family worship! This removed every difficulty. He promptly engaged in singing and prayer, and succeeded beyond his expectation. He continued to discharge the duties of family worship while he remained at his mother's house, and the next week took a final leave of her.' pp. 35, 36.

Walton was naturally timid, and he was one who might be expected to shrink from the public execution of duty. But with the growth of his piety, he gathered increased moral courage, and habit gave him unwonted power; so that he finally

became as much distinguished for decision of character and holy boldness in the cause of Christ, as he had been for a retiring dread of the world. "Though among the most modest and retiring of men, he did not fear the face of a fellow-being, when charged with a message of God to his soul." Instances of his faithfulness even at this early period of his christian life, are recorded in these memoirs, and the results will be fully known only in eternity. He was directed by the presbytery who had taken him under their care, to Hampden Sydney College, at Prince Edward. "Accordingly, in the autumn of 1811, he repaired to that institution with a firm resolution, as well to cultivate the graces of christian living, as to seek attainments in human learning." His biographer well observes, that progress in one is by no means inconsistent with the same in the other, as the records of the scholar, graced by the names of Martyn and Howe, Boerhaave, Edwards, and many others, may show :

'On the twenty-second of October, the Presbytery of Winchester, then sitting at Fredericksburg, examined the candidate under their care, in the languages, in the sciences, and in theology. Being satisfied with his attainments, and his qualifications for the work which he sought, and especially his *capabilities of attainment*, they proceeded to license him to preach the gospel. He preached his *Trial Sermon* on this occasion from Psalm ciii. 1: *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name, and forget not all his benefits.* Speaking of this important event, he says: "Although I was far from feeling as I ought to have felt on such an occasion, yet my exercises were on the whole comfortable, and I hope profitable. I felt my unworthiness of a place among the ministers of Jesus Christ. I was much afraid that I should disgrace the sacred office. I felt sensibly and still feel my incompetency to the discharge of the duties of a minister. I know that nothing but genuine fervent piety can make me a good preacher. *This I am resolved to seek.* I wish to be completely devoted to my Redeemer." pp. 63, 64.

The interval, as appears from the records of his diary, was marked by a variety of feeling. His journal contains a set of resolutions in his eighteenth year, mostly derived from Doddridge and Edwards, and is interspersed with deep confessions of guilt, self-abhorrence, lamentations over coldness, weakness, and unworthiness. At times, also, like many other eminent christians, in the earlier periods of their christian feeling, he was distressed with temptations and doubts. Still he sought in many ways to be useful, and in some instances his efforts were blest to the salvation of others. Among these earlier attempts,

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‘ Under date Jan. 17, 1813, he speaks of a “ society formed for the education of the blacks,” at which he exhorted, though embarrassed by the presence of the whites. It was very natural for him to take so exalted and impressive a theme, as that in the twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew, in reference to which, he says, that he “ expatiated on the sufferings of Christ, *which was the subject that first roused my attention to religion*,” adding with solemn emphasis, “ IT IS DIFFICULT TO FEEL THE WORTH OF THE SOUL.”’ pp. 49, 50.

His seasons of self-examination were frequent ; but his views on many subjects appear to be much more crude than they afterwards became. He was evidently in some danger of spiritual pride. His peculiar amiableness, united with many attractions of manner, secured for him the approval of numbers who came in contact with him ; and no wonder, that a heart so operated upon should feel itself sometimes drawn away by the seductive influence of flattery, especially when the praise so spoken came from the lips of the lovely and of the gentler sex. We would quote from his diary here, but for the fear, that we should so trench upon our remaining space, as would oblige us to omit portions we design to give from the maturer periods of his life. Its pages, however, evince, that he was becoming daily more acquainted with his own heart, and the subtilties of the great adversary. At times he was very unhappy, and at others rejoicing. He was gradually acquiring that experience and gathering those stores of practical wisdom, which so well qualified him afterwards to detect the fallacy of the presuming, and to encourage the humble, contrite, and trembling, as well as to counsel the established and faithful. This is a species of knowledge which books alone cannot furnish. Intercourse with the world, and habits of usefulness among our fellow-men, are necessary, to secure that tact of judgment, and that practical adaptation of the truth to the wants of men, which marks the successful preacher and pastor. Part of this period was spent in North Carolina, where he attended numerous meetings, and his labors were blest, though, as he learned on his return, his deportment was sometimes wanting in that humility which becomes a youthful christian and a candidate for the sacred office. On this account, he received a timely rebuke from an older friend, which gave new occasion for the exhibition of that frankness and simplicity of character which ever distinguished him. Another extraordinary case of preservation from imminent danger also belongs to this period :

‘ Returning from Winchester, Mr. Walton met with an incident, which had nearly deprived him of life. Descending a hill, beyond



Hand's Ferry, the horse he was driving, being suddenly frightened, ran furiously down the descent, and as there was a deep rut on one side of the road, and a clump of trees on the other, his fate seemed suspended, as it were, between this Scylla and Charybdis,—instant destruction on one side or the other seeming certain. With the calmness of a christian, he made up his mind to die. After the carriage had been whirled about a hundred yards, the left wheel was precipitated into the rut, dashing him to the ground, and snapping asunder the axletree, as if it had been of the texture of a tender reed, while the disengaged wheel ran over his back and head, and would have completed the work of destruction, had not those parts of his body providentially escaped the stroke of the axletree, and the fury of the horse's feet. His head was somewhat injured, but his arm was cut in several places, besides being severely bruised, and some of his ribs nearly broken. "How I escaped," says he, "I am utterly at a loss to know, without believing that those everlasting arms which uphold the universe, and direct and control all events, protected me. I am astonished that I was not mangled and bruised, yea, killed on the spot. But thanks be to God, who has lengthened out my space for making my calling and election sure. I have since felt sensibly that I am not my own, and been more disposed to devote myself unreservedly to the service of God than ever before. I have 'seen' clearly the vanity of every thing under the sun, the absolute necessity of being always prepared to meet my God in judgment. May He sanctify this, and all the dispensations of his providence to me." pp. 56, 57.

The youthful preacher was popular, and we are not surprised to learn, that, situated as he was, flattered and caressed, he suffered his affections to become enlisted by the attractions which surrounded him. His biographer but just mentions an incident that took place, which might have exercised an important influence on his character :

'During the present year, an attachment was formed between Mr. Walton and a young lady, which occupied much of his time and thoughts, and at length, in consequence of parental objections, was dissolved by mutual consent. He was still pursuing his studies at the institution, and in his journal frankly acknowledges the evil effects of cherishing this attachment. "I addressed her, but I am now disposed to think I was wrong in doing so at so early a period. I was too hasty. I did not wait, as I ought to have done, for the Lord to make the path of duty *entirely plain*, and I have suffered severely for my precipitancy." Like many other rash engagements of a similar character, it was no doubt broken up by a kind and vigilant Providence.

He writes in March, "— has occupied my affections and my thoughts in too great a degree, and thus I have been brought to neglect, more than usual, devout meditation, self-examination, &c. I feel now determined, with divine assistance, to be more engaged in religion, and

of that people ; and had they not already invited another person, he might have received a call to settle among them. During the whole period above noticed, when not in Washington, and when able to preach, he seems to have been ministering to the wants of two or three distinct congregations, probably Hope-well, Smithfield, and Berryville. The way was, however, preparing for his removal to a sphere of more extended usefulness. Silently the providence of God had been fitting him to take his proper place among the laborers in his vineyard, where also he should receive his meed of approval in the accompanying influences of the Holy Spirit, and the success of his ministry. In January, 1823, after a short visit among them, he received a call from the Third Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, Md., and removed there on the 22d of the succeeding month. The minority, when they perceived how large a majority was in his favor, proposed, that the call should be unanimous, cheerfully surrendering their private feelings to the public good. Under these favorable auspices, he took up his abode with them. Nor was this all. His soul was full of earnest desire to devote himself wholly to his work, and to the salvation of his future flock. His ill health for a time prevented him from realizing his pleasing anticipations. He was feeble, and feverish, and threw up blood, and was forced to leave, and journey into Virginia. The physicians advised him to relinquish preaching, but he felt reluctant to do so. His infirmities reminded him how near he was to eternity, and his words were fraught with solemnity and effect. A change in his feelings and views took place :

‘ It was the lot of Walton, during this summer, to be greeted with a brighter dawn in his spiritual affairs. Indeed, his mind underwent a revolution, more especially with respect to the doctrine of revivals, of which, previously to this period, he had entertained inadequate conceptions,—a revolution that affected his whole subsequent ministry. A conversation held with a brother, who was providentially visiting him, had the effect to awaken in his mind a new train of thought on the important subject of dealing with immortal souls. Much was said on the ways and means of presenting truth to the mind ; on the advantages of one style of preaching, and the disadvantages of another ; on the causes of the different success, so far as human agency is concerned, of different preachers, and on the general mode of conduct in those precious seasons of the outpouring of the Spirit, which have distinguished our American Israel.’ p. 96.

The effect of this change was immediately seen. He was aroused to personal effort during the week, and his usual public ministrations were characterized by a greater degree of unction :

‘ Questions and considerations like these occurred to his mind, and he resolved to try the influence of personal effort for the salvation of individuals. His attention was, in the first place, naturally directed to the young. A few of them were assembled at his house, and solemnly addressed on the concerns of eternity, after which, special prayer was offered for their salvation. Much seriousness and feeling pervaded the meeting. On the next sabbath, Mr. W., whose heart had been drawn forth in earnest prayer for a divine unction upon his own soul, as well as upon his people, preached with unusual animation on the subject which engrossed his mind,—the necessity of the reviving influences of the Spirit. After service, he requested those who desired to unite in supplications and labors for so great a blessing, to remain in the house after the congregation had retired. “A considerable number remained. We conversed with them for some time, and proposed that the members of the church should meet, two or three together, every Monday evening, to converse and pray for a revival. I believe a number have complied. Last Monday evening, we had another meeting of young people at my house, while others were praying for us. This was still more interesting and solemn. Four or five agreed to meet us at the throne of grace, at 10 o’clock, and we promised to pray for them while they were praying for themselves. Monday and Tuesday we visited and conversed with the people, from house to house. We had some solemn scenes. On Tuesday evening, our prayer meeting was full, and such a meeting I never saw before. Much feeling was excited. A number of persons, young and old, now appear to be under deep conviction.”’ pp. 97, 98.

Thus was Mr. Walton privileged to see the tokens of an incipient revival of religion among the people for whose spiritual welfare he was so deeply interested. But his health becoming more feeble, he was constrained to seek anew medical advice, and was led to believe, that the bleeding was not from the lungs. Notwithstanding the absence of their pastor, the work still advanced, and he was gratified to learn, on his reaching home from a journey into Virginia, that the congregation was increased, a number were rejoicing in hope, and many anxious. He entered upon a system of pastoral visits, which appear to have been much blest. In the pages of his diary, seven or eight visits in a day are mentioned, and many interesting particulars of impressions, and feelings, and conversations, are recorded. His labors must have been most arduous, and the wear of feeling great. He had to encounter opposition and ridicule from those who loved not the truth. At one time, he was threatened with prosecution for slander, because he called upon an individual, “and, in a private manner, admonished him for profane swearing, the charge having been brought against the offender by a member of the session.” These were trying circumstances;

but his trust was in one who never failed him. In the opening of the year 1824, Mr. Walton invited his church to meet and recognize with himself the goodness and grace of God. A short extract from his diary describes the scene :

“ *Jan. 1, 1824.*—Last evening we had service in our church, commencing at nine o'clock. I administered the Lord's supper. At twelve o'clock we all kneeled down and spent some time in silent prayer and praise. A considerable number then retired to the session room, and spent the remainder of the night in singing, conference, &c. I remained until four o'clock. Was much pleased with the experience of some of our young converts. This is doubtless a work of God; flesh and blood could not teach them such things.” p. 118.

His church was laboring under pecuniary difficulties, and the means of support were apparently likely to fail him. To relieve the society of their embarrassments, Mr. Walton, with a generous disinterestedness, offered to take a tour of solicitation, and to relinquish two hundred dollars of his salary. But he was not forced to resort to this course. His society too well understood his character, and they would by no means consent to his proposal. Well was it for them, that they did do so, and it must have been a subject of congratulation, as in after years they reflected on their conduct on this occasion. Mr. Walton was now known, as a revival-preacher, in the true sense of the term. His published narrative had found an extensive circulation, and many were anxious to see and hear him. He was also engaged in maturing a plan “for combining mental and manual labor in such a way as to impart the greatest vigor to the active and intellectual powers, while the heart should be cultivated with an assiduity proportioned to its important position in the system.” Friends whom he consulted approved; among them the late William Wirt, who said, “The plan is admirable, and the object contemplated one of unrivaled excellence.” For some reason or other, not mentioned, the plan was never carried any farther. We quote here one more extract from his diary, and the last made while at Baltimore :

“ *Saturday eve, Sept. 19.*—Last sabbath I administered the Lord's supper, and never saw so deep and so general an impression in that house. I have heard several say they never experienced such a day. On Wednesday evening we had a conference meeting, and it was the most profitable one we have ever had, as far as I can judge. H. D. hopes she obtained religion that night.” p. 127.

The reason of his leaving his people is not distinctly stated; but so far as we can understand it, the principal cause was his

debility, which incapacitated him to go through the trials and labors of his situation. It was, no doubt, a sorrowful necessity thus to break away from souls for whom he had so often prayed, and to whom he had addressed the gracious offers of Christ, even at the very moment when the Spirit was carrying on his operations among them, and it was doubtless a mysterious providence to himself and his people; but thus was it, probably, that God was preparing him for greater usefulness. Soon after leaving Baltimore, he underwent a surgical operation, which was very painful, and to which he submitted with true christian feeling. Yet he was not wholly laid aside, since he was enabled to attend meetings, and before a long time he commenced preaching at Charlestown, Va., and his biographer remarks: "In the year 1825, he still seems to have been active in whatever sphere placed, and anxious to promote the work of the Lord."

Hitherto, while tracing the progress of this eminent servant of Christ, we have marked his vicissitudes of condition, and sympathized with him in his trials as a pastor, and his sufferings and despondency. With sorrows like these, the heart is often bowed down and broken. But when the eye of prejudice or passion looks its language of reproach; when the tongue of slander utters its biting sarcasms and torturing falsehoods; when the good man finds his objects and his actions perverted, and his usefulness hindered; when the world is cold and unfeeling; he can retire, if so blessed, to the bosom of his family, and thus, for the time, forget his troubled thoughts. There, may gather around him the loved and loving members of that little circle, and by their endearing converse or gentle prattle, win him back to cheerfulness and hope. Alas! for him, then, when the stroke falls here; when from these objects, where he has garnered up the rich treasure of his affections, some lovely one is torn out of his bosom, and laid down in the icy arms of the grave. None but a parent who has been thus bereaved, can *know* what we mean; and no one who has thus known it, but can remember, and too well, the soul-crushing sorrow of that hour. The spirit may be all submission, yea, in the best of senses, cheerful and happy; but can it help feeling the yearnings of one bereaved, as it thinks of the churchyard's added stone, and the fireside's vacant chair?

The christian may pass through the fires, and be burnished the more thereby; but still, they *are* fires to him. The child may be but the infant of days, or have numbered its years: yet the hopes which rose bright at its birth, have set and sunk in dark-

ness. Such was the trial to which Mr. Walton was called. But let the *father* tell his own griefs, and his exalted consolations :

“ *Bethany, Oct. 8.*—During the last four weeks, we have had more family afflictions than we ever had before, I believe, since we have been a family. My sister and M——, exhausted by fatigue and loss of rest in waiting upon my mother day and night, were first attacked. Their cases were extremely critical and obstinate; but, through mercy, both are recovering. On Saturday night, Sept. 14th, our dear little daughter, Margaret Ann, was taken, although we did not think the attack violent. On Sunday morning early, we gave her medicine, which seemed to have a good effect, and in the afternoon she was so much better, that her mother and I left her to go to Wickliffe, where I had an appointment to preach. On our return, we found her rather worse. On Monday her head became very much affected. Dr. S—— was sent for, who employed the most active and efficient remedies. But the hand of the Lord was heavy upon her. Her delirium increased to a most distressing height; so that she required and received the most unremitting and painful attention day and night, for nineteen days and nights in succession. During the greater part of this time her sufferings appeared to be most intense. The pain of blisters, of which she had in all twelve; the suffering arising from the most agonizing sickness at the stomach, causing her to cry out almost continually; from lifting her in and out of the warm bath, which operation was repeated, some days and nights, about ten times; from taking medicine, bleeding, &c., all amounted to more positive anguish than I ever witnessed in any person, for so many days in succession. Often were our hopes raised, and as often sunk again; every instance of which had its appropriate effect on my mind, in driving me to the throne of grace in prayer and in praise. Never did any child feel the effect of the *rod*\* more sensibly than I felt this, and nothing ever had such an effect in quickening me to call upon God. I feel that I needed just such an affliction, and my alternate hopes and fears during this whole season of trial were most salutary. I often enjoyed a greater freedom and comfort in prayer than I ever had done before. How often did I entreat the Lord to take away my iniquities

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\* ‘Not long since, a lady of the author’s acquaintance, a professing Christian, who had drank deep of the cup of maternal affliction—having in early life buried two children, as she saw the third, a darling infant son, in the arms of death, began to wonder, to doubt, perhaps even to murmur at such reiterated strokes. “Why am I,” thought she, “treated with such severity? What have I done to deserve it?” While thoughts like these were permitted to disturb the tranquillity of christian submission, intelligence was brought her that another son, beloved of his parents, had fallen into a vessel of boiling water, and was probably scalded to death! It was enough. She bowed in sweet submission to the double stroke, ejaculated, *My Father!* handed over her infant to die in the arms of a friend, and prepared to do all she could for the comfort of her agonized boy, till God should call him to follow his little brother to the tomb! But the child, though almost mortally injured, through the goodness of God survived, and the mother has learned to say, *Thy will be done!*’

and cause his anger against me to cease ; to raise the dear little creature to health, if it could be consistent with his wise and holy purposes ; if not, to prepare her for a seat at his right hand, and to give us the evidence of it before he removed her, for our comfort ! Well, He did not restore her to health, but He answered my prayer—blessed be his Name ! He gave us more evidence than I could have expected in the nature of the case, that He had made her a subject of his grace. This filled my heart with joy, and my mouth with praise. Although I never before felt my affection for her so sensibly, yet I never was so happy in all my life, as I was this morning after she died, during some religious exercises we had. It was a feast of feeling ; it continues to this moment, when I dwell upon the same considerations. I was almost overwhelmed with a sense of obligation for divine favors. Never did I praise the Lord in such a manner before. Never did he seem so near. Never did the gospel appear so precious. Never did I feel desires so strong and unmingled, to be holy, and live entirely to the glory of God. O may He in infinite mercy hear the *many* prayers that have been offered up, that these afflictions might be abundantly sanctified to us all ! and that they may prepare us for more usefulness, and prepare the people to receive the gospel message. During the same time, about twenty members of my family have been sick ! What a mercy, that though often much indisposed and obliged to take medicine, yet my dear wife and myself have been enabled to attend upon the sick continually ! For twenty nights I never had my clothes off but once. We experienced much kindness from friends during the whole of our affliction, and they were brought to our assistance so seasonably, that the hand of the Lord was evidently in it. Nothing else, probably, would have impressed so deeply upon our minds the importance of praying and laboring more intensely for the conversion of our children, and so convinced us that the Lord *can*, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, perfect his praise. This is a great mercy to us and to our children. She is also taken from temptations innumerable, which might have been fatal and destructive to her soul ; and now she is, I have abundant reason to believe, secure and happy in the arms of that Redeemer in whom she trusted, and who, though unseen, appeared to be so precious to her soul ! When I consider these things, and *all the good* which the Lord designed to do to me and mine, by this dispensation, my soul is filled with wonder, love, and praise. He might have taught us some of the same things by snatching our child away suddenly without hope ; but in teaching us lessons of the greatest practical importance, He has conferred infinite mercy upon a dear child ! Indeed I see so much more mercy than severity in our afflictions, great as to some they may appear, that there is an unspeakable sweetness in them. It seems that I have tasted no bitterness at all. Although the dear little creature had suffered more than language can describe during the greater part of her illness, yet a short time before she died, she appeared to be perfectly easy, and like one sinking into a sweet and tranquil sleep. I never saw any human being die so easily. Her soul took its flight at 10 o'clock this morning. Glory to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen !

*Tuesday, Nov. 15.*—My dear child still feels as precious to me as ever, and I feel her loss more sensibly than I did at first; but I have the same views of the kindness and mercy of God in our afflictions. I never felt so much as if the heart of stone was taken away and a heart of flesh was given me, as I have since the death of my child. Never for the same length of time did I enjoy so uniformly freedom and comfort in prayer." pp. 138—141.

Our readers, doubtless, will many of them recollect the precious memoirs of his daughter, which Mr. Walton published, and which we hope have spoken in their own impressive language to many a sabbath-school scholar. We give a few extracts from our present volume, relating to her childhood and death :

' When at her grandmother's in Charlestown, (she was then between six and seven years old,) at the close of a prayer meeting, she retired to the next room, where was a colored woman, and began to address her with the simplicity and enthusiasm of a child, heightened by her emotion as a christian. She expressed tender pity for her condition, reminded her of the awful place to which she was going, and illustrated its terrors by an allusion to the flames of the fire then burning in the room. "Hannah," said the little preacher, "have you given your heart to the Lord?" "No," replied her auditor, surprised at the importunity of the child. "I have," said Margaret Ann, "and now I will pray that you may do so too." They dropped on their knees before God, and while the child prayed, the heart of the woman melted. Hannah soon became a convert to the faith of Jesus, and a member of the christian church !

Leaning one day on the knee of a gentleman, a political aspirant, who was visiting at the house of her uncle, after a pause in the conversation, which, being on politics, had flowed fast and fiercely, Margaret Ann looked up in the face of the visitor in a very serious and artless manner, and said, "*Haman was hanged !*"

The closing scene was melancholy but beautiful. It exhibited the lights and shades of that picture so often witnessed, but so soon forgotten, in which Death is the principal figure, though shorn of his terrors; Sin, the discomfited tyrant; and Religion, the sweet and holy Genius, that sheds her cheerful light and joyful hope over the scene, kindling the raptures of heaven at the very gates of the grave! \* \* \*

When Margaret Ann was writhing in her last pains, she would say, "*Read to me about the sufferings of Jesus !*" As she approached eternity, she prayed, "O JESUS, LOVE ME." She was asked, "Will you sit down in a corner of heaven with that little girl of whom you have read, and sing hallelujah with her?" She replied, "O! there is room enough in heaven, without sitting down in a corner." While tears flowed freely from the eyes of those who surrounded her bed, she was asked by her father, "Whom do you expect to see when you get to heaven?" "JESUS," was her reply. "And will you praise Him?"



"Yes," said she. "And for what will you praise Him?" "For His **LOVING KINDNESS**," was the firm, sweet, distinct, ardent reply of the dying Margaret Ann. An angel might, if he could, have envied the triumphant emotions of that heart.

It was in such a frame that her gentle spirit took its flight to heaven. Said her afflicted father, "The tears which were shed over her, were tears of gratitude, of affection, and of joy, and not of sorrow." \*

To the unthinking mind, it may seem a heavier calamity to a parent to bury a manly and blooming son, than the more retiring daughter, from whom less of public achievement is expected; but let not this be believed. The daughter—and the author has advanced the idea elsewhere—clings, like the rose-leaf around the stem, to the parent home and the parent heart. She watches the approving smile, and deprecates the slightest shade on the brow; she wanders not on forbidden pleasure grounds; wrings not the hearts at home with her doubtful midnight absence, nor wrecks the fond hopes which she has concentrated upon herself. Wherever the son may wander in search of fortune or pleasure, there is the daughter within the sacred temple of home, the vestal virgin of its innermost sanctuary, keeping alive the flame of domestic affection, and blessing that existence, of which she is herself a part! When to charms like these are added the graces of an ardent and consistent piety, the fond parents may even here antedate the bliss of heaven and the companionship of angels! pp. 143—146.

Soon after this painful event, Mr. Walton was again in jeopardy of his life, from the contact of a water-car with the horse he was driving. God, however, preserved him, and we find him in a short time installed pastor of the church in Charlestown, Va. His trials did not cease with this new situation, for his preaching was in some cases so searching as to give offense and lead to false accusations. Still, he was the same laborious servant of Christ in all places, and a similar success crowned his efforts. Mention is made once more of his institution, which is spoken of as in existence; but we recollect no account of its beginning or progress. He attended a series of meetings at Shepherdstown, which was accompanied by a divine blessing, as also at Romney, and other places. Like one who was entirely devoted to his work, he prosecuted it amid obstacles which would have deterred most men. In ten days, he preached sixteen times, and administered the Lord's supper twice, on his return home found his children sick, (one had been very ill,) rested a little, but a day at home, and then set out to fulfill an appointment at Smithfield. Here he preached twice, in much weakness, and the next day was sent home ill, and confined there for a week. His biographer censures, and with justice, Mr. Walton's disregard of his strength. The too ethereal frame-

work of many a gifted spirit has no doubt been often consumed by the fires in its own bosom, kindled from the altar of God. Instead of guarding the sacred trust, and watching lest the flame of zeal should burn with too intense a glow for the slender tabernacle of the flesh, it sought more fuel to feed its cravings, and the result has been just what might have been expected,—the earlier extinction of the light which shed so bright a radiance on the world around. Yet the most common or the greatest error, after all, is not such excess of devotedness or want of prudence. There are not so many Brainerds, or Martyns, or Waltons, who have literally worn themselves out by labors in season and out of season, and watchings and anxieties for souls, as there are of those who need vastly more of the same spirit of engagedness for God. It does not, indeed, justify the former, but how does it rebuke, as if with trumpet-tongue, the latter? for their remissness it may be, in part, has laid the foundation for that pressure which crushed down the nobler spirit by its heavier weight. Were there more of the same willingness to spend and be spent for God, from day to day, there would be less need for its continued exercise. But let us return to the course of the narrative.

We must relinquish our detail, as our space is already so much occupied. Notwithstanding continued trials, from sickness and death of friends, and from opposition to the cause he loved, Mr. Walton was daily gathering fresh fruits of love, and humility, and faith, and hope, from the earnest cultivation of his own heart. His diary is that of a growing christian,—of one whose main object was to understand how he might come nearer to the fullness in stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus. On the 11th May, 1827, he again changed his location, having accepted a call from the second Presbyterian church in Alexandria, D. C. His feelings respecting this event are thus recorded :

‘ Under date May 25, he says : “ There was much to induce me to come to this place—a unanimous call of the church—the strong desire of brother Andrews that I should succeed him, expressing to the congregation his entire confidence in me, and how much relief his mind felt in the prospect of my taking charge of his people; a hope almost amounting to confidence, that if I came to this place, and was enabled to labor in the right way, we should be blest with a revival which would build up a congregation that had been long in a declining state, while it might exert a salutary influence upon the interests of the church, perhaps throughout the whole district. Brothers Post and Baker expressed a strong desire that I should cast in my lot among them. Seeing no possibility of getting along with the Institution, and the way being open

for me honorably to relinquish it; having gone to the *ne plus ultra* of the enterprise; and finally, the prospect of enjoying better health than we had enjoyed for the last two years—these, with other subordinate considerations, determined me to come to this place. When I first thought of giving up the Institution, it appeared like burying a member of my family: but the sickness we had all experienced at Bethany, occasioning so much distress in the family, and so much interruption to the studies of the young men; and withal, having so little assistance in prosecuting the arduous undertaking, it appeared to be my duty to give it up;—God only knows with how much anxiety to know the path of duty, and with how much fear and trembling lest I should take a wrong step. I trust it will appear in the great day, that I have pursued the right course in this instance, and that all these things have fallen out to the furtherance of the gospel.” pp. 161, 162.

He immediately commenced his usual labors,—preaching and pastoral visiting,—and directed his efforts to the object of a revival of religion. He had gained an elasticity of spirits, and he had the satisfaction of perceiving, that his ministry was not without a blessing. A number of individuals were led to inquire the way to life, and to give themselves to God. A revival of religion had begun, and under date of Feb. 3, 1828, he says: “This day two weeks, we received sixteen new members, and the work is going on. The prospects now are as favorable as they have ever been.” He was unwearied in his labors, and dwelt with great energy upon the doctrines of the gospel. A sceptic once boasting, that he could get no minister to preach from a text which he wished, Mr. Walton engaged to do so, and multitudes of infidels accordingly gathered to hear what he could say on the words, “Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.” His success in vindicating the divine sovereignty was triumphant, and we presume it was the same sermon which was afterwards published, and which is said to have been pronounced, by a lay gentleman of distinguished theological knowledge, “the clearest discussion of that subject he had ever heard.”

Mr. Walton was much afflicted with a nervous affection of the head, which so much operated on his mental frame as to occasion apprehensions of insanity. In this situation, like Payson, he was subject to temptations and evil thoughts. Still he did not remit his activity. A four days meeting, said to have been the first of the kind in the Atlantic churches, was held in his church, and the results were most happy. A curious fact is mentioned in a note, indicative of the effects of this revival. “Some of the keepers of the taverns complained bitterly of this revival, as diminishing the amount of their receipts for liquors. One tavern-keeper said his custom had sustained a loss of about

\$100, such a rage was there for temperance. Another said, '*We must drive Walton out of town, or we shall lose our custom.*'" A good illustration this, no doubt, of the feelings cherished by many who traffic thus in death, and of the consistency of their views of the liberty of ruining others, which they so strenuously claim. A revival of religion always finds them its deadly foes, for it awakens the consciences of evil-doers, and makes them tremble in view of the wrath to come. The revival at Alexandria was followed by one also at Washington, and the fourth Presbyterian church was formed under its influence. Mr. Walton was called both there and to Baltimore, to assist in protracted meetings. While at the latter place, he subscribed \$300 towards extinguishing the debt of his former church. His diary evinces a continual advance in the divine life, and exhibits his incessant application in the cause of his Master. During a journey to the North, he was detained by sickness in Hartford, Conn., and suffered much from raising blood and nervous debility. The summer seems to have been spent chiefly in efforts to regain his health. But he could not be idle. If incapacitated from preaching and conversation, he resorted to his pen, and while on a visit to Old Point Comfort, besides preaching, he wrote and sent to the press a small work, called "Dialogues on the Ten Commandments." Among his correspondents of this period, we have extracts from Drs. Rice, Speece, and Rev. H. F. Burder, England. Another four days meeting is also mentioned in his diary, with good results, and a most interesting sketch, under the title of "Reminiscences of a Revival of Religion," is given as the production of his pen, which we would most gladly quote, but we can only refer our readers to the book itself.

The year 1830 was diversified with the usual sufferings and trials of former ones. It is wonderful, however, to perceive, how his elastic spirit, aided by the power of divine grace, rose above all, and still he went on preaching, notwithstanding the fatigue and pain of his feeble frame. In the month of November, he attended the annual meeting of the Synod of Virginia, and was solicited to preach before that body. Aiming to do good, more than to gain applause for talents, he preached one of his most pungent discourses "On Conviction." "After service, one of the eminent divines of Virginia, now no more, walked up to him, and shaking him cordially by the hand, said: '*I will indorse every word.*'" Some time after, the same brother pleasantly asked, 'Have you to fight your way on the ground you were upon this morning, with any person called a minister?'

He was answered in the affirmative. 'Then come to Virginia, and we will protect you,' was the rejoinder of his friend." Alas! for the church of Christ at the present day, that such spirits are so few in the same synod, and that the gospel, as Walton then preached it, is now become so greatly an occasion of offense. Men were then more anxious to witness the displays of God's grace, than to secure a majority in ecclesiastical assemblies, that they may cast out their brethren. Men whose names are now arrayed in opposition, then mingled together in fraternal intercourse and mutual labors. Is that which once seemed good become evil? or have they lost the spirit of true christian love?

In the month of January, 1831, farther special efforts were made to promote the cause of religion. We find Mr. Walton also at different times preaching and aiding his brethren in conducting protracted meetings, in which labors of love he seems to have been peculiarly successful. Applications were pouring in upon him for his presence from all quarters. He was in season and out season, in the occupation of all his powers for his divine Master.

In the spring of 1831, Mr. Walton was chosen missionary agent and evangelist for the presbyteries of East and West Hanover, Va. His health did not allow him to accept the appointment, but he was incessantly engaged in visiting churches and preaching. Under date of Aug. 30, he says: "Returned on Saturday night last from my trip to the south parts of Virginia. I was absent nearly four weeks, the whole of which was a time of great mercy." He speaks also in his diary of a work which he had in hand, called "*A Manual for Awakened Sinners.*" He attended too the synod of Philadelphia at Baltimore; but his soul was grieved with the contentions for which this synod has become so well known. The scenes of a revival and communion with God, better suited his growing piety, and we soon find him at a protracted meeting in Richmond. His thoughts were now turned to the subject of the prayer of faith: he accordingly prepared the article on intercessory prayer, which appeared in the *Christian Spectator* in 1832. This was a work of great labor: many days and nights, it is said, were devoted to the theoretical and practical consideration of this subject. The object of the article is to show what kind of prayer the bible teaches us to regard as likely to be successful, or availing much, and what are the conditions on which the promises relating to prayer are based. Many of our readers will recollect with what ability he discussed this topic, and how just and satisfactory

in the main were his conclusions. It is unnecessary for us to analyze the article in question, as it is probably within the reach of nearly all those who may read the present notice. But we would earnestly recommend it to the people of God, at the present day, when, if ever, this subject ought to be understood and felt.

Mr. Walton was now to enter a different field from any he had before occupied. An invitation was given him to a new church in Hartford, Conn. This, in the providence of God, was to be the further scene of his labors, and here he was to find his repose in the grave. "After much deliberation and prayer, he came to the conclusion, that it was his duty to remove to New England." His congregation in Alexandria were nearly all professing christians, and he found not, therefore, the subjects of renewing grace for the continuance of those seasons by which his own soul had been so greatly refreshed. In another place, he might perhaps enjoy this privilege. Yet the separation from his people was most trying. It is ever so to a pastor who for years has labored and watched for their spiritual welfare. To a man of Walton's character, so peculiarly alive to sympathy and friendship, who had been so constant and unwearied in his efforts to benefit them, through whose instrumentality many of them had become reconciled to God; to such a man, and in such circumstances, the idea of thus breaking away from them, never perhaps to behold them again, must indeed have been a painful one. But he held himself ready to depart or abide, as Providence should dictate; and he felt that he heard the same voice which had brought him there, now saying to him, "Arise, and depart whither I shall send thee." At his request, therefore, the pastoral relation between himself and the people of Alexandria was dissolved. We cannot avoid quoting here from a letter to Rev. H. F. Burder, a passage which shows what were Mr. Walton's views of doctrines at the time he came to New England:

"The peace of the churches has been much disturbed for several years past, by a controversy respecting *ability* and *inability*—*new measures* and *old measures*. There are those among us who are afraid of detracting somewhat from the honor of sovereign grace, by insisting upon the immediate performance of all the duties which the bible enjoins upon both believers and unbelievers;—I mean in the same way that the Bible does, without stopping to tell them in the same breath that they have no ability to perform these duties. They stop to qualify their statements on these subjects, and to give such explanations respecting the sinner's dependence on divine grace, as serve to *ease off* the

pressure of obligation and to quiet conscience, while submissively waiting for divine grace to do every thing for him. Meanwhile very little is said about the *guilt* of rebelling against God and persisting in that rebellion *after duty is known*. Ministers of this class appear to have given but little attention to the great principles of the moral government of God, the foundation of moral obligation, and the manner in which God deals with creatures who still possess, though ever inclined to pervert, the powers of moral agency. They seem to make no distinction between that kind of operation which is necessary to transform an idiot into a rational creature, and that which is required to a change of *disposition* in a *voluntary transgressor*. Especially do they appear to overlook the fact that the change necessarily implies the *act of the sinner himself*; that while the divine efficiency is acknowledged, the nature of the case requires the voluntary agency of the sinner in turning away from sin and submitting to God. Overlooking this point, they fail to urge upon sinners the doing of that which is as essential to their conversion as the divine agency itself. These brethren moreover seem to think there are comparatively no evils to be guarded against, excepting those of extravagance and innovation." pp. 241, 242.

Mr. Walton arrived in Hartford with his family Oct. 31, 1832. In the providence of God, he was not permitted to labor long in this new field; but, as in every other scene of his ministry, so here, he could number the seals of his faithfulness. He immediately entered on a similar course of labor, in visiting and conversing with his people, as had elsewhere been crowned with success. An increasing seriousness became evident, and in January, 1833, a protracted meeting was held, which resulted in the apparent conversion of a considerable number to Christ. But his health was poor, and he remarks in his diary, "I feel as if I never had so great a work to do; and yet I sometimes feel as if my best energies *had been expended in Alexandria*, so that I can never labor again as I did there." About this time, he gave to the public a tract, entitled "Preparations for Special Efforts to promote the work of God." The object of this tract was to arouse the minds of Christians to the proper state of feeling, and to point out to them their duty, that so much time need not be spent in preaching to them, in order to prepare their minds to enter upon a revival of religion. It is a valuable addition to the means for suitably conducting a people through such a season, and seems to have been quite popular, as two hundred copies were sold in two days. The very full account of this protracted meeting, published at the time in the *New York Evangelist*, is largely quoted in the volume before us, but we cannot extract from it, for want of room. In the December number of the *Christian Spectator* for 1833, is a valuable article

from the pen of Mr. Walton, "On the views and feelings which have characterized successful ministers." This, we think, is Mr. Walton's ablest printed production, and it indicates not merely research and discrimination of judgment, but a heart most deeply imbued with a love for his work, and an ardent desire to honor God by the salvation of souls. We would commend it to the frequent perusal of every pastor and candidate for the ministry. As the year advances to its close, we find Mr. Walton drawing sensibly nearer to his last account. Repeated mention is now made of his being confined by sickness to his room and bed. Among the last books which he read, were an autobiography of Adam Clarke, and Baxter on Conversion. The following is said to be the last entry in his diary: "I have also written several skeletons of sermons, and revised parts of several little volumes which I expect shortly to publish. I have also written the narrative of the events of my early life, amounting to seventeen pages." His last letter was to Dr. Hill, his successor at Alexandria, and is dated Dec. 19, 1833. The next day he rose early, and walked out before breakfast, and returned home chilled. After breakfast he again rode out, but in the afternoon was taken with bleeding, and from that time till his death, was confined to his house. His spirit was prepared and preparing, for God was now ready to call him home. He gradually declined till Feb. 18, 1834, when he entered into his rest. His death-bed scene was filled with glowing language of confidence, and amid severe pains of body, he rose triumphant in his aspiration for heavenly communion, and enjoyment of unwonted happiness. The account furnished by a friend is a most interesting one, and we cannot resist the temptation to quote from it somewhat at length:

'The night previous to his hemorrhage, he had such views of the character of God as he never had before. "He seemed," said he, "to be preparing me for this, and I feel a sweet peace in leaving myself in His hands, and I never have been able to look at death and the grave with so much composure. The grave-yard looks like a quiet resting-place for this poor body, while my spirit will be with Jesus."

He gradually declined from day to day, occasionally walking across the room, until Tuesday, Feb. 11, when it was determined to try the efficacy of bleeding. This afforded only temporary relief. The afternoon of that day brought increased difficulty of breathing and general weakness. At night, he retired earlier than usual, laying aside for the last time his earthly robes.

Addressing himself to a member of his family, he asked her, "What are the first sensations of a christian on reaching heaven?" "*Delight in seeing Jesus,*" was the reply. "Yes," said he, "this is it. I won-



der why we fix our eyes on these low grounds." His difficulty of breathing having for a time subsided, it was suggested that perhaps it was a token for good. "I hope so," he replied, "the Lord tempers his rough wind in the day of his east wind." He committed to memory that hymn which much refreshed and animated him :

"When languor and disease invade,"

and when a friend rehearsed to him the lines :

"Sweet to lie passive in his hands,  
And know no will but thine."

he said : "Father, if this cup may not pass from me, except I drink it, thy will be done," and his countenance became radiant with peace and joy, as he discoursed of the goodness of God. In the deep serenity of conscious triumph, "You must have," said he to M——, "some appropriate passages to read or quote to me, when I begin my last struggle." "I hope, my dear," said Mrs. W., "you will have a better prompter than M——." "O yes," he rejoined, "the Holy Spirit. Then pray for the Holy Spirit." Saturday night was passed in pain and restlessness, but in great mental enjoyment. He declared that he "never had such sensible communion with Christ. He condescends to come down into my room and speak face to face, even as a man speaketh with his friend." He repeated with great apparent pleasure :

"But speak, my Lord, and calm my fear,  
Am I not safe beneath thy shade?  
Thy justice will not strike me here,  
Nor Satan dare my soul invade."

To his wife he said, as if anticipating the heavy load both of grief and responsibility, which her Heavenly Father was about to impose on her, "My love, the Lord will not lay upon us more than he will enable us to bear. He will temper his rough wind." "One reason," he remarked at another time, "why christians have so little sensible communion with Christ is, they do not stir themselves up to take hold on God."

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Seeming to be sinking, he asked, "*Is this dying?*" it is easy, very easy. Sometimes when I pray that I may have ease from my sufferings, I think I hear my Savior say, '*This is the way I take to draw you to myself.*' I shall have his image stamped upon me. He loves me. O what glory! This is easy. I can't say but it is *pleasant*." And this was said with a smile of ineffable sweetness, which beautifully lighted up his pale and solemn countenance, as if, like Stephen, he saw the glories of heaven unveiled, ere the spirit went to bow before the eternal throne! "This," said one of those present, "is what we have been praying for." "Precious brethren," he replied, "I thank you. I love you. Peace! My peace flows like a river. Calm! heavenly calm! O who could give me such sweet peace, but Jesus, my Savior? O that there should be such glory in reserve for mortals!"

When asked by Dr. Hawes, on Sabbath afternoon, how he felt, "This," he answered, "has been on the whole the happiest day of my life. The joy I have felt is unspeakable. My peace flows like a river. Dear brother Hawes, be faithful, be faithful, and God will bless you." Being asked how the ministry appeared to him, he said with emphasis, "*important, ALL important.* I should preach the gospel very differently were I spared. I have clearer views of truth. The Savior appears glorious, most glorious. And when he bade his brother farewell, taking both his hands he said, "I hope to meet you in heaven,—farewell, dear brother, be faithful, be faithful unto death." \* \* \*

"Go pray for me," said he to another clerical brother, "that Jesus will manifest his Spirit unto me. Thou knowest, dear Jesus, what it is to die. Dear Jesus, thou art a present help in every time of trouble. Thou knowest how much this body suffers. Thou that hearest prayer, *do* hear me; receive my departing spirit."

About 7 o'clock in the evening, he asked for Clarke on the Promises. "Do read me something to help me over this Jordan of death." He appeared refreshed by the passages read. His sufferings being now intense, he prayed earnestly, "If it please thee, O precious Redeemer, come quickly! O Jesus, come quickly. I have glorified thee on the earth in some measure. I have finished the work thou gavest me to do. Dear Savior, do come quickly, and take thy unworthy servant home. But I would not dictate to thee, but do come quickly, O come. What a dreadful thing sin is! This is the process we must all go through."

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To a christian brother he said: "You know the peculiar trials and difficulties I have had since I came here, and more recently my extreme state of suffering. Still, I do not regret coming to this place. I regret that I have not been able to labor more with the church." He then prayed fervently: "Come, Heaven, and fill my large desires." "Satan," said he, "could not give me such peace. O no! such views of God, such increasing views of his glory, until every earthly object is eclipsed, and myself appear like a mote floating in the sunbeam! My fears are gone. I am not afraid. He is my strength, and has become my salvation. VICTORY! A GLORIOUS VICTORY! O Savior! Fill my soul with thy love! And now I bring my dear family, and my dear church. Take care of them! I come as a sinner saved by the blood of Christ—saved by grace."

When asked if he had any thing to say to those brethren who had been laboring with him in the cause of revivals, he replied: "O I want to have them less censorious. I believe the cause in which we are engaged is the cause of God, and will prevail; but I fear there is a disposition in some young men to indulge in hard feelings towards those who do not look at things in the same light; to speak of existing evils in the spirit of evil. There are some of our brethren who are too reckless of the feelings and impressions which are made upon the minds of some by our peculiar manner of preaching." Whether living or dying, our dear friend, it was known to all who knew him, ever cherished and ex-

emplified a spirit of lamb-like meekness even to those who might entertain different views of doctrines and measures.

"The bible," he observed, "has been a great source of comfort to me in my affliction, especially the Psalms."

Shortly after, a bright smile diffused itself over his countenance, indicative of the heavenly tranquillity that reigned within; his eye, yet undimmed in its luster, sparkling with joy, and his whole manner bespeaking a consciousness of holy triumph over the king of terrors; "Brother A.," said he, "after all, it is a pleasant thing to die.

'Sweet on his faithfulness to rest,  
And trust his firm decrees.'"

In the midst of his groans—the struggles of expiring nature—he remarked: "*I am as happy as I can well be.* My soul is in *perfect peace.*" "Angels will hover round your bed," observed a friend, "and take your spirit home." "'Tis sweet," he replied, "but far sweeter to think that JESUS will be there to receive me." After some severe struggles, that shook his frail tabernacle almost to dissolution, respiration became easier, and he said: "Truly after the raging of the storm, there has come a calm, as when the Savior rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. This is in direct answer to prayer. I can now rejoice in all parts of the divine character. Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, can separate me from the love of God. It is a far GREATER thing to die than I had supposed." And in the greatness and in the joy of that thought, he burst forth in unison with a song of praise from the lips of christians around that happy bed:

"The voice of free grace cries, escape to the mountain."

While they were singing the chorus,

"We'll praise him again when we pass over Jordan,"

"Yes," he exclaimed, in the raptures of unmingled triumph, "I'll praise him *in* it, and while *passing through* it." So perfect was the work of the Holy Ghost on that heart which had experienced its full share of trials and sorrows in this vale of tears.

At 7 o'clock on Tuesday morning, he was supposed to be dying. With another seraphic smile, he exclaimed: "I see him! I see him! O glorious Savior! O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory! *Both are gone.*" Then sinking into a kind of sleep, and again reviving, he opened his eyes, and asked, "Is it possible? Am I here yet? Let me not be too anxious. The Lord is with me. Well, I am in his hands. Let him do with me as seemeth him good.

'Sweet to lie passive in his hands,  
And know no will but his.'

You see what he can do. He sits as a refiner's fire, to purify the faith of his people."

A stanza of a hymn he loved to sing was repeated :

"The waves of woe  
Can ne'er o'erflow  
The rock of thy salvation."

"No!" said he, with another indescribable expression of countenance, "No, AND I AM ON IT." Various promises were reiterated to him. "They are precious," he observed, "but what good would they do me, if I were not a christian? None. No; they are all made to *obedient faith*. The bible is a book of realities." This idea was prominent in his mind throughout his sickness—that the bible is a book of *realities*. All its truths seemed eminently *real*.

His voice now became quite hoarse and thick. The physician entered and felt his pulse. "How long?" he asked. "I think it will soon be over," was the reply. "That is good news, good news," he rejoined. Soon after, he was heard to utter this prayer: "Dear Savior, do come and consummate the desire of thy servant, and grant that my *last* struggle may be an easy one, and take me to thyself, for thine own name's sake." That prayer was heard in heaven and immediately answered, for as he uttered these words, he folded his hands on his breast, and expired! pp. 266—276.

Numerous testimonies to his worth and amiableness follow,—the tribute of sorrowing friends over one with whom they had taken sweet counsel. His biographer also has drawn his character very justly, as we believe; but as the foregoing sketches have perhaps delineated the main features, it is unnecessary for us to dwell upon it. Our readers will see, by what we have quoted, that he was a most successful preacher. For a period of more than ten years, his labors seemed to have met with a peculiar divine blessing. He was called to aid in many places in conducting revivals of religion, and many, doubtless, were led to feel, that, under God, to him they owed their acceptance of the terms of salvation. It is a natural inquiry—What then was the grand secret of his success? He was not what would be called a peculiarly powerful preacher: he was clear and impressive, solemn and winning; his views of divine truth were those which we have been long accustomed to call New England theology; nor was he afraid of certain explanations of doctrines which it so much delights some to call by the name of *heresy*, and with which we stand charged. His views of the objects and aims of a successful minister of Christ, and the character which he should bear, are well drawn out in the article in our pages to which we have alluded. He was a man of great singleness of purpose,—wholly devoted to his work. The constraining love of Christ urged him forward. He lived as one who felt that he was not his own, and his continual aim seems

to have been, to discharge well his stewardship. He sought not to shine in the arena of ecclesiastical debate,—to be a great man on the floor of the synod and General Assembly, as appears to be the ambition of too many at the present day; but all he coveted was, to be the humble instrument in the hands of God in gathering souls to Christ. While he felt the importance of bringing the sinner to realize his own responsibility and to act in view of it, at the same time he had a deep sense of dependence on the gracious Spirit of God. This led him to be constant and earnest in prayer, as well as energetic in action. He possessed an excellent knowledge of the windings of the heart of the impenitent, so that he could adapt the truth of God to meet the latent objection and subterfuge. For this his own self-acquaintance qualified him. He knew how men reasoned, for he was with them from day to day; and while he was bold in the performance of duty, he was actuated by a spirit of uncommon tenderness and love: and when he saw hearts breaking over the view of their vileness, he never withheld his sympathies. He united in a more than common degree the qualifications of a good preacher and pastor. At the bedside of the dying, and mingling his tears with the afflicted, his people ever found him such a friend as they needed. Experience had taught him the benefit of heavenly chastisement; and the same gracious promises and divine consolations which he had found so efficacious in his own case, he well knew how to apply to meet the wants of others. We have seen how from year to year, as he drew on towards the departing hour, his spirit seemed to receive fresh anointing for his gracious Master, and became more obviously prepared to be unclothed of the flesh, and clothed with immortality. He died at a comparatively early age; but he had lived a long life in a few years, and the savor of his name is indeed precious to those who knew and loved him. In his death we have felt, too, that we have lost one who, had he lived, would have enriched our pages with many an article of acknowledged excellence and utility. We owed to his memory this brief tribute of recollection and gratitude, and but for a disappointment from one who was to have given it, we should sooner have paid it. WALTON sleeps in the silent grave. His cheerful visage, his mild and winning virtues, are treasured in the heartfelt memories of many. Let his biography, as it is well calculated to do, help to form the characters of numerous faithful and successful servants of Christ.

## ART. II.—DISTURBANCES IN LOWER CANADA.

THE interest and sympathy of the people of the United States have been powerfully attracted, within the last few months, towards the British provinces on the northern frontier. The military movements which have lately occurred in the Canadas, have been hailed as the incipient struggles of a successful revolution; Canadian refugees, of whatever rank or description, have been welcomed as the martyrs of liberty, and as new victims of British oppression. It is thought, therefore, that a calm and impartial sketch of these disturbances, drawn by a resident in Lower Canada, may be interesting to the public, and may serve to correct some current misapprehensions.\*

The Canadas were ceded to England by France in the year 1763. The Province of Lower Canada at that time was very sparsely peopled. The inhabitants were exclusively French, and were scattered along the borders of the St. Lawrence. The whole country, with the exception of a narrow territory skirting the rivers, was a dense and unbroken forest. During the war of the American revolution, unsuccessful attempts were made to induce the Canadians to unite with the insurgent colonies. The people were so ignorant, and so paralyzed by the influence of popery, that they either did not know what political liberty meant, or did not think it worth the expense and hazard of a war.

In the year 1791, when Pitt was prime minister, there was introduced into the British parliament, under his own inspection and from his own pen, a bill, commonly termed in Canada "the constitutional act." This act separated the Lower Province from the other British possessions, and gave the people a government of which the following are the principal features:

The governor is appointed by the crown, and possesses the executive power. United with him, however, in this trust, is an executive council, also appointed by the crown, intended to consist of permanent residents in the country, and to be the

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\* It will be perceived by our readers, that this article relates to *Lower Canada*, and that it was written some time since; consequently, it does not notice the various abortive attempts which have taken place in the Upper Province, and along the frontier of the Lakes Erie and Ontario. The conclusions of the writer do not seem to be affected by anything which has transpired since his views were penned, unless it be, that they are more abundantly confirmed. Perhaps in the present state of affairs, the sketch of events may not be of equal interest as it might have been a month or two since; but we trust that it may be acceptable, as affording information to many of our readers.—ED.

official advisers of the king's representative. The second branch of the legislature consists of the *Legislative Council*, the members of which are appointed by the crown, and hold office for life. The third branch is termed the *House of Assembly*, and its members are chosen by the people. The whole was modeled, as the reader will perceive, after the constitution of England, and the powers given respectively to these three branches corresponded to the powers and rights of an analogous portion of the British parliament.

In process of time, collisions and differences took place between the heterogeneous elements of which the provincial parliament was composed. The house of assembly, like the majority of their constituents were French Canadians, and naturally preferred their own language, laws, customs, and officers. The legislative council and governor,—of English extraction,—as might be expected, disliked the French, and exerted all their constitutional power to give the English influence the entire predominance in the government. It would be unnecessary and tedious to recapitulate the various disputes which arose between the different branches of the legislature,—the grounds, progress, and termination of those disputes, the various changes of governors, and the history of political parties and contested elections. It will be sufficient to remark, that in the course of time, the French population gradually increased; their acquaintance with the political condition of the powerful American States in their neighborhood became more intimate; and there arose a race of Canadian gentlemen, with strong national feelings, galled by the inferiority of their own people, and insulted by the uniform bestowment of all the highest offices on persons of English extraction.

These few hints are intended to be introductory to the notice of an event, which may be considered as the incipient measure of the present war.

The disputes just alluded to, had become so frequent, and the consequent animosities so bitter, that the House of Assembly, two or three years since, took the following ground:—They accused the legislative council of systematic opposition to the best interests of the country,—of refusing to enact laws, or concur in laws of imperative necessity,—of the oft repeated rejection of important bills, for selfish reasons, and from national prejudice,—of obstructing, hopelessly, the progress of education and internal improvement: they maintained, that this body was composed of bankrupts,—pluralists,—of men dependent on the crown for their salaries, and therefore incapable of proper

legislative freedom. Considering the legislative council as the origin of all their grievances, they demanded the alteration of the constitutional act of 1791, so far as that the legislative council should be, like the lower house, elected by the people, and formally voted to allow no more supplies, till this demand should be granted.

These facts came before the British ministry in the shape of a memorial addressed to all the branches of the imperial legislature, by the provincial house of assembly. The ministry, instead of immediate action on the petition, determined to send commissioners to the province, for the purpose of making investigations on the spot, as to the reality and extent of the alledged grievances, and of grounding upon their report some propositions to the imperial parliament.

These commissioners, with Lord Gosford at their head, arrived in Canada in the autumn of 1835. Lord Gosford, who also came out as governor, to supersede Lord Aylmer, met the provincial parliament with a very conciliatory speech,—stated his readiness to concur with them in every measure for the good of the country, and his instructions to remove every grievance. The lower house denied the right and constitutionality of sending out commissioners,—maintained, that they, as the representatives of the people, had solemnly presented to the supreme government at home, an account of their grievances, and that the government were bound to act on these statements,—that men coming to the country as commissioners, to reside but a few months, could not be as well acquainted with the wants of the country, and the political grievances under which they labored, as the representatives of the people.

The commissioners, however, proceeded with their inquiries, remained in the country about one year, when two of them returned, and laid their voluminous and somewhat contradictory reports before the imperial parliament. They allowed, that grievances did exist, and recommended their instant removal, but strongly maintained the inexpediency of granting the principal demand of the house of assembly,—an elective legislative council.

When this report reached Canada, the house of assembly maintained, that the denial of an elective legislative council, was, in effect, a denial of all redress; for all minor grievances originated in the vicious and selfish exercise of power by that irresponsible body. They subsequently voted, not only that they would grant no supplies, until their demands were conceded, but declared, that they would *transact no legislative busi-*



*ness with the upper house.* Of course the public officers were unpaid ; laws necessary to the administration of justice and the vital interests of the country expired by their own limitation ; and incipient anarchy disturbed and threatened the province.

After some efforts to induce the house of assembly to revoke their determination, the imperial parliament again took the affairs of the province into consideration. Lord John Russell introduced into the house of commons, a series of resolutions, the purport of which was, "that an elective council should not be granted to Lower Canada ; and that the governor should be authorized to take from the public treasury sufficient to pay the public officers, if the lower house should any longer refuse to vote the necessary supplies." Upon these resolutions reaching the country, the popular indignation was highly excited. When the governor assembled the legislature, in the summer of 1836, and laid these resolutions of the home government before them, and again asked for the necessary supplies, they only replied with indignation, staid together but a few days, and returned to their constituents, without transacting any public business. The governor prepared to issue his warrants, and take the money from the treasury, and pay the arrears of salary to the public officers.

The whole country was in a ferment. Public meetings were called in each county ; resolutions were passed in nearly all of them, denouncing the act of the governor and of the ministry at home, as unconstitutional and tyrannical in the highest degree ; urging the people to study the history of the American revolution, to desist from the use of all English goods, to consider themselves held to the mother country no longer by any tie but that of force, and to keep muskets and powder in readiness. These agitations were continued during the fall and winter of 1836-7, with the hope of inducing the imperial government to modify their measures. The desired effect was not produced. In process of time, the governor took the money from the treasury, and paid the public officers, *without* a vote, and *contrary* to the express vote of the house of assembly.

The more daring and impetuous of the popular party began to call on the people to prepare arms and ammunition, and keep themselves in readiness. Secret military organization was commenced in various parts of the country. This was done in such a manner, that the law officers were unable to find sufficient grounds for arrest and trial. But as the ultimate revolutionary intentions of the popular party became developed, there took place a serious and extensive division in that party. A very

considerable proportion of the leading French gentlemen, who had hitherto gone heart and soul with their political friends, now saw the probability of an appeal to arms. But knowing well the madness of the project,—the utter impossibility of resisting the power of England, they now seceded, and became the firm adherents of government,—the advocates of peaceful and constitutional measures exclusively.

The more headstrong of the party, however, persisted. An association was formed in the city of Montreal, styled "The Sons of Liberty." They published an address, which, after a detail of grievances, held out the most serious threats of an appeal to arms. Affiliated associations were formed in various parts of the country. The members of the associations began to form themselves into military companies and drill. With a profaneness sufficiently indicative of the infidel character of their leaders, and of the nature of Catholic superstition, they selected the *Sabbath* for their military parade. The congregations of Montreal, in their egress from church, were met and crowded from the walk, by these embryo warriors,—already, by anticipation, in possession of the city.

In September, 1837, there took place, at St. Charles, on the river Richelieu, a meeting, which may be considered as the last preparatory act of the impending tragedy. An assembly of "Five Counties" was called to deliberate on the state of the province. At this meeting, attended by several thousands, many of whom were armed, resolutions were passed, and an address prepared, both in form, style, and sentiments, slavishly copied from the famous declaration of July 4, 1776. It was unquestionably intended, by the more daring leaders of the party, to be the passage of the Rubicon,—the irretrievable pledge, for themselves and their followers, of deadly opposition to the British government. When this assembly dispersed, there commenced immediately acts of the most treasonable nature, and utterly subversive of all government. In various parts of the country, the magistrates and militia officers were compelled, by threats of violence and murder, to throw up their commissions; the laws could not be executed; the legislature refused to act; the people would not allow executive and judicial officers to act; and the country was rapidly sinking into utter anarchy.

Every intelligent man perceived, that the country had arrived at a crisis; that the present government or these revolutionary movements *must* soon terminate. All eyes were turned with intense interest towards the measures pursued by Lord Gosford, the governor in chief. By a large party he was furiously as-

sailed for his imbecility, and even treacherous inaction. Military bodies were organized and drilled with the avowed intention of future resistance to the government; declarations of independence were published; arms were collected; magistrates were compelled to throw up their commissions; in short, government was prostrated, among large portions of the French population; yet not an arrest was made, not a prosecution was commenced. It was maintained, that the governor had connived at these measures, and was at heart a traitor to his king.

But during the whole of this time, the governor had played his part with consummate tact and forecast. By means which a rich governor always can command, he had made himself acquainted with all the schemes in progress,—with their leaders, their instruments, and intended accomplishment. Not a public meeting, not a measure of the party, not a step in revolutionary movements, escaped his notice. He designedly allowed them to proceed to a certain point, without any molestation. Had the law officers of the crown commenced legal proceedings against the leaders of the revolutionary party at an earlier stage, the offenses would have been bailable; of course, increased desperation and caution would have marked all their future measures. It was his policy, by apparent inactivity, to embolden them to the full and thorough development of their plans; to employ the law officers of the crown in silently collecting evidence; and, when their political leaders had gone so far, that ample legal proof could be obtained of their treason, to arrest, try, and punish.

It appears, from various sources of evidence, which we have not room here to recapitulate, that the following plan of action had been arranged by the Canadian leaders.—Military and political organizations were to proceed during the autumnal months; arms and ammunition were to be silently collected, and the excitement of the Canadians maintained and increased, by public meetings, until the winter. When the winter snows and frosts had rendered the roads impracticable for artillery, and frozen the largest rivers, there was to be a simultaneous rising; Montreal was to be attacked, and the military stores there concentrated, to be seized.

By the month of November, 1837, the train on both sides was laid; nothing was needed but a spark, to produce the long-anticipated explosion. The spark followed on the 6th of November. On that day, public notice was given of a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty." It was intimated, that, at the meeting, a cap of liberty and the tri-colored flag were to be hoisted. The

city police called on the troops; the whole military force in garrison were stationed on one of the public squares, prepared to act against any hostile demonstrations. The "Sons of Liberty," however, did not venture on their design, and after passing a few resolutions, dispersed. A mob of constitutionalists met them; a battle of stones and clubs ensued, in which several individuals were wounded. The office of the *Vindicator*, the leading paper and organ of the revolutionary party, was plundered; the press, paper, and type, were thrown into the street.

Then commenced arrests. Warrants were issued against all the leading individuals in these hostile movements. Some were taken, and others fled. Within a few days, a police officer, with a few armed horsemen, was dispatched to St. Johns, about twenty miles from Montreal, for the purpose of arresting two individuals, who had been prominent in previous measures of the revolutionary party. On their return, they were met by about one hundred and fifty armed men, who fired, dispersed and wounded the cavalry, and rescued the prisoners. Blood was now drawn, and the war commenced. Those who had fled from arrest in Montreal, assembled at St. Charles, the scene of their late proud declaration; called on the people of the "Five Counties" to assemble around them with arms and ammunition; began to throw up breastworks, and to plunder from the neighboring country, provisions and military stores. They threatened to march on Montreal, and offered to their followers the plunder of the city.

The citizens of Montreal took prompt and vigorous measures of precaution. Within a few days, four thousand able-bodied volunteers were formed into military corps, supplied with arms, and placed under drill. The same measures were pursued in the country. In the district of Montreal alone, more than *ten thousand* volunteers were organized and armed for the defense of government.

After a brief space of time occupied in enrolling and organizing volunteer corps, it was the object of the commander in chief to put down the force collected at St. Charles. For this purpose, two bodies of troops were ordered to proceed to that point. One, under Col. Gore, of about four hundred men, was to advance from Sorel, and march up the river Richelieu, while another from Chambly, under Col. Wetherall, of about the same number, was to proceed down the river. They were to meet and surround the insurgents.

The number of Canadians assembled at St. Charles was about fifteen hundred, according to the best accounts. They were under the direction of an individual by the name of T. S. Brown. This Brown, formerly a merchant in Montreal, becoming bankrupt, had, like many other men of desperate fortunes, selected politics as a trade. His fondness for wine, when indulged, had led him, in the previous summer, occasionally to divulge the plans of the patriot party, and he had more than once threatened, when somewhat stimulated, that bloody scenes would be enacted during the winter. Profane, intemperate, and bankrupt, he strikingly resembled, in character and history, the notorious Benedict Arnold.

The party under Col. Gore, upon reaching St. Denis, a village about seven miles from St. Charles, were fired upon from the houses, and, after some skirmishing, were driven back. Whether their retreat was owing to the failure of provisions and ammunition expected by the steamboat, or to want of skill and courage in the commander, it is not easy to decide.

The other party, under Col. Wetherall, reached St. Charles in strength. The attack began with the artillery, by which some execution was done. On a nearer approach, the troops were received by a tremendous discharge of musketry from the intrenchments. But the gallant defenders of the fort, afraid of raising their heads above the breastwork, to take aim, lest a stray ball from the enemy should reach them, simply crouched beneath the stockade, shoved their muskets over, and fired without aim. Of course, they all fired over the heads of the soldiers, who stood unharmed, while the balls were wasted in the air.

Col. W., not much alarmed by such marksmen, ordered his soldiers to enter and storm the fort. They instantly obeyed, rushed on, mounted the breastwork, and took possession at the point of the bayonet. The Canadians fled, after the slaughter of numbers had taken place. A few took refuge in a barn, and firing from it, killed one or two of the soldiers. Fire was applied to the barn, and both it and its occupants were consumed. The whole loss of the Canadians was one or two hundred. The troops lost six, killed. About fifteen or twenty were wounded. Col. Wetherall, according to the orders received at his departure, returned to Montreal.

This battle, or rather skirmish, decided the fate of the war, and developed satisfactorily the character of the men with whom the government were to deal, as one or two remarks will show.

At St. Charles, the war commenced under the most favorable circumstances for the Canadians. That village was situated in the midst of five counties, inhabited almost entirely by people of French descent, all of whom were decidedly revolutionary in their politics, and had proudly asserted at their late meeting a few weeks previous, that their "lives, fortunes and sacred honors," were pledged to the attainment of political liberty. The position was selected by the insurgent leaders, with the knowledge of these facts. But when the day of trial came, "they came not up to the help" of the country. Not more than fifteen hundred at most, could be collected at St. Charles. These fifteen hundred, behind intrenchments, were easily blown to atoms, or scattered like chaff, by four hundred British soldiers. They were not the men of '76. They were not the men of Bunker Hill.

Different versions of the affair, have been studiously circulated in the United States. It has been stoutly maintained, that a large number of the soldiers were killed, and that victory even leaned in favor of the patriots. Why then did the Canadians flee? Why did the leaders to a man, take refuge in woods and caves? Why is it, that in the "Five Counties," since that battle, not a peep or mutter of opposition to the government has been heard? Why is it, that a petty detachment of about fifty men, stationed at St. Denis, can keep in awe the patriot thousands of the "Five Counties?" Surely, if any advantage had been gained by the Canadians, or if that day's conflict had been doubtful—the leaders would not have been fugitives and vagabonds, nor the people prostrate and subdued.

Another incident illustrative of the spirit with which the war was carried on, deserves attention. Lieut. Weir, who was attached to the party under Col. Gore, not reaching Sorel in time to join his regiment, hired at that place a Canadian to transport him in his *caleche*, to the troops who had already commenced their march. The driver treacherously took him by a road, different from that traversed by his regiment, and carried him to the insurgent forces, where, of course, he was a prisoner. Rumors of his murder soon began to be heard, and shortly after the defeat at St. Charles his body was found. The fingers were hacked in pieces, the skull broken, the body mangled with musket balls and bayonet stabs, in the most horrible manner. It was evident, that this officer while a prisoner of war, had been murdered under circumstances of savage barbarity.

The leaders of the Canadian party either *could*, or *could not* have prevented this foul deed. If they *could*, and did not, then in

the treatment of Lieut. Weir, we have a fearful index as to their intentions, with respect to all in the province obnoxious to them. If they *could not* have prevented the perpetration of such a deed by their men, then, had they been successful in conquering the country, they could not have prevented other and similar enormities. *In either case*, this horrible murder warned the inhabitants of the province, of the treatment which they, their wives and families, were to expect, if such leaders and such men were to bear rule over them. No wonder, that they dreaded such domination ; since they saw in the murder of Lieut. Weir, fearful proof that a *French* revolution, not an American revolution, was in store for them.

Another incident occurred, which was also strikingly indicative of the character of the insurgents, and of the manner in which they would have used their power if successful in the contest. In the county of L'Acadie, there had lived for two or three years, two protestant missionaries. Humble, devoted and peaceful, they had employed themselves unceasingly in the instruction of the young, the explanation of the bible, and the furtherance of the gospel among the Canadians. They had met with some success, and a little band of converts were assembled around them to enjoy the privilege of frequent instruction.

When the disturbances began and the inhabitants of that county, principally French Catholics, thought that they could, without impediment from the civil authorities, follow the bent of their own inclinations, one of the first acts was to assemble a large force around these blameless missionaries and their affectionate converts, and threaten that unless they removed instantly, their houses should be burnt and themselves murdered. The little band, in severely cold weather, were obliged to abandon home and property, and flee for their lives.

Let the reader mark these two facts.—In the course of this war, the Canadians had but *one British officer*, as prisoner. Him they murdered, with most shocking barbarity. They had but one protestant clergyman and church, completely in their power. Them, they offered the alternative, of removal or death. These facts require no comment.

After the defeat at St. Charles, a second assemblage of insurgent Canadians, began at *Grand Brulé*, in the opposite direction, about forty miles from Montreal. Rumor described them as very numerous,—as amounting to several thousand,—as rapidly preparing strong intrenchments. Marauding parties scoured the country in all directions, plundering grain, horses, cattle,

and whatever was esteemed valuable, from inhabitants who would not take up arms in their favor.

Sir John Colborne, the commander in chief, having restored quietness to the "Five Counties," collected all his force, and early in December, marched towards Grand Brulé. He had about twelve hundred regular troops, several hundred armed volunteer citizens of Montreal, with a train of artillery. On the second day, he reached St. Eustache, about twelve miles from Grand Brulé, where the Canadians determined to make resistance. They had taken possession of the church, and other large stone buildings in the village. Sir John, posting his troops, so as to surround the place, commenced the attack with artillery. Gradually approaching nearer, the musketry began and continued for a short time, when the contest was closed by storming the buildings; bayoneting and driving out the occupants, and consuming the houses with fire. About one hundred Canadians were killed; three soldiers were killed; six wounded.

The next morning a flag of truce came down from Grand Brulé. The troops marched thither; the leaders of the Canadians fled—all the men came out, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The volunteer corps from the neighboring county, incensed by the treatment they had received from the Canadians, set fire to the village, and it was completely consumed.

On the fifth day from their departure, the troops returned to Montreal, with the exception of a single regiment, ordered to take a tour through the county, and receive the arms and submission of the Canadians. The war had ceased.

As indicative of the state of the country, it should be here stated, that before, and since the affair at St. Eustache, addresses have been pouring in from the French parishes all over the country. These are addressed to the Governor, numerous signed, disavowing all participation in the rebellion which has been in progress, and assuring the Governor of their sincere attachment to their present constitution.

There is also another fact, worthy to be remarked, by all who wish to form a correct opinion of the state of Lower Canada. No sooner had hostile movements commenced, than thousands of volunteers took up arms *in defense* of government. At the present time, there are probably twenty thousand volunteers. From three to five thousand men have taken arms to *overthrow* the government. Five times that number, promptly enrolled themselves, to defend it.



**If a majority have a right to choose a republican form of government,—then surely a majority have a right to retain a colonial or monarchical government. Twenty thousand have significantly given their votes, against five thousand.**

The leaders of the Canadian party, who have fled to the United States, have labored hard to produce the impression, that this struggle is similar in its character and claims, to the old American revolution. But there are no points of resemblance. Compare them as to,

*Unanimity.*—In 1776, three millions of Americans were united to a man. With here and there an exception, too insignificant to be noticed, leaders and people, rose to throw off the British government. In Canada it is entirely the reverse. Of its six hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly two hundred thousand are of Scotch, Irish, English and American descent. These are almost unanimous in favor of the present constitution. Of the remaining four hundred French, large numbers are opposed to the present movements, as is indicated by the fact already alluded to, of the numerous loyal addresses, flowing in from all parts of the country. Several of the leading political men, such as Mr. Debartzch and D. B. Viger, hardly second to Mr. Papineau in political influence, with numerous influential French citizens in Montreal, have published an appeal to their countrymen, dissuading them from war, and exhorting them to obey the present constitution. Moreover, the Catholic Bishop and priesthood, a very powerful and influential body of men, have used all their exertions, to prevent, or stop the present movement. More volunteers have organized themselves to defend the constitution than to overthrow it.

On the score of unanimity, there is a wide difference between the Americans and Canadians. The immense proportion in favor of their present government, have rights, surely, no less than the insurgents.

*Leaders.*—It is an insult to American patriots, to compare the leading men of the present abortive struggle, with the men who planned and executed the American revolution. Mr. Papineau, it is well known, is an infidel of the most determined stamp; Mr. Brown is a bankrupt in fortune,—intemperate and profane in his habits; Dr. Nelson has avowed, that it would be for the good of the country, if every bible in it were burned; O'Callaghan and Rodier traversed the country, to hold political meetings on the Sabbath, and exhorted the people to drill on that day, as an extremely appropriate employment.

Are these men like Adams, Quincy, Trumbull, Franklin,—the prayerful, devout Washington?

Let the reader run his eye over the list of members of the congress of 1776. What an assemblage of talent, learning, and weight of character! Let him compare that body with the house of assembly of Lower Canada, in which some of the members *can not even write their names!!* and have actually been obliged to *make a mark*, when required to sign public documents.

*People.*—In New England the American revolution was cradled. English muscle and *puritan* blood, and a cultivated, *educated* people, were the pillars of the American revolution. The citizen soldiers of '76 could read and write, aye, and *think* and judge too. *They* fought for *principles*, not for money, nor for plunder. *They* did not, at Bunker Hill, crouch behind a breast-work, and fire over the heads of the enemy. *They* did not murder the first and only British officer they took, in cold blood, and with savage ferocity. *They* did not threaten the first and only Protestant congregation within their power, with violence or death. *They* did not declare their independence, and then throw down their arms, and vote loyal addresses, as soon as personal risk was to be incurred. *They* did not make war against the bible and the sabbath.

The struggle has not been the determined and intelligent insurrection of a whole people, to remodel their own laws, and reorganize their own government; but the spasmodic and desperate effort of a few discontented individuals to raise themselves to power by agitation. To do this, they addressed themselves to the basest passions of the populace. To the covetous, they promised the indiscriminate plunder of the city of Montreal. To the catholic, they pledged the supremacy of his religion, and the indulgence of his known detestation of protestants. To the people of the United States, they complain of feudal tenure, want of registry offices, and the burdensome clogs on business consequent on the old French law. In Canada the patriot party clung to all these antiquated and oppressive usages and feudal burdens, while the opposite party were making every exertion to throw them off as ruinous and intolerable.

The leaders of the Canadian party have been guilty of the basest poltroonery in their whole conduct. At the battle of St. Charles, it is a well ascertained fact, that some of them crossed the river before the action commenced, to secure their precious persons in case of disaster. Those who ventured to remain with their deluded followers were the first to flee. Instead of remaining in the country after the defeat, to concentrate, guide, and encourage their men, one and all hasten to a

place of safety over the American lines, and leave the ignorant "*habitans*," duped by them into the battle, to suffer all the consequences of treason and defeat. In the United States they endeavored to cover their disgrace by the basest fabrications, manufactured for sympathy, and by impudent parallels between themselves and the actors in the American revolution.

The language of the American people to them should be, "Gentlemen, go back to your own country; when you can raise as many volunteers to *oppose* government as have arisen to *defend* it, when the soldiers whom you can raise cease to murder prisoners of war, with savage brutality; when you cease to exercise your power in driving protestant clergymen, with their whole congregations, from the province by threats of personal violence; when you cease to avow that the country you love would be better without the bible; when you cease to trample on the sabbath by selecting it purposely and habitually for military drills and political meetings; when your ignorant and superstitious followers will allow that a protestant can be a christian; when you show any personal bravery; when, out of a population of six hundred thousand, an army of more than fifteen hundred men care enough about liberty to fight for it; when we have liberated two million five hundred thousand of our own fellow citizens at the South, who are suffering rather more injustice than yourselves; and when you are as ready to expose your own necks to the halter, and your bodies to the bayonet, as to urge us on to fight for you—*then*, but not till then, we may think of hazarding property, health, and life for you."

The war in Upper Canada has been rather more grotesque in its character than the commotion in the Lower province. There, out of a population of four hundred thousand, a few hundred armed men collect and threaten Toronto. Not a British soldier was in the province; the people had only to say "we are and will be independent," and the deed would have been done. Instead of taking that course, the volunteers flock to Toronto by thousands,—McKenzie and his band are routed like sheep. With a few struggles, he occupies Navy Island, the Americans sending him powder, cannon, and provisions, and maintains his post for a week or two, when, partly by the cold weather, and partly through fear of being obliged to fight, he decamps. The people of Upper Canada were not struggling for liberty. The people put down McKenzie just as the peaceful and honest citizens of a town put down a band of marauders who come to plunder them.

There is something exceedingly ludicrous, under these circumstances, in the sympathy and magniloquence of a portion of the American press, and in the resolutions of certain frontier public assemblages. It reminds one strongly of the indignation and stormy passion of some weak mother, when her boy returns sobbing and whining because at school he has received deserved chastisement for truancy and disobedience.

A British subject might properly address an American audience of patriotic sympathizers—"Gentlemen, when you restore to the Indians the millions of acres from which you have driven them; when you cease to hold two millions and a half of citizens in the worst of bondage; when you cease to traffic in men, women and children, as in beasts of burden; when you can protect the freedom of speech and of the press on *all* subjects in *your own* land; when you allow the right of petition to *all* classes; when your president ceases to exercise a despotism in rejecting bills passed by both houses—a despotism which our king *dares* not exercise; when your own mobs cease to murder clergymen and demolish houses for *manly boldness in the cause of freedom*—*then*, but not till then, you can appropriately send your forces northward, as preachers and champions of universal liberty."

### ART. III.—EFFICACY OF PRAYER.

*Communion with God: or a Guide to the Devotional:* by ROBERT PHILIP, Author of *Manly Piety, &c. &c.* New York: Published by John Wiley. 1834.

THIS excellent book has been for some time before the Christian public, and like the others of the author's "Guides" has been fulfilling his benevolent intentions, in leading the erring and desponding through the mazes of sin into the way of truth and salvation. We have not taken it up, especially at this late period, so much for the purpose of calling attention to it by our commendation, as by its attractive title, to lure our readers to a momentary consideration of what we have to say on the same general subject; and that we may have at hand the testimony of so excellent a writer, in confirmation of our own opinions.

In these times of bustling enterprise, both in the commercial and religious world, when every man is driving forward, confident of attaining his most sanguine expectations, he needs to be occasionally reminded of his dependence on God, lest in the pride of his heart he should boast, that by the excellence of his own wisdom, and the strength of his own arm, he has secured his prosperity. It would seem, that in the commercial world, at least, men had been taught effectually the folly of trusting to their own devices. For what other means do they need of the entire prostration of their secular affairs than just to be left unchecked in the prosecution of their own schemes? We are conscious of no spirit of uncharitableness, when we say, that similar remarks are applicable to our *religious* enterprises. We believe there has been quite too much display of human instrumentality, and of trusting to its efficiency; and quite too little of the conviction that the excellency of the power is of God. The conversion of this world to Jesus Christ has been slow in comparison with the amount of instrumentality used for this purpose. Happy will it be for a sinful, dying world, when Christians learn their own feebleness, and God's all-sufficiency; and like the apostles and primitive saints, learn to go in His strength to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin!

That God has instituted *prayer* as the medium through which we are to obtain blessings from him, is theoretically admitted by all who acknowledge his existence and his providential agency; but we are persuaded the cases are few, in which this truth is permitted to exert its appropriate influence on the life, even of the children of God. Notwithstanding its adoption into the list of our acknowledged duties, and although it may hold relatively a high rank among our duties as of confessed importance, yet we are confident, after all, the feeling is at times allowed in the minds of some thus theoretically orthodox, that prayer is a profitless exercise:—profitless, at least, so far as respects its efficacy in procuring blessings from God. They may perhaps be hardly conscious of the incipient departure from their acknowledged faith, and if the fact were charged upon them would reject the charge in sorrow; while yet if they would permit their stifled feelings to have form, they would shudder at their own infidelity. They would find themselves giving utterance to some such language as this: If the Most High has any blessings to bestow he will give them without prayer; and if he designs to withhold, how can the petition of a finite being avail to change the purpose of the perfect and unchangeable God? If we have judged correctly as to the prevalence of such a feel-

ing, then, surely, the efforts of our much esteemed author were needed to correct it ; and if what we shall say on the subject shall induce our readers to look at his better exhibition of it, we shall be satisfied, that we have not spoken in vain.

We say, then, in the first place, *The importance of prayer may be safely inferred from the fact, that it is a divinely appointed duty.* This consideration should have much weight with the persons we are addressing :—believers in God's existence and perfections, and in the revelations of his will. For, although, when we view God sustaining the relations of the Creator and Preserver of men, we readily acknowledge his right to require the performance of any thing, not inconsistent with their happiness, yet we are confident, that a being of infinite wisdom, holiness and benevolence would never require of his creatures the performance of any act from his mere arbitrary pleasure,—because he has the power so to do ;—and when no possible good can be expected to result from the performance. This opinion is confirmed by all the known proceedings of the divine administration. In all the revelations of his will we find no requirements without a good reason. He reigns not on the throne an arbitrary sovereign, uttering commands which are the mere dictates of a capricious and despotic will. He reigns there intent upon securing the best good of his universal kingdom. Every mandate from his throne respects the happiness of his subjects ; and if obeyed, will prove, in the happiness resulting to the obedient, the benevolence of the God who appointed the duty. There is, then, *some* good reason why God has made it the duty of men to pray. From his appointment of the duty, we may safely infer its importance.

But we are not left to learn the importance of prayer by inference merely, for we have undeniable evidence of this *from its sanctifying effect on the prayerful.* No one lives in the habit of sincere prayer to God without becoming more holy. By this exercise he throws around himself a defense from the assaults of his spiritual enemies, and gives to whatever of holy principle there may be within him a new and powerful impulse. The maxim that "praying will make us leave sinning, and sinning will make us leave praying," has been verified by universal experience. These exercises are so dissimilar, that they cannot be practiced together. No one can be habitually engaged in sincere prayer to God, and still live in habitual sin ; and no one who indulges in habitual known sin, will long continue his attempt to hold communion with God. This sanctifying influ-

**ence of prayer is most powerful.** When the child of God is in the presence of his Father in heaven, the golden chain of love is thrown around him, and he is held a willing captive in the bonds of mercy. He came there to confess his sins to his forgiving Father; and will it be easy for him to rise from his prostrations, and dry up his repentings and grief, and return again to the sins which he has been confessing and for which he has been forgiven? He came there to acknowledge his dependence and to thank his beneficent Father for the gifts of his providence, and to ask a continuance of these paternal favors; and will he go away again to squander or consume upon his lusts the blessings of paternal love? He came there to ask a counseling Father his will;—sincerely desiring to be led in the way of holiness and truth; and will he go away to follow again the devices of a wicked world, or of his own wicked heart? He came there to have communion with his Savior and his God, and he there obtains some blessed foretastes of the delightful, life-giving, soul-satisfying union, which will be the portion of God's children; and will he, can he return again to the beggarly elements of this world? If the soul is ever penitent for sin and humbled on account of it, and heartily resolved to forsake it; if it ever feels a disrelish for the pleasures of this life, and finds its pinions loosed for an upward flight, it is when it has been admitted to this gracious communion with its Father in heaven. These are the seasons when it grows in grace rapidly. At every such communion with God, it is perceptibly changed into the image of the perfect Being whom it has been its privilege to contemplate. Such is the reflex influence of prayer. In the powerfully sanctifying influence of the exercise itself on him who performs it, we see manifest evidence of its importance; we see the wisdom and goodness of the God who appointed it a duty.

But this advantage of prayer, great as it is, is only *incidental*: another, and more important advantage, and what we would mention as pre-eminently *the* reason for the performance of the duty is, *Prayer is a direct means of obtaining blessings from God.* We say positively, and without any reservation, that he has no just sense of the nature of prayer, and performs not the duty aright, who does not regard it, and engage in it, as the direct means of obtaining blessings from God:—blessings which without prayer God would not bestow. Destitute of this confidence in the efficacy of the exercise, he cannot be said to pray. He has not the spirit of prayer. He may exhibit the lifeless form, but it is wanting in the living principle which

alone can render it acceptable to God. So far from obtaining the blessings for which he prays, he will, only in a limited degree, receive the good effect which we have mentioned as incidental to him who performs the duty aright. But if prayer be a direct means of obtaining blessings from God, and blessings which God will not bestow except in answer to prayer; then how powerful an encouragement have we to pray. We ask, therefore, if prayer is not efficacious? Can we descend from this position and obtain just views of its nature? We feel unwilling to abandon this ground until we have at least placed before our readers the view of the subject as it now appears to us. For, unless we greatly mistake, an incorrect perception of the nature of prayer is the reason why there is so much reluctance to the performance of the duty; and why there is so little answer to prayer. Until men can be persuaded, of the truth, that the fervent, effectual [energizing] prayer of the righteous man availeth much, they never will pray so as to prevail. Their prayers, so far from availing, will be only mockery and insult to the Most High. He that cometh to God, *must believe* that he is the *rewarder* of them that diligently seek him. "We shall never pray much," says our excellent author, "nor with much pleasure, until we are persuaded that we shall not pray in vain. Access to God will be prized just in proportion as we feel sure of acceptance with God." There is, therefore, too much depending upon a correct view of the subject to pass from it hastily, and dwelling for a moment upon it, we inquire, What is prayer? The answer is obvious: it is petition or supplication. But what rational view can any suppliant have of supplication if he does not regard it as a means of obtaining the blessings for which he supplicates? Can he be said to *pray*, in any proper sense of the word, who does not engage in the exercise with the *hope* at least, if not with the *expectation*, of obtaining from the being he implores the specified blessing? What other view of prayer is entertained by any man or community of men when they petition any legislative or executive power? Do they not hope to obtain by this means some favor which without the petition would not be granted? The inhabitants of a village unite in sending a petition to our national government for the establishment of a post office among them. What is the state of mind of these petitioners? Are they not influenced to this act, if not by the *expectation*, at least by the *hope* of obtaining the favor prayed for? Do they not regard what they are doing as the direct means of obtaining this indulgence from the government;—an indulgence which they have no



reason to expect will be granted without their petition? Have they not some *faith* in the *efficacy* of their petition? Would they ever make the petition if they had no faith in its efficacy? This matter is very plain. Their prayer, originating in *hope*, is carried on the wings of *expectation*. Such is the nature of prayer. Such must be the state of mind when we make supplication to God. We must come before Him expecting by our supplications to obtain some blessing, which, without them, he will not bestow. Devoid of this state of mind, in our addresses to the Most High, we cannot offer acceptable prayer. Or, we may ascertain the state of mind in which we should make our approaches to God, by observing the child when he solicits any indulgence from his parent. Does he doubt the efficacy of prayer? Is not the expectation of obtaining the favor by asking, the only reason why he makes the petition? Every artless child knows the value of his entreaties; and every tender parent has felt their moving power. Consider, then, how feelingly and forcibly the Savior, by this affecting analogy, teaches us the true nature of prayer. "What man is there of you whom if his son ask bread will he give him a stone; or if he ask a fish will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father give good things to them that ask him?" Who can doubt, with this passage from the lips of the Savior before him, that prayer has power with God? That by it he is moved to bestow favors which he would otherwise withhold. That his children are to come to him as children, feeling their need and helplessness, and his all-sufficiency and tender compassion, and to plead before him with filial confidence, expecting to receive the favor they supplicate: and to feel no other doubt of obtaining, except what every dutiful child will feel, when he remembers that the superior wisdom and goodness of his father may know of higher interests to be secured by withholding: "for did not God sometimes withhold in mercy what we ask, we should be ruined at our own request." Nor is this expectation, of sometimes being denied, at all inconsistent with the most perfect confidence in the efficacy of prayer. For what child but supposes the solicited indulgence will, for such reason, be sometimes withheld: and yet what child ever, on account of this, gave up his confidence in the efficacy of his entreaties?

Such, we are confident, are the feelings we should bear with us in our approaches to a prayer-hearing God: and when we hear the Savior say, "ask and ye shall receive; for every one that asketh receiveth;" urging us to the duty by the affecting

encouragement which every parent can so feelingly appreciate ; when we hear such an exposition of the subject from the lips of the Savior himself, have we, or can we have, a state of mind which is well-pleasing in his sight, if we come not into the presence of our Father in Heaven with this filial confidence,—expecting to prevail ?

In confirmation of this view of the nature of prayer, we might adduce the *experience of the prayerful*. But why should we fill our pages in citing this testimony ? The instances divinely recorded are numerous, and scattered through the whole period of the church in both dispensations, where the children of God have found access to the mercy seat, and have prevailed in prayer. Nor let the timid, doubting believer, (if we may use the term,) refuse the encouragement of these examples, by supposing them to be special cases, aside from, or beyond, the ordinary dispensations of God ; cases not designed to be examples of encouragement to his children in all ages, and placed on record for this specific purpose. The supposition assumes a principle not in accordance with the divine economy ; and its influence is like a paralysis to the soul. Where in the revelation of God's will is it said, that there is any diversity in his dispensations towards those who love and fear him ? Where do we learn, that he is a respecter of persons ; where has he told us, that he will answer the prayers of Abraham and Jacob and Joshua, of Solomon and Elijah, of Hezekiah and Daniel, of the publican and the apostles, and not of any who have the like precious faith, and who follow in their footsteps ? No, God is no respecter of persons ; but “in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.” “At all times, in all places, and under all circumstances, we may come boldly to the throne of grace, to obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.”

Nor let this confidence in the efficacy of prayer be prevented through the fear, that it will appear presumptuous and be displeasing to God ; for it is the very state of mind which he requires. The apostle assures us, “He who cometh to God *must* believe, that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him. Let him ask in faith nothing wavering ; for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea ; and let not that man think he shall receive any thing from the Lord.” Our Heavenly Father delights to see his children reposing on his promises and perfections with the confidence of children :—coming to him, expecting to obtain the fulfillment of their reasonable desires. Never do we honor God more than when, in the attitude of

suppliants, he sees us pleading with this confidence in his power and willingness to bless :—pleading with the certain assurance of receiving, unless his perfect wisdom sees it best to withhold. There is no other, and if what the bible has revealed to us of the perfections and purposes of God be true, there can be no other limitation to the entire fulfillment of our sincere desires ; and even the denial, could we see beforehand as God sees, would be the very burden of our petition. How abundant, therefore, are our encouragements to pray ! How do we dishonor and offend our Heavenly Father by withholding this filial confidence ! Who that has any sense of his own need, and of God's fullness ; of his own guilt and ill-desert, and of God's abounding grace, will not bow before the footstool of Him who so delighteth to bless ?

Is there any one, notwithstanding all these encouragements to prayer, who still thinks it is useless to pray ? What, we inquire, is the view he takes of the subject which brings him to this conclusion ? Does he say, that as God is a being of perfect wisdom and goodness, knowing what is best, and disposed to do what is best for his creatures, therefore, he will bestow what he sees to be needful without prayer ? But does his conclusion follow from his premises ? May it not seem best to infinite wisdom and goodness, that his creatures shall ask for what he designs to bestow ? Any assertion to the contrary is made against evidence. For we have seen, that the very exercise of prayer is of immense benefit to the suppliant ; that it has a restraining and sanctifying influence on our affections and characters ; that the direct and immediate tendency of praying is to make us leave off sinning ; that this beneficial influence is most powerful ; that in no act of our lives do we throw around us greater restraints from sin, or receive greater incentives to holiness than in this exercise of communion with God. Every soul who has felt the sanctifying influence of prayer sees the wisdom and goodness of God most clearly in the appointment of the duty. Besides, there may be *other* reasons why God requires his creatures to ask favors from him, which neither we nor the objector have thought of ;—reasons, it may be, of immense importance in their bearing on the welfare of God's kingdom, such as render it best, in the view of infinite wisdom and goodness, that his creatures should ask for the blessings which he designs to bestow.

Does the objector take other ground and attempt to show the uselessness of prayer from the unchangeable predetermination of God ? Does he say, that God has determined what blessings

he will bestow on any of his creatures, and what he will withhold; and he is unchangeable in his purposes. If he has *determined* to bestow any blessing on me, he *will* bestow it if I do *not* pray; and if he has determined *not* to bestow it, he *will not* if I *do* pray. This is the common objection. But let us take this reasoning and apply it to any other concern. We say to the objector, If God has determined, that you shall live for ten years to come you will live; there is no uncertainty about it; God is unchangeable in his purposes, and he has power to execute them all. If it is one of his purposes that you shall live for ten years to come, he will certainly secure the event—you will certainly live. But suppose you know this to be the purpose of God, and upon your knowledge of it, should say, It is useless for me to take sustenance, or to use the means for preserving life. I shall certainly live, without the use of these means, for God has determined that I shall live; and suppose that you act in accordance with your theory, what would be the result? The result would be, you would *die*! and the man who makes the objection knows he would die. What! when God has determined he shall certainly live? Yes, he would certainly die, notwithstanding, unless he use the means of preserving life. If we have run into difficulties here, he is the man to extricate us; for we have only followed his principles and his honest convictions to their legitimate results. We have only to say about it, that the reasoning which involves such absurdities is itself most absurd. If men were governed by the principles of our objector, there would be an end at once to all human exertions.

Nor is it difficult to detect the radical error of the objection. It lies on the face of it; and any one must have been blinded by his own conceits in not seeing it. It assumes, that God has determined the end and not the means:—a principle at variance with common sense, and with the divine revelation. Sustained by these, we say to the objector, the *means* in this case, and in every other, are as much the subject of the divine determination as the *end*. If God has determined to prolong your life for ten years, he has equally determined, that you shall use the means for its preservation. How do you know, we ask him, but that if God has determined to bestow blessings upon his creatures, he has equally determined to be inquired of by them to do it for them? Until you disprove this, your objection goes for nothing. Moreover, when you remember, that God *requires* men to pray, and excites them to it by the most powerful encouragements; and further still, when it is known, that the very

exercise of prayer is followed by unspeakable benefits to the suppliant, we ask if it is not most impious, as well as absurd, in the face of all this, to talk of the uselessness of prayer?

The *believer* will bear with us, if we suggest, that if he is faithful to himself he will not suffer this subject to pass from his mind without receiving the merited reproof which it furnishes for his want of faith in the efficacy of prayer. A believer of the bible, and yet doubt the utility of prayer! What! when that bible expressly enjoins the duty, and holds out the most precious encouragements to the performance! Especially have you ever felt the sanctifying influence of prayer, (as you have if you have ever prayed in sincerity,) and yet do you deem it a useless ceremony to pray? By the renewing grace of God, have you ever been brought to feel the spirit of adoption, and yet do you feel no enjoyment in communion with this Father? Have the children of God in all ages found prayer efficacious in obtaining blessings from him, and have you doubts of its efficacy? Beware, doubting believer, lest thy title to the inheritance of the believing and the prayerful finally fail thee! Beware, lest it be found in the end, that thy religion throughout is wanting in that life and power which alone can render it acceptable to God!

We cannot bring our remarks to a close without briefly adverting to the *views* and *feelings* with which we should come to the place of prayer. If the views we have taken of this subject be correct, we fear it furnishes rebuke to many who are accustomed to assemble for prayer. Imperfections mingle with all we do; and in nothing perhaps is this oftener true than in our attempts to perform the duty of prayer. Is it not sometimes the case, that persons engage in this duty because they fear to neglect it? Prayer is so generally regarded as a duty, and the propriety of assembling for united prayer is so generally acknowledged, that it is hardly consistent with a professed regard for religion to be absent from such seasons. A regard to consistency, therefore, or the fear of rebuke for neglect of duty, may be the motive which brings many to the place of worship. We fear, that such instances are not rare. But if the whole church and the whole world should engage in the duty from such a motive, instead of offering an acceptable sacrifice, they would only offer insult to the Most High.

Others, perhaps, engage in this exercise on account of the personal *enjoyment* which they find in seasons of prayer. This is a better state of mind than that we have just considered. But such should not be the state of mind which brings us to the

performance of this duty. No doubt the christian who performs the duty aright has *enjoyment* in the exercise. His own enjoyment or personal gratification should not, however, be the *object* for which he comes to the place of prayer. That one object should be, *to prevail with God* for the bestowment of blessings. Suppose we were met to pray for the life of a fellow being; we should have no thoughts about our own enjoyment or suffering. Our one single thought and our one single object would be to plead for his life. Just so if we are met to pray for the life of the soul; for a revival of religion; for the success of missions; for any thing, no matter what;—our whole souls should be absorbed with the one single object before us,—to prevail with God for the bestowment of the blessing for which we have met to pray. If prayer is appointed as a means of obtaining blessings from God, then we cannot well misjudge with what views and feelings we should engage in the exercise. Prayer is a *business*. A meeting for prayer is a meeting, not for personal enjoyment, but for *business*. We know there is danger, that we secularize and degrade the subject by such expressions. But we cannot better express our views of the nature of this transaction than to call it a *business* transaction; and business, too, the most important and solemn, that mortals can engage in: and this, whether we consider the object to be accomplished, or the majesty and holiness of the being with whom we have to do. Such are the views we should entertain of prayer. In our apprehension, prayer will never amount to any thing better than a mere ceremony of solemn mockery, and never will blessings rich and abundant, come down in answer to prayer, until the church give up their unbelief and doubts, and feel a confidence in the truth of the divine declaration, that the fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much with God. If God revives his work in any place, and by his renewing Spirit converts and saves the souls that are now ready to perish, it will be in answer to fervent, agonizing prayer. Some of God's people will be found who are pleading before him for the salvation of sinners;—pleading with an importunity that cannot be denied;—pleading, expecting to prevail. The promise of God is pledged for their encouragement; and the whole past history of his dealings with the church confirms the promise. When his people *pray*, in reality, then the Spirit descends to renew, to sanctify, and to save.

**ART. IV.—A CRITICAL AND MORAL ESTIMATE OF THE NIGHT THOUGHTS.**

THE author of the *Night Thoughts* holds a conspicuous place among the British poets, and is destined to be read and admired as long as the language in which he wrote shall exist. Common opinion has not, perhaps, assigned him to the highest class; and yet there are those who do not hesitate to view him little if at all below the first in fame. Occasionally, readers are found who would be considered very competent judges of poetic and literary merit, who think of no one more highly than of Young, and profess an unbounded admiration of his great work. We once heard a man of taste and genius remark, that if he wished to know a person's intellectual character, he would ask him how he liked the *Night Thoughts*—a fondness for this poem being the inquirer's criterion of a fine mind.

The critics have variously estimated this author. All of them probably allow, as all must feel, the elevation of his genius; but his obvious faults have afforded matter of censure, and a few, who are disposed to overlook a beauty if they can find a blemish, have not been loath roundly to condemn the poet and his book. Others, and the much larger part, while they are not insensible to the imperfections of the *Night Thoughts*, claim for the work that consideration which is due to sterling excellence, and to a classic of the English tongue. In their estimation of its intellectual and moral beauty as a whole, they are willing charitably to excuse its lesser defects. The difference among readers, in respect to constitutional feelings, but especially as to religious views, readily accounts for the diverse opinions which have been entertained of this book in certain cases.

We are not sure but that Young is, in a degree, neglected, and would be apt to be neglected in such an age as the present. It is a bustling, active age, and by no means distinguished by deep, meditative thought. The minds of men seem to be absorbed in matters of practical moment, and immediate, palpable utility. Moralizing, melancholy strains, beautiful theoretic truths, fine religious painting, and lofty flights of fancy, are little to the taste either of enterprising worldlings, or of working philanthropists. These things can be appreciated only in the study,—in the retirement of the mind; and for this, our innumerable secular engagements and imposed or assumed la-

bors of charity, leave us but little time, or furnish but slight inclination. Is it on this ground, a celebrated foreign critic, a few years since, announced the opinion that Young had enjoyed at least as much reputation as he deserves? And is there a fear with some few, that he should not be forgotten, amidst the excitements of a physical, mechanical, utilitarian age? It is happily a vain fear, should it be felt. Human hearts and human sympathies will ever respond to strains such as are embodied in the *Night Thoughts*. They awaken the profound sensibility of the soul, and their effect on many minds is as thrilling as the deep tones of an organ on a musical ear, and not unlike such an effect. The excitement of the age will not always last in its present form. Men will seek again the more intellectual, spiritual, and devotional works which the sages and saints of former times have produced. Perhaps they will themselves create others, as able, and still more appropriate to their wants, or congenial to their feelings. From these, they will derive the aliment of new and more heroic labors. The active, benevolent tendencies of the age can be manifested, for a lengthened period, only as they are fed from the fountains of truth. Clear thought, impassioned sentiment, profound reflections, the rich hues of fancy and taste, in immortal works of genius, contribute to that energy and aptitude of mind, whether in the individual reader or the reading public, which are required for the prosecution of plans of extensive usefulness. It is not then ungrateful to our feelings, as promising a return to meditation and study, and to a correct appreciation of the masters of thought and of song, in by-gone days, that we have lately seen, we cannot recollect where, a notice of the *Night Thoughts*, in which the writer places the author of this work immeasurably above every poet of his class. If we mistake not, the piece referred to his power of moral painting, and presented examples of it showing his vast superiority in that department. If Young has been neglected of late, he cannot always be neglected.

This apology is not needed, nor is any needed, for laying before our readers some thoughts, of the kind indicated in the caption of the present article. They have been suggested by refreshing our memory with a production so suitable to us in afflictions, which, like those of the poet, may be expressed in his own emphatic line—

“Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain,”

though at longer intervals, as his were in reality, than, with poetic license, he has assigned to them. The dark days of



adversity invite to communion with one who has sung the sad feelings which penetrate the soul at such a period, as well as the antidote by which they may be alleviated. Although an examination of the *Night Thoughts* is our leading object, we may find occasion to allude to other productions of the poet, or to the characteristics of his poetry in general.

The topics which the muse of Young has selected in the *Night Thoughts*, are altogether of a serious, religious character, deeply interesting to reflecting persons, and of great acknowledged importance to human welfare. Life, its shortness, uncertainty, and sorrows, the divine design in its appointment, the consequences depending upon it,—death, its darkness, universal dominion over men, and the necessity of preparation for its approach,—immortality, its nature, evidence, and value,—invisible realities,—revelation, and several of its peculiar doctrines, the benefits and consolations of piety—are among the subjects on which he exerts his poetic power. As he handles them, they are generally made to appear in their true and proper colors. They are fitted to produce seriousness and religious tenderness of feeling, although the effect, in some instances, is not perfect, or proportioned to the energy of the poet's aim, as will hereafter be explained. Young, then, by the choice of his subjects, as well as by his general manner of treating them, is truly a religious poet. His muse is the genius of christianity. In a licentious and skeptical age, he ventured on solemn and evangelical themes; and whatever may be said of his previous character, or the defect of some of his views, he deserves the credit of having called the attention of mankind to the consideration of their spiritual and immortal interests, in soul-stirring verse. His thoughtful, sententious turn, if not his christian benevolence, led him to enlist the charms of song in the cause of God and virtue. In this respect, he marked out for himself almost a new path, and, although he has been followed since by others, particularly by Cowper, yet on some accounts he has hitherto stood pre-eminent. Cowper, though excelling him in neatness and polish of style, and in delineation of the experimental part of religion, falls far below him in vigor of imagination, and in moral pathos. Though Cowper was no copyist, yet in the condensed, comprehensive, and keen touches of his Faith, Hope, and Charity, the critical reader will be reminded of the serious and satiric genius of the author of the *Night Thoughts*.

No one can doubt, that a deep impression has been made by this poem wherever it has been known; that it has powerfully

contributed to mould the opinions and tastes, the intellects and hearts of vast numbers of readers. The work has been perused by all descriptions of people—the old and young, christians and men of the world, and nearly with equal interest. The old read it for its sober views of life, the young, for its poetry. Christians love it for its truth, persons indifferent to religion are gained by the affectionate warmth of its appeals to their self-interest. All, perhaps, admire it for its pathos and its pensiveness. The love of melancholy, so deeply seated in many minds, accounts for no small part of its fascinations. It cannot be an uninteresting or useless employment, then, to analyze such a production, and learn more at length, if we may, the secret of its power. That some works live, while myriads perish and are forgotten; that they cannot be read without obtaining a mastery over the soul, and producing an effect on our sentiments and conduct, is far from being a matter of casualty. The causes lie deeply seated in human nature, and their operation is intimately connected with the laws of mind.

There is one *general* characteristic of Young's poetry, especially of his *Night Thoughts*, on which we would first of all remark. We seem, in reading him, to enter into a world of sorrows, sighs, and tears, where death and innumerable evils await us, and where fickle friendships and frustrated hopes abound. It was such a world which he delighted to describe :

'This is the desert, this the solitude :  
How populous, how vital, is the grave !  
This is creation's melancholy vault,  
The vale funeral, the sad cypress gloom ;  
The land of apparitions, empty shades !'

He appears to have been early conscious of his turn for the melancholy in his description, since in one of his first productions, the poem on "The Last Day," we find this address—

"Say, then, my muse, whom dismal scenes delight,  
Frequent at tombs, and in the realms of night !"

We have much to this effect in the *Night Thoughts*, as in the following passage—

'For what, gay friend, is this escutcheon'd world,  
Which hangs out death in one eternal night ;  
A night, that glooms us in the noontide ray,  
And wraps our thought at banquets in the shroud ?  
Life's little stage is a small eminence,  
Inch high the grave above, that home of man,  
Where dwells the multitude. We gaze around ;  
We read their monuments ; we sigh ; and while  
We sigh, we sink, and are what we deplor'd ;  
Lamenting, or lamented, all our lot !'

He loves to paint the vanity of earthly good—of our pleasures, hopes, and prosperity :

‘How sad a sight is human happiness,  
To those whose thoughts can pierce beyond an hour !

Know, smiler, at thy peril art thou pleased !  
Thy pleasure is the promise of thy pain.  
Misfortune, like a creditor severe,  
But rises in demand for her delay ;  
She makes a scourge of past prosperity,  
To sting thee more, and double thy distress.’

We meet with pictures, of the same sombre hue, in his other poems, as for instance, the following, in his *Love of Fame*.

“Famine, plague, war, and an unnumber’d throng  
Of guilt-avenging ills to man belong,” &c.

That Young was himself a gloomy man, and that his genius was “the sullen inspiration of discontent,” is by no means clear. A fact stated by his biographer, viz. that “his parish was indebted to the good humor of the author of the *Night Thoughts*, for an assembly, and a bowling green,” rather indicates the opposite character, however inconsistent it may have been with his sacred profession, and his recorded views of the world’s vanity. He probably arrived at the settled convictions, which have thrown a shade of sadness over his writings, by a painful experience, in which his natural temperament may have had little concern.

It is on the account just mentioned, that Young has often been considered as giving a distempered view of human life, and an exaggerated estimate of its evils. Hence, some readers, while they admire the splendor of his intellect, are dissatisfied with his representations. We are disposed to admit the truth of this allegation, to a certain extent, and that the perusal of his writings would be accompanied by a more uniform pleasure, had there been less of an appearance of misanthropic disgust with the world. Besides, the too frequent recurrence of representations, proper in themselves, and founded in truth, would very naturally diminish their interest in the minds of readers. Doubtless judgment is to be exercised in this matter, and it will not be denied, that Young failed rather in judgment, than in genius.

In regard, however, to the deep tinge of melancholy which marks the *Night Thoughts*, it is to be observed, that there is, after all, the apology of truth (if truth needs apology) for no inconsiderable portion of it. There is too much of reality in the picture, for a deeply reflecting person not to admit its cor-

rectness, in a great measure. Especially will the world and human life, be very apt to appear as Young has depicted them, to those who have passed through an unusual share of vicissitudes and trials. The sins and sufferings of the race, and of each individual, present, in the aggregate, an appalling scene. History, observation, and experience are alike decisive on this point. If sin has abounded in the world more than holiness, so have its fruits. Pain, disease, languor, grief, misfortune, want, and death have been a common inheritance. If Young has drawn a dark picture, he has much reason to justify his attempt. Moreover, to exhibit human nature under this aspect, and to adopt the style of complaint under the load of human ills, comports with the title which he has affixed to his work. His song was borrowed from the Night, and inspired by its influence. The present state is with him, the night of our being, at best "the dim dawn, the twilight of our day," and he refers to the eternal future, as the only real day.

The latter is the full explanation of the poet's design, and the proper aspect in which to regard his representations. He does not look altogether on the dark side of the subject, or present those views alone which are adapted to sadden the heart. He throws light upon the picture, and thus essentially relieves it. He appears to have an aim and an object in it, worthy of a serious and benevolent mind. He throws over the scene of life the pall of the tomb, only to produce a salutary religious awe, and to check the general rush after the world's pleasures. A purer happiness he would commend—

‘ pleasure I profess ;  
Pleasure, the purpose of my gloomy song.  
Pleasure is nought but virtue's gayer name.’

The poet's purpose is professedly explained, as it is also visible, throughout the work :

‘ Through many a field of moral and divine,  
The muse has stray'd, and much of sorrow seen  
In human ways, and much of false and vain ;  
Which none who travel this bad road can miss.’

However dark the colors with which he has invested the usual objects of interest with worldly minds, he has abundantly presented the considerations, which are calculated to lift the thoughts above so perishing a world. He has surrounded the tomb with a glorious light, in those numerous strains which describe the joys of religion, and the hope of a blessed immortality :—

'O ye blest scenes of permanent delight !  
Full above measure ! lasting, beyond bound !  
A perpetuity of bliss is bliss.  
Could you, so rich in rapture, fear an end,  
That ghastly thought would drink up all your joy,  
And quite unparadise the realms of light.  
Safe are you lodg'd above these rolling spheres.'

No serious person, whose lot it has been to be deeply afflicted, and to have had a more than ordinary proof of the inanity of present objects, can fail to see that he paints from experience, and understands the purposes and uses of adversity :

'Why are friends ravish'd from us ? 'Tis to bind  
By soft affection's ties on human hearts  
The thought of death, which reason, too supine,  
Or misemploy'd so rarely fastens there.

When by the bed of languishment we sit,  
(The seat of wisdom ! if our choice, not fate,)  
Or, o'er our dying friends, in anguish hang,  
Wipe the cold dew, or stay the sinking head,  
Number their moments and in every clock,  
Start at the voice of an eternity ;  
See the dim lamp of life just feebly lift  
An agonizing beam, at us to gaze,  
Then sink again, and quiver into death,  
That most pathetic herald of our own !  
How read we such sad scenes ? As sent to man  
In perfect vengeance ? No ; in pity sent ;  
To melt him down like wax, and then impress  
Indelible, death's image on his heart ;  
Bleeding for others, trembling for himself.'

But the *antidote* which he all along holds out to life's evils, and the world's vanity, will be sufficiently exhibited, when we come to speak more directly of the religious character of the *Night Thoughts*. It is not in the full sense, then, that we admit the gloomy complexion of the book, as a whole. We have thought, that the few suggestions already made, were demanded in view of what has been so generally considered, a strong and by some, an objectionable feature of the *Night Thoughts*.

As we open the pages of this work, we are impressed with the *peculiarities* of its *style* and *execution*. We find a world of figures, comparisons, and illustrations, sometimes however pursued into minute extremes, the poet's own

"Grand climacterical absurdities."

The critics have adduced several of them, as instances of his bad taste. One occurs to us of a quite reprehensible character in that view ; though the liveliness of fancy indicated in this, as in most other similar instances, seems to make some amends for a violation of strict propriety:—

' Eternity's vast ocean lies before thee ;  
There, there, Lorenzo ! thy Clarissa sails.  
Give thy mind sea-room ; keep it wide of earth,  
That rock of souls immortal ; cut thy cord ;  
Weigh anchor ; spread thy sails ; call every wind ;  
Eye thy Great Pole-star ; make the land of life.'

How quaintly are the various fortunes of men depicted in Virtue's Apology, under the figure of

' a troubled ocean spread  
With bold adventurers, their all on board.'

The allusions are all shaped to the wide diversity observable in human life, and are sometimes truly pathetic, as when he says—

' some sink outright ;  
O'er them, and o'er their names, the billows close ;  
To-morrow knows not they were ever born.'

but they are too close and particular to consist with perfect taste.

The conceits, uncouth phraseology, alliterations, antitheses, and exaggerations of the poet, occur with some frequency, and doubtless deserve a degree of censure, as they mar the beauty of the poem, and subtract from the pleasure of its perusal. Occasionally he borders on the low and ludicrous. When the sun is described as a—

" Rude drunkard, rising rosy from the main,"

we feel that it is an affected, unnatural conception, or that the allusion is too strong for the occasion, and even degrading in its nature.

Striking and true as the thoughts are, in the following passages, they are expressed with a gratuitous coarseness :

' Wit, a true pagan, deifies the brute,  
And lifts our swine enjoyments from the mire.'

' No man e'er found a happy life by chance,  
Or yawn'd it into being with a wish ;  
Or with the snout of groveling appetite,  
E'er smelt it out, and grubb'd it from the dirt.'

When the poet says,

' Half-round the globe, the tears *pump'd up* by death,  
Are spent in watering vanities of life ;  
In making folly flourish still more fair ;

and

' Pert infidelity is wit's cockade,  
To grace the brazen brow that braves the skies,  
By loss of being, dreadfully secure.'

we are disposed rather to smile at the conceit which is expressed and that in so homely phrases, than to receive a serious admonition, on a serious subject.

‘ Confusion unconfused ! nor less admire  
This tumult untumultuous ; all on wing ;  
In motion all, yet what profound repose !’

Such is a specimen of our author’s antitheses.

Of his alliterations let the following suffice :

‘ Love, and love only is the loan for love.’

As a too strong representation—an extravagant sentiment, where shall we find a parallel with the following lines, to say nothing of their theological mis-statement.

‘ Heaven but persuades, almighty man decrees,  
Man is the maker of immortal fates.’

These and similar things are truly defects ; but by how many felicities are they compensated ! Young abounds in admirable specimens of the various figures of speech, and indeed of all the forms of poetic ornament. Most of his metaphors and allusions are striking, and some of them beautiful as fancy and genius ever framed. The reader may take a few as follows—

‘ Pride, like an eagle, builds among the stars ;  
But pleasure, lark-like, nests upon the ground.’

‘ Art, cursed art ! wipes off the indebted blush  
From nature’s cheek, and bronzes every shame.’

‘ Vice sinks in her allurements, is ungilt,  
And looks, like other objects, black by night.’

What a beautiful description is given in the following figure ! the poet is speaking of Narcissa :

‘ Early, bright, transient, chaste, as morning dew,  
She sparkled, was exhal’d, and went to heaven.’

Nothing can be more finely conceived or elegantly expressed. All is consistent in the figure, and appropriate to the subject. Every word paints an image, and every image is loveliness.

We often feel the poet’s tenderness and pathos, in his comparisons :

‘ each moment plays,  
His little weapon, in the narrower sphere  
Of sweet domestic comfort, and cuts down  
The fairest bloom of sublunary bliss.’

‘ Death’s subtle seed within  
(Sly treacherous miner !) working in the dark,  
Smil’d at thy well-concerted scheme, and beckon’d  
The worm to riot on that rose so red ;  
Unfaded ere it fell ; one moment’s prey !’

*Unfaded ere it fell!* Who that ever lost a blooming, rosy child, in its early freshness, and fragrant promise, but must feel to the core, this charming simile!

The figure of death, pursued under the idea of a masquerader, is strikingly carried out.

‘ When against reason, riot shuts the door,  
And gayety supplies the place of sense,  
Then, foremost at the banquet, and the ball,  
Death leads the dance, or stamps the deadly die ;  
Nor ever fails the midnight bowl to crown.  
Gayly carousing to his gay compeers,  
Inly he laughs, to see them laugh at him,  
As absent far ; and when the revel burns,  
When fear is banish’d, and triumphant thought,  
Calling for all the joys beneath the moon,  
Against him turns the key, and bids him sup  
With his progenitors,—he drops his mask ;  
Frowns out at full ; they start, despair, expire.’

The imagination of Young was his predominant faculty—imagination, not merely in the sense of producing images that are a faithful copy of external objects, but as “denoting operations of the mind upon those objects, and processes of creation, or of composition, governed by certain fixed laws.” Hence he abounds in that vivid painting, whether in figurative or plain language, or a mixture of both, which brings the object before the mind, in all the power of reality. The masters of song have often exhibited this operation of the mind upon external nature, or even upon its own elementary conceptions, in the use of picturesque words. Thus Virgil depicts the eruption of Etna :

“ Sed horrificis juxta tonat Aetna minis ;  
Interdum atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,  
Turbine fumantem pices et candente favilla :  
Attollitque globos flammarum, et sidera lambit.”

Milton says,

“ the thunder  
Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage.”

Young is inferior to no poet, in this striking attribute of poetry. What a notion he gives us of solitude !

‘ ’Tis the felt presence of the Deity !’

Was ever any thing more imaginative and more striking ? We are filled with a sort of awe at such an idea.

With what graphic power he tells us that,

‘ Reason is upright stature in the soul.’

What abstract definition, or ample circumlocution could have imparted such a conception of it !



Pleasure, also, in the same power of a creative fancy, is

‘ Balm to life, and gratitude to heaven.’

The beautiful painting in the following passages, all will admit, for all must feel it. The first extract is, we think, not surpassed, if it be equaled in English poetry, for the sweetness and delicacy of its imagery :

‘ His little heart [the child Florello’s] is often terrified ;  
The blush of morning, on his cheek, turns pale ;  
Its pearly dew-drop trembles in his eye ;  
His harmless eye ! and drowns an angel there.’

‘ When down thy vale unlock’d by midnight thought,  
That loves to wander in thy sunless realms,  
O death ! I stretch my view, what visions rise !  
What triumphs ! toils imperial ! arts divine !  
In wither’d laurels glide before my sight !  
What length of far-famed ages, billow’d high  
With human agitation, roll along  
In unsubstantial images of air !  
The melancholy ghosts of dead Renown,  
Whispering faint echoes of the world’s applause !’

\* \* \* ‘ Of one departed world  
I see the mighty shadow : oozy wreath  
And dismal sea-weed crown her ; o’er her arm  
Reclin’d, she weeps her desolated realms,  
And bloated sons ; and weeping, prophecies  
Another’s dissolution, soon, in flames.’

Dr. Johnson, in his very brief criticisms on the works of Young, remarks, that “ his versification is his own : neither his blank, nor his rhyming lines have any resemblance to those of former writers ; he picks up no hemistiches, he copies no favorite expressions—he seems to have laid up no stores of thought or diction, but to owe all to the fortuitous suggestion of the present moment. His verses are formed by no certain model ; he is no more like himself, in his different productions, than he is like others.” It is not to be doubted, that Young is one of the most original of poets, and that so far as originality is the proof and creation of genius, he must be allowed the claim of poetic superiority. His vast variety, too, proves the exuberance of his intellectual resources. He certainly had no theory of poetry, judging from the diversity and dissimilarity of his attempts, and in this respect, as well as in most others, he is as far as possible from notions which have been broached since his day, and especially since the commencement of the present century. We may form some sort of conception, of the difference between the present work of Young, and what it would have been, had he adopted a theory like that of Wordsworth—a theory, which advises the use of language, which except sim-

ply as to its metrical character, does not differ from prose, and in reference to ordinary events and thoughts. It would, in all probability, have been a tame production, had it been cast into such a mold. Young's personifications of abstract ideas, and his ornamental diction, though not essential to the grandeur of his work—since his thoughts would have made it valuable—yet contribute to enliven its seriousness, and to soften its severity, with a classical grace. Wordsworth, involuntarily breaks his own rules, and thus redeems much of his poetry from the tameness of prose. If we are to have prose, though poetry it should be named, let it not be measured into an equal number of syllables, and assume the form of poetry. We should, then, be pleased with it, if it be good prose, nor suffer the vexation of endeavoring to find "the muses' painting," in that which makes no pretensions to it.

It is eminently in the poetry of Young, that we notice those pithy, sententious limes, which are designed to convey important instruction, in an elegant form; and which show at the same time great force of thought, and extent of observation. So thickly are they strewn through his works, that they give to some of his poems, the appearance of a series of epigrams. They abound in the *Night Thoughts*, as well as in those poems, which seem to have been more especially modeled after the epigrammatic manner—of which his *Love of Fame*, and his *Epistles* are specimens. These passages have been repeated and quoted, with unwonted frequency, and have added to the point, beauty, or solemnity of many a moral disquisition and religious discourse. The reader will recognize the following among many others, out of the *Night Thoughts* :

'Procrastination is the thief of time.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'All promise is poor dilatory man.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'All men think all men mortal but themselves.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'No blank, no trifle, nature made or meant.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'Smitten friends  
Are angels sent on errands full of love.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours,  
And ask them what report they bore to heaven.

\* \* \* \* \*

'How blessings brighten as they take their flight.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'Man wants but little; nor that little long.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'Too low they build who build beneath the stars.'

Sometimes, these moral aphorisms follow each other, in continuous lines, as if the author, overlooking the poetic character of the work, was writing a book of proverbs :

‘ Virtue, not rolling suns, the mind matures ;  
That life is long which answers life’s great end.  
The time that bears no fruit, deserves no name ;  
The man of wisdom is the man of years.’

We might comment on the *Night Thoughts*, in its more *extended general* representations, showing the beauty of its poetry, the power of its thought, its ornaments of style, as well as its lessons of wisdom. But we can adduce only two or three passages, and advert to a few others. The soft pensive touches of the passage below, have been often admired : How strongly has our experience in affliction attested the truth of the poet’s observation in the latter part of the quotation !

‘ And kind thou wilt be ; kind on such a theme ;  
A theme so like thee, a quite lunar theme ;  
Soft, modest, melancholy, female, fair !  
A theme that rose all pale, and told my soul  
’Twas Night ; on her fond hopes perpetual night ;  
A night which struck a damp, a deadlier damp,  
Than that which smote me from Philander’s tomb.  
Narcissa follows ere his tomb is closed.  
Woes cluster ; rare are solitary woes ;  
They love a train, they tread each other’s heel ;  
Her death invades his mournful right, and claims  
The grief that started from my lids for him :  
Seizes the faithless, alienated tear,  
Or shares it, ere it falls.’

Young invests his conceptions with the richest coloring of fancy. He calls up, with a truth and energy known to few poets in our language, those moral images and reflections, which nature and the world are so apt to inspire in seriously minded men :

‘ What is the world itself ? thy world—a grave,  
Where is the dust that has not been alive ?  
The spade, the plough, disturb our ancestors ;  
From human mould we reap our daily bread,  
The globe around earth’s hollow surface shakes ;  
And is the ceiling of her sleeping sons.  
O’er devastation we blind revels keep :  
Whole buried towns support the dancer’s heel.

Nor man alone, his breathing bust expires ;  
His tomb is mortal ; empires die : where now  
The Roman ? Greek ? they stalk an empty name !  
Yet few regard them in this useful light ;  
Though half our learning is their epitaph.’

The surpassing grandeur of his thoughts and language, is seen in very many passages. We can only advert to an in-

stance or two of this kind. The description of the coming of Christ to judgment in "The Consolation," beginning with

'Amazing period,' &c.

is grand and glowing, beyond praise. The representation in 'The Christian Triumph,' of the supernatural eclipse at the crucifixion of Christ, and particularly the apostrophe to the sun, are of the same character :

'The sun beheld it,' &c.

The imagination of Young delighted to grapple with subjects of this sort.

His power, however, seems not to lie more in the bold and daring, than in the tender and pathetic. We have already alluded to some brief specimens of the latter kind. In the whole mass of English poetry, we know not where to find a more finely imagined and touching paragraph, than that which describes the fate of Lysander and Aspasia, including the poet's allusion to his own condition, at the close of 'The Relapse.' When we come to the intimation that—

'The faithless morning smil'd,'

we are prepared for the catastrophe, which gives rise to the 'bridal monument,' around which

'The guilty billows innocently roar ;  
And the rough sailor, passing, drops a tear.'

The manner in which he turns the story, to give us an impression of his own grief, is a specimen of exquisite art.

'The distant train of thought I took to shun,  
Has thrown me on my fate ;'

and holding up the idea of the happiness of being 'undivorced by death,' he brings before the reader his own deprivation, as left to survive himself, and stereotypes the withering truth,

'That cures all other woe.'

Who that has lost the wife of his youth, but must feel afresh all the tenderness of grief, as he dwells on this pensive picture !

The *moral* and *religious* character of Young's poetry has often been a subject of remark, and very naturally so ; since, as we have already seen, it deals chiefly in topics of a serious and spiritual kind. Some have been disposed to condemn the poet, in the apprehension that he has inculcated unsound tenets, and laid too much stress on the rewards of human virtue. The Arminian complexion of his theology has been more than hinted

at. We believe, however, that the great majority of serious readers indulge in no such apprehension ; and that they have found his productions, particularly the *Night Thoughts*, and *The Last Day*, a valuable auxiliary to christian piety and devotion. The feelings, with which people betake themselves to the reading of poetry for religious purposes, have been so well expressed by Wordsworth, that we are tempted to transcribe a few sentences on this subject, from one of the prefaces to his works. His views afford a ready explanation of the different states of mind, with which such a poet as Young is approached. "Men," he says, "who read from religious or moral inclinations, even when the subject is of that kind which they approve, are beset with misconceptions and mistakes, peculiar to themselves. Attaching so much importance to truths which interest them, they are prone to overrate the authors, by whom these truths are expressed and enforced. They come prepared to impart so much passion to the poet's language, that they remain unconscious how little in fact they receive from it. And on the other hand religious faith is to him who holds it so momentous a thing, and error appears to be attended with such tremendous consequences, that if opinions touching upon religion occur which the reader condemns, he not only cannot sympathize with them, however animated the expression, but there is for the most part an end to all satisfaction and enjoyment. Love, if it before existed, is converted into dislike, and the heart of the reader is set against the author and his book."

There is, without doubt, much feeling on such a subject ; nor is it unreasonable, that we should be jealous of the influence, which a great author exerts over the minds of his readers, whether it shall be favorable to truth or error. If however, in an extended work, an exceptionable passage should occasionally be found, or even its whole tone should fall below a perfect standard, this is no more than what must be expected by a candid reader, in any merely human production. Should the work not be on the whole, detrimental to serious piety—especially should its general scope and aim seem to be coincident with truth, and many parts of it breathe an elevated spirit of devotion, he will not be severe against a casual mistake, or an exceptionable phrase. The impassioned character of poetry, is very apt to lead the bard into error of some kind. His imagination may carry him beyond the point of sober truth. He is in danger of overcharging his description, and imparting a fanciful air to his sentiments. He may be tempted, for the sake of exciting the reader's mind by means of novelty, or with a view

to give his lines an epigrammatic smartness, to indulge in paradox, or exaggeration. The precise shade of thought intended to be expressed, is sometimes rendered difficult by the fetters of meter, or of rhyme. These incidental aberrations should not be too harshly judged; although there may be others of a more serious nature, for which the heart of the writer must be accountable.

In regard to Young, while we have no desire to screen him from the censure which he may deserve, on account of any sins of omission or commission against the purity of religious truth, we are willing to leave him all the reputation which he has earned with serious readers, as a generally correct and enlightened christian bard. The religious world has long felt its obligations to him, for a mass of elevated, devout, and instructive poetic sentiment.

It is true, that he has painted human life in dark colors, as has already been adverted to; but it may fairly be questioned whether he has exceeded the reality: or if he has charged the picture with too much shade, may it not have been more forcibly to commend and set off its brighter parts,—the antidote for sin and misery,—the life to come? Sombre as this picture is, he does not arraign heaven, or justify discontent, or inspire a distressing melancholy.

It is admitted, also, that he expresses views touching religion at times, which the humble christian may hesitate to receive, in their full extent,—that his turn for exaggeration and antithesis has unhappily given a distorted shape to a moral sentiment, or religious truth. He says, for instance, that age should

‘ Walk thoughtful, on the silent solemn shore  
Of that vast ocean it must sail so soon;  
And put good works on board; and wait the wind  
That shortly blows us into worlds unknown.’

But a freight of good works in this connection, though it sounds harshly to our theological ear, is more a violation of good taste, than of sound divinity. He says again:

‘ Virtue is true self-interest pursued.’

This and various other sentiments in the “*Infidel Reclaimed*,” on the rewards of virtue and piety, though they might have received some modification; need not be construed as impugning a correct theology. They form the basis of an argument in favor of the immortality of the soul. Indeed, of what consequence is virtue, or any thing else, unless man lives hereafter? As Young truly sings:

‘ The virtues grow on immortality.’

His object seems to have been a noble one in this attempt, though it may be true, that, in some sense, he has given too great a prominence to man's self-love and self-interest.

' 'Tis from the pleasure of belief we pray :  
All prayer would cease if unbeliev'd the prize.'

Prayer, in its very exercise, would be delightful to the christian, should no reward be supposed to follow it. If we pray aright, we do not propose the pleasure to be derived from the duty as the great object. In this view, the poet has expressed an incorrect sentiment. A belief of the prize as prompting to the duty of prayer, or as the subjective ground of its performance, is more consistent with truth, and probably is the sense of the couplet. In Young's doctrine of good works, there needs to have been, generally, a nicer discrimination. But if we mistake not, it is in harmony with some of the notions of the present age. The sentiment has been publicly held, that the christian is destined hereafter to be chiefly known, the moral character determined, by the part which is taken in the warfare with prevailing vices, by the bold espousal of the various reformatations that are in progress, and generally by benevolent religious deeds ; and this, in contradistinction to doctrinal belief and internal spiritual exercises. It would probably be safe to judge of Young's doctrinal views, as a whole, on the subject before us, by the following stanza in his poem, "Postscript to Resignation," from which we are disposed to think, that he was not far gone in error, in respect to the doctrine of man's ill-deservings :

" Of human nature, ne'er too high  
Are our ideas wrought ;  
Of human merit ne'er too low  
Depress'd the daring thought."

The attentive reader of Young will also be ready to admit, that he dwells less on the experience than the theory of religion ; though there are not wanting in him some happy delineations of the internal operations of grace. He has less of a heavenly unction, and of a rich infusion of evangelical feeling, than we observe, for instance, in the poetry of Cowper or Montgomery. The author of the *Course of Time*, also, has detailed more of the spiritual hidden life of the believer, and thrown more of the freshness of practical christianity into his work, than we find in Young. The revival of genuine piety since the time of our poet, and especially from the commencement of the present century, has been highly propitious to the production of a pure, religious poetry. Still, it is no small praise, that, although reli-

gious poetry in the hands of the author of the *Night Thoughts*, is not all which it might be, in deep practical experimental views, it has, notwithstanding, so high a character for seriousness and truth,—that it embodies so many essential principles of christianity, expressed in the liveliest imagery, and with classical grace.

It is, perhaps, a fault with Young, in respect to the religion of his poetry, that while it impresses the mind with a general and salutary thoughtfulness, it does not often create any signal alarm in the sinner's conscience, or exhibit the truth in such a manner, as to wrench from his grasp the idolized objects of this world, and subdue his spirit into penitence. It seems fitted rather to convince the speculative infidel of the truth of religion, and to make the serious more serious, than powerfully to move the feelings of irreligious persons, in respect to their immortal concerns. We can easily conceive, that an ungodly man may escape from the really important views and well-intended expostulations, in the great work of which we are speaking, with only a love of melancholy, or an admiration of genius. This effect, whenever it takes place, must be owing less, we think, to the author's theology, than to the splendor of his language, and the care with which he has labored his production to make it beautiful, as a work of art. It would be difficult to feel the solemnity of the subject of death, for example, under the glowing imagery of the following passage :

' Death ! great proprietor of all ! 'tis thine  
To tread out empire, and to quench the stars.  
The sun himself by thy permission shines ;  
And, one day, thou shalt pluck him from his sphere.'

The precariousness of life is strikingly described in the following lines, but possibly we love rather to repeat them, than are filled with apprehension, that we may experience the reality :

' Where is to-morrow ? In another world.  
For numbers this is certain ; the reverse  
Is sure to none ; and yet on this perhaps,  
This peradventure, infamous for lies,  
As on a rock of adamant, we build  
Our mountain-hopes ; spin out eternal schemes,  
As we the fatal sisters could out-spin,  
And, big with life's futurities, expire.'

This is too much like the effect of that preaching, which, in describing the general judgment, for instance, aims at brilliant language and striking figures,—gracefully takes down the pil-



lars of the creation, and employs our own poet's "swift archangel," who

' with his golden wing,  
As blots and clouds that darken and disgrace  
The scene divine, sweeps suns and stars aside.'

We remember, however, that the *Night Thoughts* includes many representations, that are little liable to such an objection.

Some, furthermore, have been disposed to prejudge the works of Young, from the commonly received opinion respecting the imperfections of his moral and religious character. At least, he is sometimes read with suspicion, on this account. The question respecting the poet's piety is neither unimportant nor uncalled for, in view of the effect of his poetry on the minds of his readers. Interested in his topics, we wish to know how they affected himself. Did he live under a realizing conviction of the truths and sentiments which he has so vividly painted? Or did he frame them for the occasion, as, perhaps, an irreligious man might, though he would not be apt so to do? Was it from his own experience, that he pointed out the path of peace and holiness? Can we confide in his representations as a safe guide for souls? Did he feel as he speaks, in those numerous passages which have been so long and greatly admired for their poetry and piety?

Several circumstances are stated in the accounts which have come down to us concerning the poet, from which the inference is derived, that he had not a deep-toned piety, if even his morals were irreproachable. But with these, some other facts do not seem wholly to agree. Croft, in his biography of the poet, which he furnished for Dr. Johnson, was disappointed in his attempt to learn Dr. Young's domestic manners and habits, from the best authority, his house-keeper, in consequence of having arrived at the place of her abode a few days after her death. It appears, however, from Mrs. Montague's testimony, which the biographer has noticed, that she was impressed not only by the poet's unbounded genius, but by his sublime character as a christian. The well known anecdote of the concern which Young felt, at the indifference of his hearers, while he was once preaching, would seem to show, that he was not incapable of appreciating the object of the sacred office: and a testimony which not long since we met with, in respect to the firmness of his conviction of the truth of the gospel, with the grounds of it, has satisfied us, that he could not, from any light consideration, have lived in direct and allowed variance from its rules. That he felt a personal interest

in the solemn representations which he has made of eternal things, it would be scarcely charitable to deny. It would appear, that they weighed upon his own spirit, when we find passages of a like tenor with the following, in *The Last Day* :

“ Then on the fatal book his hand he lays,  
Which high to view supporting seraphs raise ;  
In solemn form the rituals are prepar'd,  
The seal is broken, and a groan is heard,  
And then my soul ! (oh fall to sudden prayer,  
And let the thought sink deep !) shalt thou be there ?”

It may, perhaps be admitted, that he passed in part a dissipated youth,—that, as a minister, he was ambitious of preferment, though possibly not for its gold, and that he was not properly divested of those lax ideas respecting worldly amusements and conformity to fashion, which have, at times, so extensively prevailed among professors of religion. Of his youthful aberrations, if he was ever guilty of such as suspicion has attached to him, we may believe, that he repented, as Croft has substantially admitted. In doubt whether the censurers of Young, as to his early life, were correct, his biographer remarks, that he “ might for two or three years have tried that kind of life, in which his natural principles would not suffer him to wallow long ;” that, “ if this were so, he has left behind him not only his evidence in favor of virtue, but the potent testimony of experience against vice ;” and that he afterwards became “ an ornament to religion and morality.” In the absence of positive information, any further than has appeared, we may be permitted to put the most favorable construction upon the character of the bard. We meet with several expressions in his poems, in which it was probably his design to indicate the moral complexion of his feelings, and the course of his life. If we may believe him to be sincere, our charity for his errors, may be surpassed by our respect for his ingenuous acknowledgments and matured estimates of the worth of religion. “ If poets by profession do not make the best clergymen,” they need not be devoid of piety ; nor should we wish, on any account, so far as Young is concerned, to detract from the force and beauty of the religious sentiments which he has expressed. Let them be suffered to make their full, unbroken appeal to the hearts and consciences of his readers !

Several passages already adduced may serve to show, in a degree, the religious character of Young's poetry ; but a few of a more direct kind may be added from his principal work. We cannot but think, that the poet has conferred lasting obligations

on every friend of christianity, by strains which breathe so sweetly its genius and spirit.

The solemn religious sense of death which the christian feels, together with his privilege of dying, is expressed in most serious and befitting terms :

' A death-bed's a detector of the heart,  
Here tired dissimulation drops her mask,  
Through life's grimace, that mistress of the scene !  
Here real and apparent, are the same.  
You see the man ; you see his hold on heaven,  
If sound his virtue ; as Philander's, sound.  
Heaven waits not the last moment ; owns her friends  
On this side death ; and points them out to men,  
A lecture, silent, but of sovereign power !  
To vice, confusion ; and to virtue peace.'

This is preceded at a short distance by the often quoted, admired lines—

' The chamber where the good man meets his fate,  
Is privileg'd beyond the common walk  
Of virtuous life, quite on the verge of heaven.'

In Night IV. the scene of the crucifixion, with its moral import, is most pathetically, piously touched—

' With joy—with grief, that healing hand I see ;'

but it is too long to be quoted at length. In the whole compass of religious poetry we doubt whether any thing is more striking on this and kindred topics in the same book. On what wings of fire soared his muse, in describing the resurrection of Christ, and the ascension of his humanity to heaven !

' And did he rise,' &c.

through this and the succeeding paragraph. In the same connection he touches fearfully on human depravity :

' A rebel, midst the thunders of his throne,'

is such a rebel as man dares to be. Nothing can be conceived to be more just as to the sentiment, or more consonant to christian experience, than the poet's representation of religion as connected with the cross of Christ.

' Religion ! thou the soul of happiness ;  
And groaning Calvary of thee !'

with several subsequent lines will always, we think, give delight to the heart of evangelical piety. They express a warmth and depth of religious emotion demanded by the theme. How often has the christian, while contemplating this subject, in his rapt feelings exclaimed or felt, with the poet

' Eternity too short to speak thy praise !'

His rebuke of lukewarmness—of unimpassioned praise, is no less deserved than it is withering :

' O ye cold hearted, frozen formalists !  
On such a theme, 'tis impious to be calm ;  
Passion is reason, transport temper, here.  
Shall heaven, which gave us ardor, and has shewn  
Her own for man so strongly, not disdain  
What smooth emollients in theology,  
Recumbent virtue's downy doctors, preach ;  
That prose of piety, a lukewarm praise ?'

The common experience of the religious life from contact with the world, is described with an accuracy which christians have often felt.

' The world's infectious ; few bring back at eve,  
Immaculate, the manners of the morn.  
Something we thought is blotted ; we resolved,  
Is shaken ; we renounced, returns again.  
Each salutation may slide in a sin  
Unthought before, or fix a former flaw.'

Who that knows the preciousness of prayer and communion with God, but responds most cordially to the strain of the bard !

' A soul in commerce with her God, is heaven ;  
Feels not the tumults and the shocks of life ;  
The whirls of passions, and the strokes of heart.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Praise, the sweet exhalation of our joy,  
That joy exalts, and makes it sweeter still ;  
Prayer ardent opens heaven, lets down a stream  
Of glory on the consecrated hour  
Of man, in audience with the Deity.'

The rich thought and pious feeling of the following lines, expressed in Young's most condensed aphoristic manner, will close our already too numerous quotations.

' Heaven gives us friends to bless the present scene ;  
Resumes them to prepare us for the next.  
All evils natural are moral goods ;  
All discipline, indulgence, on the whole.  
None are unhappy ; all have cause to smile,  
But such as to themselves that cause deny.  
Our faults are at the bottom of our pains :  
Error in act, or judgment is the source  
Of endless sighs : \* \* \* \* \*  
Affliction is the good man's shining scene ;  
Prosperity conceals his brightest ray ;  
\* \* \* \* \* I'll pay life's tax,  
Without one rebel murmur, from this hour,  
Nor think it misery to be a man ;  
Who thinks it is will never be a god.'

A few words may be said, in conclusion, on the separate Nights & books of the great work, on which we have commented at

large. The First, we suppose, is a favorite with most readers of this poem. It is truly tender, pathetic, and sublime. It exhibits much of that peculiar melancholy in which Young delights, and the love of which has attracted and attached so many minds to his pages. Night II. may be characterized as a very useful piece, solemn, serious, rich in description, and full of sagacious counsels. Its tendency is to make us feel the uncertainty of life, the necessity of improving it to wise and good purposes, and the duty of preparing for an eternal scene. "Narcissa," the third book, though not without several tender and impressive sketches, is, on the whole, somewhat languid and prosaic. It is less rich than some others, in those striking passages, which have been stamped so indelible on the minds of readers. "The Christian Triumph," Night IV. abounds in deep religious thought, as has already appeared in our remarks and quotations. Its representations of the atonement, divinity of Christ, faith, and similar doctrines of scripture, are evangelical and strongly drawn. Night V. "The Relapse" is adapted to give us a salutary dread of death, and earnestly points out to us the way and means of safety. It is painted too vividly not to be felt. In "The Infidel Reclaimed," not so many brilliant passages, in proportion, are found as in the other pieces, and there are many quite prosaic lines. Yet the sentiments are ennobling, and much adroitness and strength of reasoning are exhibited, in the conduct of the argument. "Virtue's Apology" is a great effort. It contains fine moral painting, and a varied richness of religious truth. Its sentiments, with a few exceptions, are noble and correct. As a whole, it is calculated to leave a deep impression. In "The Consolation," the last Night, we find at times much splendor of thought and diction. A fine pathos is often perceived, and unearthly hues of fancy are spread over several of its descriptions. But it is sometimes too declamatory, and leaves not as a whole, perhaps, so distinct an impression as several of the earlier books. Taking the Night Thoughts throughout, we are compelled to say, in accordance with the general decision of readers, and of Time, that it is a wonderful production of genius. It has excellences, which belong to no other poem in the language; and it has imperfections, almost as extraordinary as its excellences.

In conclusion, we would venture to say, that there is room still for another extended work, in the department of religious poetry. Whether we are to look for any in the present state of the art, or whether a work of the kind intended, would be received in this matter-of-fact age, is another concern. We can-

not, however, admit the thought, that poetry, especially the poetry of Christianity, is to lose its attractions with the great mass of readers, in present or future times; and that the intellect of the world is to be shorn of so noble a means of its elevation and refinement, and so rich a source of its purity and pleasure. We rather suppose, that as peace prevails; and improvements are made in social intercourse; and above all, as the gospel acquires influence over the human mind; so the domain of poetry, of pure and heavenly poetry, will be enlarged—that its healthful pulsations will be felt in ever-widening circles. Our fancy has dwelt on such a refreshment of the heart, as destined hereafter to cull its sweets from a renovated earth—to reflect its brightness from purer skies—and to find its last and favorite abode, in the bosoms of an universally sanctified race. A work or mass of poetry might now be produced, which should occupy the region of benevolence. It should deal in the forms and principles, and motives of christian action,—depicting their beauty and unfolding their use. It would thus be adapted to the wants and spirit of the age, and become the precursor of the millennium. Milton has told the story of revelation, and given the theory of religion, in his two immortal works. Young has urged the argument of the truth of the gospel, in establishing the doctrine of human immortality, as he has also developed some of the spiritual influences of the gospel. Cowper has depicted evangelical principles in connection with nature and human life, in their ordinary state,—giving them, however, a practical shape. Others have unfolded views designed, in different degrees, to be applied to the common spiritual interests and conduct of men. But it would be desirable now, that the principles and spirit of the bible, should be depicted with more especial reference to action—benevolent action. Bringing aid to the prosecution of every godlike enterprise; such an attempt would be a preparation, for that better age of the world which is to come, if not an element of its life, and an emblem of its perfection.

ART. V.—SESOSTRIS, THE HORNET OF EXOD. 23 : 28, DEUT.  
7 : 20, JOSH. 24 : 12.

WE are fully sensible of the importance of weighing carefully the reasons for a proposed emendation or new translation of an ancient historian, especially if the history be the bible ; but we are no less sensible of the important service which often has been, and yet may be rendered to biblical criticism, by an application of cotemporaneous history to explain what appears dark in the Hebrew narrative. Believing that the following considerations render it exceedingly probable, if they do not prove, that the צִרְחָה *tsirah*, of Moses and Joshua, was none other than the *Sesostris* of the Egyptian historians, we have concluded to lay them before our readers, for the consideration of those whose principal business is to inquire into these matters, in the mean time assuring our readers, that we see no valid objection against the conclusion we have drawn.

I. The part performed by the *tsirah*, was the appropriate work of a conqueror. Thus Moses, soon after the Exodus, promises the doubting and cowardly Israelites, that God would send *tsirah* before them, and drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and Hittite, from before them ;\* and when he rehearses the promises of the Lord, this is reckoned among them.† And after the children of Israel were firmly seated in their new possessions, Joshua, in recounting what the Lord had done for them, says : “ God sent *tsirah* before you, and drave them, the two kings of the Amorites, out from before you ; not with thy sword, nor with thy bow.”‡ The part performed by *tsirah*, as described in these passages, is eminently descriptive of the work of a conquering warrior, but it requires much imagination to liken it to the work of *hornets*. Besides, if Joshua had intended to say, that the two kings of the Amorites were driven out by *hornets*, it is not easy to see why he should add something so entirely foreign as to say, “ not with thy sword, nor with thy bow.” But if, on the other hand, by *tsirah*, was intended a conqueror, then he might with great propriety add, “ not with *thy* sword, nor with *thy* bow,” the antithesis implying, *but* with the *sword* and *bow* of the conquering hero God hath sent before thee.

II. The word צִרְחָה *tsirah*, does not signify a *hornet*, as it is rendered in our English version. There is no root in the He-

\* Ex. 23 : 28.

† Deut. 7 : 20.

‡ Josh. 24 : 12.

brew from which this word could be made ; but the Arabic root, **צָרַע** *tsara*, from which it comes, signifies *to smite, to strike down, to prostrate* ; whence **צָרַחַת** *tsara'hat*, the smitten, denotes *the leprosy*,\* because the eastern nations supposed this disorder was a punishment inflicted upon men for gross crime or offense.† From this root the Arabic has *tsaraw*, “a scourge,”‡ answering to *tsirah* of the Hebrew, which Gesenius renders *evils, calamities, misfortunes*. Literally, *tsirah* denotes something that smites, strikes down, or lays prostrate, and hence, if spoken of a man, would be rendered *a smiter*,—an epithet peculiarly descriptive of the character of a conqueror. But as **עֵת** *eth*, is prefixed to *tsirah* in these places, a definite idea must be conveyed by the noun,§ and hence, if applied to an individual, must denote *THE smiter*, that is, some one who in his life-time was known and celebrated as a conqueror, and who might with propriety be called *the conqueror*. The LXX in these places render *tsirah* by *σφηνια*, *a wasp's nest*, and figuratively, *a troop of wasps*, and the Vulgate has *crabro*, *a large wasp*, or *hornet*. The English translation follows, therefore, neither the Hebrew nor the Greek, but the Latin, in rendering *tsirah*, hornets. Now as the three texts above quoted are the only places in the Hebrew scriptures where *tsirah* occurs, and as there is no authority for rendering it *hornet* in these places, there can be no doubt, that the English version is unauthorized.

III. History furnishes us with an account of a king who marched through this country *precisely* at this time, and performed *identically* the same things attributed to “the hornet.” The successor of Menophes, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, who was drowned in the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus of the children of Israel, was Sethos **Σεθως**, or, as Josephus writes the name, **Σεθωσις** *Sethosis*. The Egyptian historian Manetho, describes him as a powerful and successful warrior, “who marched against Cyprus and Phenicia, and so forward to the Assyrians and Medes ; that he subdued them all, some by force of arms, and others by the terror of his name ; that being elated with his success, he advanced still more confidently, and overthrew the cities, till he conquered all the countries of the east.”|| On this route he must have passed through Canaan ; and if, therefore, the account of the Egyptian be true, that he conquered all this country, it follows necessa-

\* Ex. 4 : 6 ; Lev. 13 : 47—59 ; 14 : 34—37 ; Num. 12 : 10.

† Comp. author. cited by Park. under **צָרַע** I.

‡ Ges. Heb. Lex. *in loco*.

§ Stuart's Heb. Gram. sec. 427, n. 1. p. 160, 4th ed. || Jos. Adv. App. L. 1.



rily, that while Moses and the children of Israel were sojourning in the wilderness, the conquering hero of Egypt was smiting the kings of the Canaanites, and would, in such a campaign, in all probability, drive out, that is, destroy, some of them. Traces of such an incursion are also found in the Mosaic account of those times. Thus we find mention of a "*former king of Moab,\** and Og is described as the *remnant* of the giants,"† both of which sufficiently indicate, that there had been a recent political revolution in that country; and this, coupled with the express declaration, that God had sent such a hero as is above described, and drove out the kings of the Canaanites from before them, must be, we think, a *sufficient* recognition to satisfy all the scruples of the most fastidious, and to silence all the objections of the doubting, arising from a *supposed* omission of the Hebrew historian, to make any mention of so mighty a warrior and conqueror as *Sethos* must have been.

IV. This king was the *Sesostris* of the Greek historians. Much of the difficulty in relation to the age of this king has been occasioned by a misunderstanding of the Egyptian chronology, but as we have before shown,‡ that the Egyptians have no *history* before the time of the 16th dynasty, B. C. 2339, and there is no pretence, that he belonged either to the 16th, 17th or 18th dynasties, he must belong to the 19th, 20th or 21st dynasty. But this last would bring him down much below the time where all ancient historians place him, and therefore cannot be relied upon. Besides, whoever compares the account given of *Sesostris*, by Herodotus,§ of *Sesoosis*, by Diodorus Siculus,|| and of *Sethos* or Sethosis by Manetho,\*\* can have no reasonable doubt, that the two former, are but magnified accounts of the latter. So also the orthography of the names by which this king has been called, when compared with each other, and with the Coptic, as restored by Sir W. Drummond,†† points to an original identity.

Coptic,	<i>Se-sios-t-re.</i>
Herod.	<i>Se-sos-t-ris.</i>
Diod.	<i>Se-soos-is.</i>
Pliny,	<i>Se-sos —.</i>
Joseph.	<i>Se-thos-is.</i>
Euseb.	<i>Se-thos —.</i>

Now the two first syllables of *Sesostris*, are merely titular,‡‡ and we might, therefore almost infer the identity of the Coptic

\* Num. 21. 26. † Deut. 3 : 11.

‡ Chr. Spect., June, 1837. Art. *Egypt. Chronology.* § L. 2. cc. 102—111.

|| L. 1. c. 4. \*\* Jos. Adv. App. L. 1. †† Sir W. Drummond, Orig. ‡‡ *Idem.*

*treh*, or *tsreh*, with the Hebrew *tsirah*, or reading without points, *tsreh*, which is precisely the Coptic name. It is not improbable, therefore, that the name by which this king was generally known abroad, was an *appellative* descriptive of his name and character. History abounds with examples of this kind, as for example *Charlemagne* contains both a name and title. Nor is it singular, that a title in one language, should be used as a name in another. It was no uncommon thing for the Greek historians to use titles for proper names, as Diodorus has done in *Sesoosis*, which is not a name, but a title. Indeed, we may have a pertinent example nearer our subject. Every one knows, that *Pharaoh* was not a proper name, but a title given by the Hebrews to the Egyptian monarchs. This title, according to Sir W. Drummond,\* is nothing more than the Coptic ΠΟΛΡΟ, ΦΟΛΡΟ, i. e. *the king*, compounded of the article π or φ, *the*, and ουφο, *the king*. Ουφο is also a compound, made up of the indefinite article ου *a*, and φο or φ *king*. In writing this in Hebrew Moses wrote פֶּרֶה Ph'ra'h'h, which is literally *the king*, but which may also signify *the shepherd*. It would seem, therefore, that Moses in using the word *tsreh* intended to point out Sesostris by the appellation under which he was generally known. That he has correctly described his character there can be no doubt.

There is another fact corroborative of this conclusion, which must not be omitted in this place. Herodotus relates,† that Sesostris erected pillars in the places he had conquered, on which he inscribed his name and conquest; that he [Herodotus] saw some of them in Palestine, in Syria and Ionia, and that they were figures of men five palms in height, the right hand holding a javelin, the left a bow, and having by them other armor. A few years since, when Maundrell was traveling in Palestine, he noticed "some strange figures of men carved in the natural rock, in mezzo-relievo, in bigness equal to life; on the mountain which overhangs the ford across the river Lycus, not far from Beirout."‡ These monuments have since been examined by Messrs. Banks, Wyse, Gell, Leninge, Lajard, and Callier, who inform us, that one of the figures is a piece of Egyptian sculpture, belonging to the era of the 18th dynasty, having on it an hieroglyphic inscription, of *Ramses the Second*, a name by

\* Essay on Punic Inscription, quoted in Class. Jour. iii. 374, Ges. Heb. Lex. on פֶּרֶה. † L. 2. c. 102, 106. ‡ Wiseman. Sci. and Rev. Rel. p. 260.

which Sethos was also known.\* With all this evidence before us, we cannot hesitate to conclude, that Sethos and Sesostris denote the same person, and that he was *the scourge*, or the conqueror which drove out the two kings of the Amorites from before the children of Israel.

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#### ART. VI.—NEW ORDER OF MISSIONARIES.

*Thoughts on the Importance of raising up a New Order of Missionaries.* New York: Gould & Newman. 1838.

THE cause of Foreign Missions has recently been thrown, by the providence of God, into a most interesting attitude. The embarrassments occasioned to commercial enterprise in this country, have pressed upon what were thought the main-springs of the missionary work, and have seemingly crippled it in what was deemed the point of its greatest strength. Who, two years since, could have dreamed, that the work of evangelizing the world, in this land, would be impeded by the impossibility of obtaining a sufficiency of pecuniary support from the churches of Christ? The time has been when the only seeming difficulties worthy of account were the inaccessibleness of heathen nations; the want of suitable individuals to devote themselves to the work of missions; the need of earnest, believing prayer on the part of christians. Money and means were in plenty. It was with no injudicious, unfounded confidence, that the directors of our missionary enterprises assured to all who were willing to visit heathen lands to proclaim the gospel of salvation, an adequate and plentiful support from the churches. Yet now what is the heart-rending aspect of the case? Numbers, who have submitted to the painful sacrifice of abandoning home, friends and kindred, ease, comfort, and rich spiritual privileges, now stand on our shores with their anxious eyes turned to the dark regions of heathenism, longing to carry them the blessings of the gospel, yet compelled to remain from want of the means of temporal support. And abroad, the machinery, devised and constructed amid so many tears, so many prayers, with so much toil, just put into operation and producing the first cheering earnest of a glorious harvest, is all at once stop-

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\* Wiseman, pp. 269—271, and authorities there quoted.

ped. Schools are disbanded, and thousands of children, gathered with much labor and at great expense within the pale of christian influence, just as the first buds of promise are beginning to appear, are sent adrift again on the dark, destructive waters of heathenism. Presses have ceased their operations, and the little messengers of salvation which they were sending out, far and wide, over nearly the whole region of pagan darkness, no longer go forth to gratify the eager curiosity which prayer and toil had so happily succeeded in awakening. Living heralds of salvation, too, trained with great care and at vast expense, just entering on the field with such bright promise of success, and to prove the sagacity and christian wisdom which had devised the expedient, are recalled, and bidden to restrain their efforts to save their own brethen in the flesh who are dying in sin. In short, the whole system of means employed abroad for the more rapid diffusion of christianity, has suffered a severe revulsion.

Wherefore, it is pertinent to ask, wherefore has God wrought this? Doubtless, such a providence was adapted to try the attachment of christians to the cause of missions. It has tried it; and what christian heart has not leaped with joy and gratitude to God at the proof which has been given of the strength of attachment existing in the breasts of christians in this land to the cause of missions? Under all the depression which recent events have caused, the christian spirit has proved its energy, its elasticity, in raising the amount of missionary beneficence almost one half beyond that of any former year. But this was not the only kind design of God in his providence. He, beyond all doubt, intended by it to direct the christian mind to new efforts of sagacity and invention; to turn it to the discovery of new resources, new plans, new modes of conducting and supporting missionary operations. We have no hesitation in declaring our full belief, that unless new expedients be devised for the better conduct of missions, in regard to the provision of means, the more economical use of powers and instrumentalities, the great design of God in the events spoken of, will fail of accomplishment.

Entertaining these views, we cannot but receive the work, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, with a hearty welcome. We hail it as a submissive response to the plain call of God's providence. We welcome it, too, as the product of a heart penetrated with sincere love to the cause of missions; of a mind, to some degree, practically acquainted with the nature of the missionary work. We receive

it as a work peculiarly demanded by the times, as containing much interesting information, and many most important and valuable hints and suggestions. We shall not, we are assured, better gratify the mind of the author, or further the benevolent object of the work, than by spreading the substance of the work on our pages, and by freely and frankly discussing its principles and suggestions.

The two opening chapters of the work are taken up with some considerations tending to show the necessity of new modifications of missionary effort. This necessity is exhibited as arising from the difficulty of influencing many minds not wanting in christian spirit and enterprise, but who are not reached by any motive presented in the existing mode of conducting missionary operations. The general principle laid down, that different minds are differently constituted, and need to be addressed by different specific motives, distinct from, though under subjugation to the grand motive of love to the cause of Christ, and obedience to his commands, cannot be controverted. It is, indeed, a principle of great practical importance. Yet, we confess, the author has not made it clear to our minds how this principle is to have greater sway under the new scheme proposed of conducting missions, than at present. We see not why precisely the same considerations which seem to have influenced the individuals, whose cases are given as illustrative of the application of this principle, might not have been urged, in all their power, under the present system of missionary organization, if we leave out of view, at least, the effect of the apparently "unique character,"—in other words, of the novelty of the plan proposed. If love of danger, a spirit of lofty, daring enterprise, desire of independent, unshackled effort, be the spirit which this plan peculiarly addresses, we think there is enough in the present missionary organization to call it forth, to incite it to action, and to foster it in all reasonable, wholesome degrees.

Another ground of necessity for new modifications in the mode of conducting missions, is discovered in the difficulties of the missionary work;—difficulties that are but imperfectly known and realized by the great body of christians. Heathenism has been but too faintly delineated in its dreadful, revolting debasement, pollution, and depravity. Hope predominates in the christian bosom, and this leads to the partial covering up of real difficulties. The eye dwells on the glad result,—the universal triumph of the religion of the cross. The mountains of obstacles to be surmounted,—the barriers of opposition,—the

slow, painful, toilsome march over rivers and valleys, across crag and desert, are leaped over in the ardor of expectation. Hence, the true difficulties that beset and oppose the missionary work, have been but very imperfectly studied and known. But sober experience will discover one after another of these obstacles, and practical wisdom will be summoned to form new expedients, and to frame new devices for pushing on the work. New modifications of effort, therefore, may be reasonably expected in the onward progress of the missionary enterprise.

After preparing the minds of his readers thus to expect some modification in the mode of conducting missions, he proceeds to state, develop, and support his plan for raising up a new order of missionaries.

The plan is stated to be "simply that of QUALIFYING AND SENDING ABROAD MEN TO HEAL THE SICK AND PREACH THE GOSPEL. In other words, *to combine the qualifications for healing and preaching in the same missionary.*" No one would suppose, that the substance of the plan could be set forth intelligibly in a single sentence. It is necessary, carefully, to follow out its entire development in its practical details, in order to obtain a correct apprehension of the scheme as it lies in the author's mind. So far as we are able to do this from the work under consideration, we are led to suppose the following to be the main characteristics of the plan :

The basis of the scheme is the combination of the healing and the teaching offices in the same individual missionary.

Essential to it, also, is the feature of *itinerancy*. The missionary to be raised up under this scheme, is not to be "*attached to missionary stations,*" as are most of this class now sustained by missionary associations. They are to go about from place to place, healing the sick and preaching the gospel, as the providence of God may lead the way.

*Celibacy* is another characteristic of the scheme. This is expressly and unqualifiedly insisted upon in one part of the book, (p. 35,) although, in another part, (p. 166,) we find, that the author would rather leave the decision of this matter to the individual himself.

*Independency* seems to be another important feature of this plan. We have labored hard to obtain correct views of the author's ideas on this point. It may be, that this was a point which did not directly attract his attention. Yet it seems to have greatly influenced his mind in the development of the plan. Indeed, to us it appears the grand distinguishing feature of the whole work. If this be not an essential characteristic,

then we are utterly unable to see what propriety there is in calling the plan a new one; how it differs from the measures long since adopted and carried into execution by our various missionary boards. For they have their physician-missionaries who are unmarried; who itinerate; who, in short, bear all the characteristics of the missionaries described in this work, except this single one. But how far would the author make them independent? In the first place, they are to be *independent of existing missionary boards*, or of boards who sustain other classes of missionaries, for support. The author, indeed, would not have the new class of missionaries entirely left to themselves to provide means of subsistence in a foreign land. Here even he would depart from the strict letter of our Savior's instructions to his seventy disciples and to the twelve apostles. Yet he supposes, that medical missionaries might derive a great part of their support from wealthy natives or European families, in which their skill would be eagerly sought. How this idea consists with that of itinerancy, it is a little difficult to perceive. The suggestion is, however, one of great importance and worthy of the attention of all the friends of missions. Perhaps, many individuals who, from diffidence of their own capabilities, are unwilling to make themselves burdensome to the church, or fear lest, by giving themselves to the missionary work, they might use funds too precious to be wasted on instrumentalities so feeble, might be induced to enter on the work with such a prospect before them of sustaining themselves.

Independence *in labor*, also, seems to be implied or necessarily involved in the scheme. The missionaries on this new plan are not to be attached to stations, as are most of our present physician-missionaries. They are not to be associated with other missionaries in any such way as missionaries are now associated, for purposes of mutual aid, sympathy, and counsel; to divide labor, or otherwise to avail themselves of the advantages of associated effort. They are to do nothing towards perpetuating the establishment of christianity. It is present effect which seems to be aimed at. This new order of missionaries are to operate on those with whom they come in contact. They are to teach them the truths of the gospel, and pass on to other cities. They are to sow the seed; and then leave the field. This seems necessarily incidental to the feature of itinerancy.

The author, in the practical development of the scheme, has drawn out at length a course of study for this order of mission-

aries. But, as this is not important to the success of the plan, and is not necessarily connected with it, we pass it without further notice.

This, then, is the outline of the plan, as we have been led to view it from the work before us. The arguments relied on in support of it are :—its conformity to the plan drawn out by Christ himself in his commission to the apostles and the Seventy ; its adaptation to the cause of heathenism ; its economy, and its tendency to call into the missionary work many who are, or feel themselves to be, debarred by existing missionary organizations.

In urging the first argument, principles of reasoning are adopted which demand attention. The author insists, that our Savior's commission must be followed in its strictness, unless one or all of three points are first clearly established ; "namely, that the apostles and the Seventy were not missionaries in the proper sense of that term ; or, secondly, that there is a radical difference in the circumstances which now meet the missionary in foreign lands and those under which the first missionaries were first placed ; or, lastly, that there was an object then desired as the result of missionary labor which is not now desirable. In other words, it must be shown, that the former and latter missionaries have not an identity of office, a similarity of obstacles to combat, and a oneness of purpose." These several positions he proceeds to examine separately, and concludes that they cannot be maintained. He seems, after all, inclined to the opinion, that "the entire mode of procedure" marked out in this commission, "in all its severe and homely details, is to be followed, before the success of the mission cause shall be at all commensurate with its desired end." This conclusion, indeed, he does not press in all its strictness. Yet it is so prominently urged, that it deserves a passing notice.

It is obvious, that the three positions named are, each of them so indefinite in their terms, that the affirmative and the negative of all can be reasonably and truly maintained. He, for instance, is a missionary who is sent. There is an "identity of office" in all who are sent, in a certain sense. There is a striking "similarity" and also a striking dissimilarity in the circumstances in which the former and the latter missionaries are placed. Probably no two minds would agree as to the precise degree of dissimilarity which would constitute "a radical difference." The purpose aimed at in the commission to the apostles, and by modern missionaries, is *one* in a certain sense,



**and not so in another. Hence no decisive issue can even be made out of a question thus presented.**

More reliance is laid upon this argument, we think, than truth will warrant. We admit fully, that the modern missionary should "embody the spirit" of this commission of our Savior to the twelve and the seventy. He must like them make it his great object to preach "the kingdom of God." He must in doing this, as well to gain a favorable hearing, as to show forth the characteristic spirit of that kingdom, exhibit in all his conduct the principle of benevolence ruling in his soul,—he must "heal the sick," so far as he may be able. He must exercise a spirit of confident dependence upon God, not only for success in his mission, but also as essential to this, for personal protection, guidance and support. If he does this, we conceive he embodies the spirit of the commission. He is not bound to go farther and literally obey every specific precept given to the primitive disciples. There is no express obligation resting upon him to "carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes,—and salute no man by the way" "to go not from house to house," "but remain in the same house." We derive precisely the opposite conclusion to that which our author deduces, from the fact, that Christ left no full, detailed constitution of his church, while he dwelt with such particularity upon the mode in which the twelve and the seventy should pursue their mission. If he did not deem it important to draw out a complete system of church organization; much less should we suppose, that he would have deemed it necessary to leave behind him a detailed account of the mode in which missions should be conducted. We are led to infer from this circumstance, that the commission in question was designed only for the immediate profit of the disciples in reference to the mission they were about to undertake. This opinion is confirmed by the following considerations:

First, the object of their mission was specific and for the moment. The object was simply to prepare the way for the coming and preaching of Christ. He sent them only to such places as he himself intended to visit. He "sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither *he himself would come.*" Accordingly they were expressly prohibited from going to the Gentiles and to the Samaritans.

Again, their mission being but temporary in its object, they did nothing whatever to establish on a permanent basis, the institutions of Christ's religion. Herein their mission differs widely and essentially both from the apostolic missions after the ascension of Christ, and all since that time. In this point

of difference we perceive sufficient reason for all the specific instructions which our Savior gave them. This is, in our view, a sufficient warrant for confining the commission to those to whom it was directly addressed; except so far as the general spirit, the general principles which it contains, are clearly applicable to the case of others. In this view, the commission is no more obligatory upon modern missionaries than upon modern christians, generally. To the first argument urged in support of the author's new plan, therefore, we cannot allow any weight.

The second argument relied on,—the adaptation of the plan to the wants of heathenism,—is more tenable. In urging it, the author advances considerations worthy of all attention; and especially deserving of the notice of all who contemplate the work of the missionary.

One grand difficulty which meets the christian missionary to the degraded pagan, in his effort to inculcate the spirit of that gospel, the prominent characteristic of which is humility and self-denial, is the fact, that the very religion which he teaches, places him incomparably higher than the heathen in all respects of worldly comfort. We cannot present this difficulty better than in the language of our author:

'It is a fact that, in most heathen countries, so low has idolatry sunk its victims, that the temporal provision and conveniences enjoyed by the humblest missionary, are far superior to those which constitute the portion of the majority of the former. While the missionary with a noble self-denial has cheerfully given up many of the social and physical comforts of a christian community; and is contented with, in many instances, a meagre supply of his necessary requirements, he is still *above want*. The hand of poverty,—severe and pinching poverty,—is laid on the majority of all around him, while the church of a nation is pledged for his support. The naked, the houseless, the diseased, and the orphan, wander in crowds within sight of his window; while of him it cannot be affirmed that he has no place where to lay his head; or that he is friendless. Thanks, thanks be to God that he is not thus left, and thanks too that the church at home is permitted to share in the privilege of adding to his temporal well-being.'

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'Christianity is the mother of comfort, heathenism of misery. This is as true of things temporal as of things eternal. And herein lies the difficulty under consideration. To be even decent, according to the code of enlightened civilization, is almost necessarily to elevate the individual above the generality of the heathen. It is hoped that the foregoing remarks will not be misunderstood. It is not intended by them to intimate aught against the extreme simplicity and economy which obviously characterize the arrangements at the various missionary sta-

tions in foreign lands. What has been said is merely to elicit inquiry, as to the importance of embodying as nearly as may be the details of the first commission. That plan involves an unworldliness, so to speak, which could not fail of arresting the attention of the most obtuse and degraded heathen. He would notice in the external condition of the missionary who should carry it out, a willingness to be a partaker of his sufferings; and by a law of the mind, universal and immutable, a mutual sympathy would run from heart to heart.'

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'We may well suppose that a band of holy men, such as were the majority of the eighty-two, travelling unarmed, unattended, unprovisioned, throughout the regions of heathenism; doing plain and palpable good; and preaching, in childlike simplicity, the doctrines of the cross, would gain for them the hearts of all in the poorer walks of life. Their penury, their plainness of garb, and their manner of life, might not command from the great what is called *respect*, nor gain them admittance into their splendid dwellings; but it would make them, in a sense, one with the poor, and down-trodden. And in so far as the latter class outnumbered the former would that course be desirable.' pp. 55—58.

Another great difficulty in evangelizing the heathen is, that the pure truths of christianity, simple as they are, are almost inappreciable by their degraded, besotted, sluggish minds. They are creatures of sense. Intellect is buried in carnality. This fact shows not more their need than the difficulty of bringing them salvation. To meet their case, it is absolutely indispensable to address them through the senses. They must, in other words, in order to appreciate, to feel the power of christianity, see it "embodied." In the language of an experienced missionary, "it is not exegesis, it is not theology, it is not divinity, it is not law, it is not precept or command, which the heathen need; but it is the gospel, the pure gospel, which they want, all day long. It is *christianity embodied*, acted out, living, breathing."

This was the principle upon which our Savior acted. This was the principle which he has laid down in his gospel, by which his followers are to propagate his religion. The more this principle is carried out, the greater will be the success attending missionary efforts.

That the plan proposed is well adapted to meet these difficulties, is obvious; yet, we conceive, it is possible to modify the present missionary organization, so as to embrace all that is excellent in this respect in this scheme. The other considerations advanced in favor of the plan, its economy, and its fitness to call into the missionary field many who now excuse themselves from the work, we deem it unnecessary to notice farther.

In the latter part of the work, the author has collected a great amount of valuable information, tending to illustrate the practicability of the plan. He has done the church a rich service in giving this information order and permanence. We commend it to the attention of all who love the cause of missions.

Our readers will already have satisfied themselves in regard to the estimate we would put upon the work. We deem it a timely publication, and one which will do much to further the good work of missions. It savors, however, a little of ultraism, to borrow language from the author. Its views are a little extravagant. The title of the work,—“A new order of Missionaries,”—is calculated, indeed, to draw attention. Yet we have been unable to see its appropriateness. All that is valuable in the work, in regard to the practical conduct of missions, has been long known and long acted upon. The author has struck out no new path. The American Board, in the employment of such men as Dr. Bradley, Dr. Dodge, Dr. Parker, and others, has carried into practice all that is really valuable or promising of success in the author's new plan. Yet he has done a good service to missions, in giving greater prominence to this particular feature of the missionary work. He has advanced many valuable suggestions, and embodied numerous useful and interesting facts, in the development and illustration of his views. The work is loosely put together, but evinces a truly missionary spirit, much observation and reflection.

The attentive perusal of this volume has suggested some thoughts, with the bare intimation of which we shall close.

1. We have been led to admire the wisdom manifested in the present missionary organizations. Time and experience have led to no fundamental change in the system of effort. Its basis is so broad, so firm, that it will receive and adequately support every new practical measure which the providence of God may suggest. It is such as leads to the discovery of every new source of aid. It is capable of adapting itself to every change of circumstances. Let the directors of our missionary operations but keep their eyes ever open to the wants of the cause; let them, with a prudent sagacity, adopt readily every new suggestion which experience may offer, so far as it promises good; let them learn meekly and readily of the providence of God, and their blessed work will commend itself more and more to the favorable regards and to the warm affections of every true disciple of Christ. Neither friend nor foe will find aught but the imperfection of human nature to censure in their proceedings, or discover aught which they might improve.

2. We have been more deeply impressed with the importance of urging christianity upon the heathen more by addresses to the outward senses, and by appeals, both direct and indirect, to the feelings, and less by skillful assaults upon the intellect. Cultivated intellect is indispensable to the thoroughly qualified missionary. If he cannot contend successfully against the refined infidel, the artful priest, the subtle devotee of a false philosophy, he must feel himself at a sad disadvantage even in his endeavors upon an ignorant populace. Certainly to succeed in silencing those who sway the common mind, must give him more confidence in himself and his cause, and gain for him power over others. But while he has cultivated, disciplined intellect, he must rely mainly upon the power which practical christianity will give him over the hearts of the heathen. The mass of the people will be unable or unwilling to grasp christianity as a science or a philosophy. They are, indeed, incapable of feeling the force of the simplest and strongest argumentation. Their understandings are blinded. The feelings are less benumbed. They can be touched by the sight of goodness. Kindness, sympathy, and generosity, will reach a chord in their bosom not entirely unstrung. Self-denying beneficence cannot but excite their attention and gain their favor. It is through the outward visible conduct alone, that the principles of the gospel can be conveyed to their hearts. Hence the importance of the grand suggestion in the work under consideration,—*of preaching the gospel by healing the sick.* Here, in this respect of power over disease, science, the fruit of christianity, places the gospel missionary high above the pagan practitioner. Benevolence, acting in this form, more effectually, perhaps, than in any other, commands the reverence and the love of the human heart. The physician, the world over, is revered and beloved, and especially so in uncivilized nations. There, his power is higher than that of any other profession, station, or office; and it is well deserving of inquiry, whether our missionary boards might not carry out still farther the principle which they have already, with such sagacity, adopted, and send forth a still larger proportion of medical missionaries.

But it must not be forgotten, that healing the sick is not the only form of benevolence by which christianity may reach the heathen mind. It is a defect in the work under notice, that it exalts this particular kind of benevolent effort so much, that all others are lost from view. Benevolence has as many modes of expression as man has variety of necessities. Sympathy in suffering, relief of temporal wants, provisions for the general com-

fort of others, exhibitions of self-denial, and sacrifices for their good, are modifications of benevolence, as real and genuine, if not as effective, as curing diseases. No one need esteem himself fatally crippled, in regard to missionary effort, because he has no skill to heal diseases. It is probable, that benevolence expressed in the form of providing for the education of children in Ceylon, has done more than any thing else could, to gain favor for the gospel with the heathen there. The great qualification of the christian missionary is a readiness to sympathize with the joys and sorrows of others, and a corresponding readiness to increase their joy and relieve their distress. It is by learning to feel for the bodily woes of others, that we learn to feel for their spiritual maladies. The same general principle is applicable here, which lies at the bottom of the inquiry, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If visible distress stir no compassion, how can unseen though spiritual misery move sympathy?

3. We have been more deeply convinced of the absolute necessity of taking measures to perpetuate the christian religion wherever it is once introduced. The true principle, the only efficacious principle, in the conduct of missions, is to make sure of every conquest. If the missionary to the heathen simply preaches the gospel from place to place, without taking pains to establish churches and religious institutions, or making provision for the permanent maintenance of a salutary religious influence, the world can never be converted to Christ. The work of evangelizing the heathen will need to be done over again, with every successive generation. Doubtless a missionary like Schwartz may effect much, with the blessing of God, in the conversion of individual souls; but he will accomplish little towards bringing on the glorious day when the whole world shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God, unless he provide for the permanent establishment of christianity. Our Savior saw this necessity when he gave his last great command to his disciples, bidding them not only to disciple all nations, but also to baptize them, or in other words, bring them under the influence of the permanent institutions of the gospel. So the apostles conducted. They were careful everywhere to establish churches, to organize them under suitable officers, to visit and confirm them, and to address them with letters of instruction and encouragement. Mere itinerancy will not effect this. Doubtless there must be, like the Seventy, those that will go before and prepare the way,—act as explorers and pioneers.

But they must, in all their movements, have regard to those who come after them to set up and maintain the permanent institutions of religion. With them they must be closely connected. There should be no independence in this respect. Wherever christianity, through their instrumentality, shall have gained a foothold, all proper means should be employed to guard, sustain, and extend it. And here lies the proper sphere of civilization. Civilization is the handmaid of religion. It is appointed of God as the support and bulwark of religion. We do not say, except it be in the order of nature simply, first christianize, then civilize. For christianity is connected with civilization, as the rising sun with the illumination of the earth. But we say, let all those acts, customs, and habits, which christianity naturally produces, and by which it is beautified and fortified, let all these be introduced coterminously with the gospel. For why should not science, the foster-child of religion, be made subservient to its progress? Who ordained science and art, and wherefore? Was it not, that they might be employed as instrumentalities in advancing the cause of religion? What missions have been most prospered,—those in which schools have been founded, and education has been pursued, where the arts of civilized life have been introduced, as the spread of christianity opened the way, or those where little or nothing of this has been attempted? We have said, that the proper province of civilization is to fortify and support an already planted christianity. We would carefully guard against the impression, that we would not justify a resort to any of the means which civilized life provides, if not discordant with the will of God, for gaining favor in behalf of religion. For why should he whom religion has civilized, become a barbarian, in order to spread that very religion which, in its lawful workings, has made him what he is? If he did not appear and act like a civilized being, how could he, indeed, fully and correctly exhibit the power of the gospel, in its legitimate effects?

4. Any thing that will relieve the church at large of a sense of their responsibility to propagate the gospel is deeply to be deprecated. There may be seasons when christian sagacity should be tasked to lighten the burden of supporting the work of missions. All missionary undertakings should be conducted, as they, indeed, for the most part are, with rigid economy. Peculiar circumstances may warrant, may require individuals to go out, depending on their own resources. Yet it is the assigned duty of the church at large, to evangelize the world. It is essential to its advancement in holiness. It is its richest priv-

ilege, its highest honor to co-operate with God in this glorious work. Not a regenerated soul in christendom should be deprived of the privilege—or exonerated from the duty. It is a work in which every follower of Christ must engage. Every one should feel, that a part of the responsibility rests on him. The more this is felt and realized, the brighter will the church of Christ shine; the more rapidly will its triumphs multiply. The more every individual christian enters into this work, the more happy, the more holy, the more fit for heaven will he be. The church should feel, that this work is her own; that she must sustain it, cost what it will. The great objection, which we have felt to the plan proposed in the work before us, lies here; that should it be carried into effect, and bands of missionaries should be sent forth at little or no expense to the church; she would begin to feel, that her obligation is lessened, or removed. She would be inclined to imagine, that this work rested upon individuals whom the providence or the spirit of God might designate, while she had rightly no part nor lot in the matter. The church might thus suffer vastly more than the cause of missions would gain. True, it may be urged with some degree of force, that the early missionaries of the cross,—the apostles of our Lord, as individuals went forth and sustained themselves in a great degree either by their own industry, or by aid derived from those whom they evangelized. But this plea can never be urged with any force, till all christendom have done what all christendom then did; when “as many as were possessed of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold and laid them down at the apostles’ feet.” When this spirit is felt and acted out by the great body of christians, then may efforts be wisely made to seek out means for relieving the church of the burden of missions at the expense of the comfort and efficiency of individual missionaries.

5. An open field of christian effort is spread out before the American youth, yea, and American adults. Individuals can no longer excuse themselves from missionary service by the plea, that support cannot be provided for them; that they may prove burdensome to the churches; that the missionary work addresses itself to none of the peculiar susceptibilities with which their creator has furnished them. If they have the spirit of Christ, there is abundant room for the employment of any of the powers which they may possess, in the field of missions. They may go out to this war “at their own charges,” and have no reason to fear, that God will fail them. They need not burden the churches. They may carry out their own spirit of na-



tive independence to any wholesome degree. Are there not many in our churches, who can be called forth by considerations like these, but who feel themselves to be addressed by no sufficient motives? To such we would say, Cast your eyes over the broad field of the gospel mission; view the variety of powers, the diversity of gifts required; consider the abundant facilities which the providence of God is affording for personal support; remember the cheering promise of your Lord and Savior, the last which he has left to his obedient disciples, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," and then determine whether the command in its more direct, specific import be not addressed to you, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations."

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ART. VII.—MEMOIR OF LOVEJOY.

*Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy; who was murdered in defence of the liberty of the press, at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7th, 1837: by JOSEPH C. and OWEN LOVEJOY; with an Introduction, by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. New York: John S. Taylor. 1838.*

WE consider the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy to have been wantonly MURDERED, while acting in defense of the liberty of speech and of the press. A stigma of no common die attaches to Alton, Illinois, where the foul deed was perpetrated—for the men who committed it yet go unpunished, and the late arraignment and trial, both of the rioters and of the persons who were lawfully protecting their property and rights, we view as one of the most sheer mockeries of justice, which has ever been exhibited in a state claiming to be civilized. The whole transaction from first to last, is a legitimate result of that spirit of violence and mob-rule which has been so rampant for a few years past, and which we cannot but feel is one of the most lamentable features of the present times.

Mr. Lovejoy, in our view, had a perfect right to defend himself and his property. The community in which he lived were bound to uphold the laws, and on them must rest the disgrace of having suffered a minister of the gospel—to be shot down as a malefactor. We have been amazed at the attempts made to cover over the guilt of this transaction, under the plea, that

Mr. Lovejoy was imprudent—that he had violated his pledge; and that he had no right to use fire-arms in any case. We have no faith in the charges; but had he been ever so imprudent—had he acted contrary to his pledges—could any or all of these things palliate the wickedness of the deed? We say, No. It was deliberate, premeditated murder. The persons who made the attack, knew the subjects of their violence were prepared for defense. Mr. Lovejoy had been hunted from place to place, for the purpose of taking his life. At St. Charles, in Missouri, he escaped at the greatest risk. These facts were known in Alton. Fire-arms were in hands of the mob as they pressed on to the assault; it was not till two or more guns had been discharged at the building in which Mr. L. and his friends were assembled, that a shot was fired from within. The building was set on fire, and persons were planted in ambush, to shoot down its defenders, and even after the death of Mr. Lovejoy, the mob fired upon the escaping party, and wounded some of them. The press, as all know, was destroyed, and mob-rule thus established in Alton. These are the facts in the case, and there is nothing but sophistry, or something worse, as it seems to us, in the endeavor to gloss over the transaction as the result of sudden excitement. It matters not to us, if it was contrary to the wishes of many and respectable citizens, that Mr. Lovejoy attempted to continue his press. He, if he had violated the laws, was amenable to them. If he had not, then he had a right to look to the civil authority to protect him, and had they all possessed any proper feeling of their responsibility they would have done so at every hazard; nor do we see any reason to believe, that with suitable decision of character in action they might not at once have quelled the disturbance. But strange as it may seem—no preparation was made—not the slightest evidence is there, that they had any such intention. On the contrary, their sympathies appear to have been with the mob, and their city is consequently handed down to posterity with the foul blot of murder, staining its escutcheon.

The volume before us gratifies a natural wish which we at once felt to know something more of the past history of Mr. Lovejoy. We had read his *Observer*, and admired the manly independence of character and sound sense, which many of the articles exhibited. We knew from these, that his aim was the dissemination of truth, and we felt that we could sympathize with him in his labors for this end. We did not think it strange, that his name was cast out, and branded with many an epithet of

wrong. Such had been our own course, and we should be among the last to think worse of him for this fact. After he

liberty to think and speak as conscience bids—and he has fallen a victim to the passions of an infuriated mob. A son of a New England clergyman, himself also a minister of the gospel, and among descendants of New England sires, he has been put to death to gratify the spirit of revenge—generated by Popery, Infidelity and Slavery. Could any one, a stranger to the causes of this outrage, have chanced to stand by, as his corpse was borne forth, bloody and cold, and could he have asked, why in the vigor of health, and ere manhood's maturest powers were developed, he was thus laid low—had he committed some enormous crime, which made him unfit to live, and demanded so summary an execution—what must have been the surprise to receive for an answer,—No, he had outraged no one's rights; he was in the lawful exercise of his own; he died in defense of the liberty of speech, and of the press—he fell a victim to the demands of slavery. What! it might have been said, is not this the boasted land of freedom; did not the fathers of the Revolution, proclaim their determination to submit to no such infringement on their rights; did they not repair to arms, and through their long and painful struggle, was not this privilege, this birth-right of man, one which urged them on, and would they have felt their object gained, had this still been wanting? Has it come to this, that in a country which boasts of its more than usual equal diffusion of knowledge and regard for the laws, such foul crimes are to be perpetrated, and no account taken of them by those whose duty it is to watch against every violation of law? Away with your pretensions, since you allow the spirit of a mob thus to control and destroy your liberties and rights! Such, we may suppose, would be the indignant feeling of the mere stranger; and were he to be told, that editors,—and of religious papers too,—were so time-serving as to truckle to this growing disregard of law, and half-vindicate its exercise, how unmeasured would be his amazement, and how would he feel, that words were almost wanting to express his honest indignation at their pusillanimity and sophistry! Could he yet further take up this volume, and read the records of Lovejoy's short life,—his manly defenses of himself when accused,—his pious aspirations, and the plain and cogent reasoning with which he enforced his opinions,—what would he say? What would he not feel, as he learned, that for such a cause a minister of Christ was persecuted and murdered? Well might he blush and hang his head, to think himself a man! We trust, that multitudes will read for themselves these memoirs of a good man, that they may learn more and more to detest the misrule and lawlessness

to which he was a victim. There may be some who will be deterred from the perusal, by the fact, that it has received the commendation of the anti-slavery papers; but we pity the man, wherever he may be found, who will refuse to become acquainted with any truth, because it may have been breathed from lips which belong not to his own particular sect or party.

It is evident from the book before us, that the first opposition to the *St. Louis Observer* was from papists and infidels, who were disturbed by Mr. Lovejoy's exposure of their unhallowed practices. With these were soon joined others, advocates of slavery, conscience-smitten on account of his honest and merited rebukes of their guilt and cruelty, and especially, the atrocious scene at the burning alive of the slave McIntosh, and the subsequent charge of Judge Lawless, (fit name indeed for the magistrate of such a community!) From this moment, Lovejoy's was a devoted head; his press was destroyed, his life threatened, and himself driven to take refuge in Alton, where, notwithstanding the invitation and pledge of its citizens, the same outrages were repeated, till his chastened spirit was forever beyond the reach of violence or sorrow. As a matter of history, we place the record of these facts on our pages, and we cannot entirely repress the feelings of indignation which they have excited in our bosoms. We join in the closing paragraphs of the interesting Introductory Essay by the Hon. John Quincy Adams:

'The subject of the ensuing memoir, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, was a native of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—born in a state where the abjuration of the authority of Great Britain, and of the institution of Slavery, had been universally held to have been consummated by one and the same act, he had like all the citizens of that State, born since the Declaration of Independence, been bred and nurtured in the belief that Slavery was an institution, politically incompatible with a free Constitution, and religiously incompatible with the laws of God. Led by his destiny, in the pursuit of happiness, and in the fulfillment of his religious and moral duties, to the western region of his country, the fundamental condition of whose political existence was the exclusion of all Slavery and involuntary servitude, he there fell a victim to the fury of a band of ruffians, stung to madness, and driven to despair, for the fate of their darling Slavery, by the terrors of a printing press.

That an American citizen, in a state whose Constitution repudiates all Slavery, should die a martyr in defense of the freedom of the press, is a phenomenon in the history of this Union. It forms an æra, in the progress of mankind towards universal emancipation. Martyrdom was said by Dr. Johnson to be the only test of sincerity in religious belief. It is also the ordeal through which all great improvements in the condition of men,

are doomed to pass. The incidents which preceded and accompanied, and followed the catastrophe of Mr. Lovejoy's death, point it out as an epocha in the annals of human liberty. They have given a shock as of an earthquake throughout this continent, which will be felt in the most distant regions of the earth. They have inspired an interest in the public mind, which extends already to the life and character of the sufferer, and which it is believed will abide while ages pass away. To record and preserve for posterity the most interesting occurrences of his life has been considered an obligation of duty, specially incumbent upon the surviving members of his family, and in the effusions of his own mind, and the characteristic features of his familiar correspondence, the reader will find the most effective portraiture of the first American Martyr to THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SLAVE.' pp. 12, 13.

A very brief sketch of this volume is all we have intended. It contains a detailed account of Mr. Lovejoy's early life and education, the incidents of his first residence at the West, his conversion and preparation for the ministry, his public labors as a preacher and editor, his persecutions and death, interspersed with extracts from his letters and other productions. A portion also of the volume is given to the voice of the press in view of his death,—an appeal to Alton, signed "An American Citizen," and which was published in the *Emancipator* and other papers, and remarks by Messrs. Stewart and Parburt, at a meeting in Rochester in reference to the same event. Subjoined is an extract from the report of the trial of Mr. Lovejoy's friends, for defending themselves when attacked! Yes; the indictment itself charges certain persons as guilty of a riot, for defending a printing-press, when attacked by a mob, to its destruction!

Mr. Lovejoy was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Albion, Maine, Nov. 9, 1802, just thirty-five years previous to the day of his burial. The incidents of his recorded early life are comparatively few and unvaried. His ruling passion in childhood seems to have been the love of knowledge; and, with a very retentive memory, he treasured up much of what he read. He appears to have been peculiarly attached to poetry, and he was known to repeat one hundred and fifty of Watts's hymns at a single recitation. Combined with his love of knowledge, was also a great love of athletic sports; especially, he was much attached to swimming. Till he was eighteen, his education was pursued at home, under the care of his mother, with a few months each year in the district school. In 1823, he entered a sophomore in Waterville College, where the expenses of his education were in part defrayed by the Rev. Dr. Tappan, of Maine. He was graduated in 1826, with the first hon-

ors of his class, pronouncing on that occasion a poem entitled "The Inspirations of the Muse." He seems to have exercised his pen not unfrequently in attempts in poetry, some of which possess considerable merit, and several specimens of which are given in the volume before us. They all breathe a spirit of strong attachment to home and its domestic scenes, occasionally tinged with melancholy, as if he was almost anticipating his early fate. One of these, which appeared in the *St. Louis Republican*, we will quote at length, as it may help to form some idea of the affectionate character of the man :

MY MOTHER.

*' Men forget, but all shall not be forgotten.'*

" There is a fire that burns on earth,  
A pure and holy flame ;  
It came to men from heavenly birth,  
And still it is the same,  
As when it burned the chords along,  
That bore the first-born seraph's song—  
Sweet as the hymn of gratitude  
That swelled to heaven when ' all was good,'  
No passion in the choirs above  
Is purer than a mother's love !

My Mother ! how that name endears,  
Through Memory's griefs and Sorrow's tears !  
I see thee now as I have seen

With thy young boy beside thee—  
Thou didst not know, nor couldst thou deem

The ills that would betide me ;  
For sorrow then had dimm'd the eye  
Which beamed with only ecstasy !  
Ah ! life was then a joyous thing,  
And time bore pleasure on its wing.  
How buoyant did the minutes move,  
For I was hope and thou wert love.  
Beneath thy smiles I closed the day  
And met them at the morning ray ;  
My infant heart was full of glee,  
And every chord struck harmony.  
And often as there would betide  
Some little griefs my heart to gail,  
I bore them to my mother's side,  
And one kind kiss dispelled them all.

And I have knelt with thee—when none

Were near but thou and I—  
In trembling awe before the throne

Of Mercy in the sky ;  
And when thy melted heart was poured  
Before the Being thou adored ;  
How holy was that prayer of thine,  
Fit offering for a heavenly shrine—  
Not for myself a wish—not one—  
But smile upon, Lord, bless my son !

And I have risen and gone my way,  
 And seemed to have forgot ;  
 Yet oft my wandering thoughts would stray  
 Back to the hallowed spot—  
 While feelings new and undefined  
 Would crowd upon my laboring mind.

O days of innocence and peace !  
 O ill exchanged for manhood's years !  
 When mirth that sprang from youthful bliss,  
 Is drowned beneath misfortune's tears.  
 My heart has since been sadly worn,  
 While wave on wave has o'er it borne ;  
 And feelings once all fresh and green,  
 Are now as though they ne'er had been.  
 And Hope, that bright and buoyant thing,  
 E'en hope has lent despair its wing ;  
 And sits despoiled within my breast,  
 A timid, torturing, trembling guest !  
 I dare not look upon the past,  
 I care not for the future cast.  
 Yet o'er this darkness of the soul  
 There comes one cheering beam,  
 Pure, warm, and bright, of rapture full  
 As angel visits seem—  
 A Mother's love, a Mother's care,—  
 My aching heart, there's comfort there !  
 It is as if a lovely rose  
 Should bloom amid the icy waste ;  
 For while the heart's life-streams are froze,  
 Its fragrance o'er it still is cast.

Weary and worn, my bed I've shared  
 With sickness and with pain,  
 Nor one of all that saw me cared  
 If e'er I rose again—  
 Heedless and quick they passed along,  
 With noisy mirth and ribald song,  
 And not a hand outstretched to give  
 A cordial that should bid me live.  
 And woman, too, that nurse of ease,  
 Made up of love and sympathies,  
 Ay, woman, she—*she* passed me by,  
 With cold, averted, careless eye ;  
 Nor deigned to ask, nor seem'd to care,  
 If death and I were struggling there !  
 Ah ! then I've thought and *felt* it too—  
 My Mother is not such as you !  
 How would she sit beside my bed,  
 And pillow up my aching head,  
 And then, in accents true as mild,  
 ' Would I were suffering for thee, child !'  
 And try to soothe my griefs away,  
 And look e'en more than she could say ;  
 And press her cheek to mine, nor fear,  
 Though plague or fever wanton'd there ;  
 And watch through weary nights and lone,  
 Nor deem fatigue could be her own.  
 And if, perchance, I slept, the last  
 I saw, her eyes were on me cast ;



And when I woke, 'twould be to meet  
The same kind anxious glance, so sweet.  
And so endearing that it seemed  
As from a seraph's eye it beamed.

My Mother ! I am far away  
From home, and love, and thee :  
And stranger hands may heap the clay  
That soon may cover me ;  
Yet we shall meet—perhaps not here—  
But in yon shining, azure sphere :  
And if there's aught assures me more,  
Ere yet my spirit fly,  
That Heaven has mercy still in store,  
For such a wretch as I,  
'Tis that a heart so good as thine,  
Must bleed—must burst along with mine !

And life is short, at best, and Time  
Must soon prepare the tomb ;  
And there is sure a happier clime,  
Beyond this world of gloom—  
And should it be my happy lot—  
After a life of care and pain,  
In sadness spent, or spent in vain—  
To go where sighs and sin are not ;  
'Twill make the half my heaven to be,  
My Mother, evermore with thee !" ' pp. 34-37.

After leaving college, he taught an academy a short time in his native State, and then set his face towards the West. On his arrival at St. Louis, in 1827, he engaged in a school, and in the course of another year we find him editing a political paper, and advocating the claims of Henry Clay to the presidency. No extracts are given from his papers at this date, which we regret, as they would have enabled us to see whether or not he was as plain-spoken in this situation as subsequently. His political prospects are said to have been good, up to 1832, when he met with a change, which turned his thoughts in another direction. Two letters, addressed to his parents immediately after, depict his feelings, and are written in a most penitential and affectionate spirit. In them he attributes all to sovereign grace, and says :

" How I could have so long resisted the entreaties, the prayers, and the tears of my dear parents, and the influences of the Holy Spirit, is, to me, a wonder entirely incomprehensible ; and still greater is my astonishment and my admiration, that God has still borne with me, still continued unto me the influences of his Spirit, and at last brought me to submit myself to Him. I think I can now have some faint conceptions of boundless, infinite mercy. I look back upon my past life, and am lost in utter amazement at the perfect folly and madness of my conduct. Why, my dear parents, it is the easiest thing in the world to become a

christian—ten thousand times easier than it is to hold out unrepenting against the motives which God presents to the mind, to induce it to forsake its evil thoughts and turn unto Him. If I could forget what I have been and what I have done, I should certainly say it was impossible that any one could read of a Savior, and not love him with their whole heart. The eternal God—the infinite Jehovah—has done all he could do—even to the sacrificing his own Son—to provide a way for man's happiness, and yet they reject him, hate him, and laugh him to scorn! How God could suffer me to live so long as I have lived, is more than I can understand. Well may He call upon the heavens to be astonished both at His own forbearance, and the unnatural rebellion of his creatures. Do christians ever feel oppressed, as it were, with the debt of gratitude which they owe to their Redeemer? Why, it seems to me, sometimes, as if I could not bear up under the weight of my obligations to God in Christ, as if they would press me to the very earth. And I am only relieved by the reflection that I have an eternity in which I may praise and magnify the riches of his grace." ' pp. 41, 42.

The news, as may be supposed, was hailed with joy, and the happy parents, after reading his letter again and again, united in singing a hymn of praise and gratitude, and then bowed before the mercy-seat, and anew gave their son to God. We soon find him at Princeton Theological Seminary, engaged in preparing for the ministry. His letters to his parents and his sisters are beautiful and touching specimens of true feeling, and manifest the most tender regard for their welfare. After leaving Princeton, having been licensed to preach, he passed his summer of 1833 in supplying different pulpits, and especially the Spring-street church, New York. While here, he received intelligence of his father's death, whose latter years seem to have been clouded by seasons of deep despondency. Well was it for him, that he did not live to hear the melancholy tidings of his beloved son's trials and death. Of this father he speaks like a true child of many prayers, and points his bereaved mother, sisters, and brothers, to the source of heavenly consolation, earnestly urging on those already the children of God, to derive from the event that spiritual improvement which they might, and beseeching others still ignorant of the blessing of heavenly communion, to become acquainted with its happiness. These letters and others are important testimonies to Mr. Lovejoy's character as a son and brother. The biographers have done well to insert them. Can it be, that such a man, so imbued with social feeling, so kind and loving to his kindred and friends, would be the ruthless spirit to hurl the fire-brand, arrows, and death, into any community? Here is a most decided refutation of the charge, that Mr. Lovejoy was a man to

promote incendiarism, and all the horrors of a servile insurrection. He was not formed to be such an instigator of the evil passions; and had we no other proof, we should find it here, of his reluctance to place himself up as a mark for the persecutor and assassin. Nothing but a strong sense of duty could have impelled him so to jeopard his ease and life; and from that feeling he has fallen a victim to the infuriated passions of men.

In compliance with an invitation to return and establish a religious paper at St. Louis, he again turned his face to the West, and very soon after his arrival, the St. Louis Observer appeared. By the terms of agreement, he had the unlimited control of that establishment, and was permitted to mortgage it to carry on the design. His first number bears date Nov. 22, 1833. Numerous extracts are given from his editorial articles, written with ability, and evincing a vigorous and active intellect, as well as a heart of philanthropy and benevolence. In one of these, entitled "What is Truth?" he thus speaks:

" 'Sometimes, having been educated in great reverence for the names and opinions of certain men, and an abhorrence for those of others; at every step we take in our search for truth, we tremble lest we shall have parted company from those we love and reverence, and have entered upon the premises of those we both fear and dislike. When in such a mood, it is wonderful what a magic there is in the mere sound of a name. To be told that if we go on, we shall soon cease to have a right to be distinguished by this or that appellation, will bring us to a halt at once. Then it is, too, that we apply the same concise and conclusive argument to others. You are a 'Calvinist,' an 'Arminian,' or a 'Pelagian,' as the case may be; and those whom such an argument fails to convince, are indeed incorrigible—we give them over to blindness of mind.' " p. 72.

The subject of Roman Catholic claims early engaged his attention, and some of his best articles are in exposure of that insidious system. These were sure to turn against him the hatred of the papists, who could ill bear the urgency of the truth, and thus the way was prepared for the creation of a strong party, whenever a suitable occasion should arise, to destroy the paper. Add to this too the feelings of an infidel portion of the population, who with their usual bitterness, felt hostile to any organ of religious sentiment, and materials were at hand for an explosion. The occasion was not long wanting, and *slavery* as our readers all know furnished it. Mr. Lovejoy had spoken on the subject before, but they were not quite ripe for their ultimate measures; nor was it until some occurrences which brought out their feelings as in a common cause, that they ventured to act as they

had long desired. During his absence in October of 1835, to attend the Presbytery and Synod, the paper was threatened by the advocates of the "new code," or mob law. Two white men had been taken up on the charge of abducting certain negroes belonging to some slaveholder, and after being transported two miles back of the city, whipped between one or two hundred lashes, by about sixty of the most wealthy citizens, some of them members and even elders in the Presbyterian church. A meeting of citizens had been held in which after some flourish respecting the freedom of the press and of speech, and a long resolution against abolitionists, it was resolved that "We consider slavery as it now exists in the United States, as sanctioned by the sacred scriptures." This was too gross a claim for any man who had been educated as Mr. Lovejoy had been, who had not yielded to the strong pleas of interest, to admit; and accordingly on his return to his editorial duties he prepared and published an appeal to his fellow citizens on this subject. In this paper he spoke in a plain, decided, and christian manner. He repudiated the mob doctrine—showed its wickedness—denied his participation with the abolitionists—yet vindicated his right to speak and act, subject to the laws—admitted the obligation of the non-slaveholding states not to interfere legislatively with the domestic institution of master and slave, and rejected with utter abhorrence the idea, that the system of American slavery was sanctioned by the bible. He cited different passages of scripture enjoining kindness and justice, &c., and then inquired, What is slavery as it now exists in the United States? and adverted to the resolutions respecting vigilance-committees and Lynch law. With reference to the outcry against the "Observer," he traced it to popery, and asked whether in existing circumstances, he could rightfully hold his peace. He felt that he could not, and come what might, his resolution was firm, to remain and breast the storm. After a strong appeal to his fellow citizens he demanded what he had done to be thus made the object of popular violence, and in the following terms he entered his protest against the arbitrary proceedings:

"I *do* therefore, as an American citizen, and christian patriot, and in the name of liberty, and law, and RELIGION, solemnly PROTEST against all these attempts, howsoever or by whomsoever made, to frown down the liberty of the press, and forbid the free expression of opinion. Under a deep sense of my obligations to my country, the church, and my God, I declare it to be my fixed purpose to submit to no such dictation. And I am prepared to abide the consequences. I have appealed to the constitution and laws of my country; if they fail to protect me, I APPEAL TO GOD, and with Him I cheerfully rest my cause." p. 153.

He closed this remarkable paper with a statement as to the interest of the proprietors of the *Observer*, and deprecating any violence towards their property, and says :

“If the popular vengeance needs a victim, I offer myself a willing sacrifice. To any assault, that may be made upon me, I declare it my purpose to make no resistance. There is, I confess, one string tugging at my heart, that sometimes wakes to its mortal agony. And yet I cannot, dare not, yield to its influence. For my Master has said, ‘If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.’

Humbly entreating all whom I have injured, whether intentionally or otherwise, to forgive me ; in charity with all men ; freely forgiving my enemies, even those who thirst for my blood, and with the blest assurance, that in life or death nothing can separate me from my Redeemer, I subscribe myself, . . . Your fellow-citizen,

ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.”

Few in whom there is any freedom from prejudice, we think, can read this forcible appeal without allowing, that it is a powerful statement of important truth. The manly claims which it enforces on the consciences of his fellow citizens are supported by arguments which must, in almost any other than a slaveholding community, have had an effect. For a time it seems to have produced a re-action ; for although the original proprietors of the *Observer* withdrew from him, others came forward and enabled him to go on. In one of his letters to his mother, he speaks of this, and also makes some statements respecting the character of the persons engaged in the persecution against himself :

“Let me state to you one fact. The man who headed the whole business of the late public meetings, and who was the most active and virulent in his endeavors to excite the public mind against me, and stop the “*Observer*,” the other night whipped his female negro slave almost to death. Her cries and screams brought a multitude around his house, and he narrowly escaped having his house broken into, and himself made the victim of mob violence. \* \* \* And what shall we say of those professing christians, yea, elders in the church, who follow in the wake of such a man, to stop the “*Observer*,” because it advocates the abolition of slavery ? *We have such elders in St. Louis*—four of them in our church. The woman was rescued from the monster by the constable and taken to jail. His name is Arthur L. M’Ginnis, an Irishman, and state’s attorney for this district.

“We have another man here, walking our streets in open day, who about a year since, actually *whipped his negro woman to death*. He was tried for the murder, but as negro evidence was not admitted, he

could not be convicted, or rather was not. Such men are not mobbed, but he who ventures to say that slavery is a sin, does it at the risk of his life." pp. 159, 160.

After a time, however, he determined to remove the paper to Alton, Illinois. His soul was sick of the cruelty which every day brought to his ears; he had been to the spot where by the decree of a self-constituted court, the unhappy slave Mc Intosh had been *burned alive*, and he had not refrained from expressing his honest indignation against such a barbarous proceeding. The same paper in July, 1836, which announced his determination to remove, contained his remarks on Judge Lawless' charge. The judge had charged the jury, with reference to the execution of Mc Intosh, that if the act was one of an infuriated multitude, hurried on by a sudden frenzy to the deed, then the case transcended their jurisdiction,—they had nothing to do in this matter. Mr. Lovejoy's remarks on this strange doctrine of jurisprudence, are decided, but they are, as we conceive, just. His press was about to be removed to Alton; the mob assembled and tore down his office. At Alton also a similar outrage was perpetrated very shortly after his arrival, in the destruction of what remained.

The next day, July 22, 1836, a meeting of the citizens of Alton was held, in which after some resolutions disapproving of abolition, the doings of the mob were severely condemned, and pledges were given to make good the loss. At this meeting, it is said Mr. Lovejoy pledged himself not to discuss the subject of slavery. We presume he might have said, that he did not feel it necessary in the then circumstances to speak as he had done; but that he entered into no such pledge we have the certified testimony of several citizens who were present; who say, that his language in substance was the following: "But, gentlemen, as long as I am an American citizen, and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, and to publish whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." In the first number of the paper on its re-establishment he used similar language:

"For one we distinctly avow it as our settled purpose, never, while life lasts, to yield to this new system of attempting to destroy, by means of mob violence, the rights of conscience, the freedom of opinion, and of the press. We intend not to deal in harsh denunciation, we wish to bring about or promote no disorder or disorganization in society, we would provoke no violence from any portion of the community; the only weapon we would use is the TRUTH, the only sentiment we would

appeal to, the moral sense of the community. If we cannot be permitted to do this, except at the risk of property, reputation, and life, we must even take the risk. And the point now to be ascertained is, whether with these sentiments and this determination, we may rely upon being supported, in our present position, by the friends of morals and Christianity in the West. And it is precisely to ascertain this question, that the present article is written and sent forth to the public. With the friends of Truth, of Order, of the Rights of Conscience, and of God, we leave the decision." pp. 224, 225.

Another press was procured, and the paper issued until August 17, 1837, when it was again destroyed by a mob. Many able articles were sent forth in its columns during this interval, among the most remarkable of which is one headed "*What are the doctrines of Anti-Slavery men?*" A public meeting of citizens had been held to express their disapprobation of the course of the Observer, but Mr. Lovejoy did not feel willing to yield to its dictation. Here was a measure, which if admitted, would at once destroy the rights of any citizen. Any one has a right, we admit, to withdraw his patronage from a man; he may use his influence to induce others to do the same within certain bounds; but that any meeting of few or many has a right to dictate to any man what he shall say or not say, apart from the proper expression of the laws, we utterly deny. Nothing can be more fatal to justice than the admission of such a right to coerce, under penalty of mobs, the opinions or actions of others. No one is safe for a moment in such a community; the tide may turn at any time, and they who have called out its fury may be the first to feel its power. This is the grand error of the present day; the attempt to coerce by the manufacture of public opinion. Nothing has such a tendency to destroy the safe principles of law and the moral power of conscience.

Mr. Lovejoy's answer to the committee was manly and decided. We see not how any candid person who reads it can find in it the expression of passion or obstinacy, and we cannot avoid quoting some passages. He respectfully declines recognizing their official character as the organ of a public meeting, and says:

"By doing so, I should virtually admit that the liberty of the press and freedom of speech, were rightfully subject to other supervision and control, than those of the land. But this I cannot admit. On the contrary, in the language of one of the speakers at the meeting, I believe that 'the liberty of our forefathers has given us the liberty of speech,' and that it is 'our duty and our high privilege, to act and speak on *all* questions touching this great commonwealth.' I am happy, gentlemen, in being able heartily to concur in the above sentiments, which I perceive were uttered by one of your own members, and in which I cannot

doubt, you all agree. I would only add, that I consider this 'liberty' was ascertained, but never originated by our forefathers. It comes to us, as I conceive, from our Maker, and is in its nature inalienable, belonging to man as man.

Believing, therefore, that every thing having a tendency to bring this right into jeopardy, is eminently dangerous as a precedent, I cannot admit that it can be called in question by any man or body of men, or that they can with any propriety, question me as to my exercise of it. Gentlemen, I have confidence that you will, upon reflection, agree with me in this view of the case, and will consequently appreciate, with justice, my motives in declining to receive your communication, as from the official organ of the meeting to which you refer.

But as individuals whom I highly respect, permit me to say to you, that it is very far from my intention to do any thing calculated to bring on an 'unwise agitation,' of the subject of Slavery, in this community. It is a subject that, as I apprehend, must be discussed, must be agitated. All virulence and intemperance of language, I should conceive to be 'unwise agitation.' It shall be my aim to resort and provoke to neither. I hope to discuss the overwhelmingly important subject of Slavery, with the freedom of a republican and the meekness of a Christian. If I fail in either respect, I beg that you will attribute it, gentlemen, to that imperfection which attends us all in the performance of our best purposes." pp. 228, 229.

This meeting was held July 8, 1837, and to it we believe may be traced, in no small degree, the origin of those lawless proceedings which resulted in Mr. L.'s death. Open threats were frequent against him, and the Missouri Republican sought to fan the flame which was kindled, and declared that he had "forfeited all claims to the protection of that or any other community." What had he done? He had resisted the attempt of a body of men to dictate to him unlawfully what he should say or do. This was the head and front of his offending. On the 21st of August, he was taught, that protection was to be withheld. Two unsuccessful attempts having been before made on this night, between the hours of ten and eleven the office was entered by a band of fifteen or twenty persons, and the press, type, and every thing destroyed. One man in the office was severely wounded on the head with a stone. Where were the police at this time? the citizens? They were standing by and looking on, and a wholesale merchant addressing the mob, informed them, that if they would wait till morning, "he would go in with them, help pack up the materials of the office, place them in a boat, put the editor on board, and send them all down the river together." Their sympathies to their shame were with the mob. Mr. Lovejoy himself scarcely escaped from the mob; he had gone about nine o'clock at night to buy medicine



for his wife, who was very sick, when he was met by them. We give the account from one of his letters :

“ They did not at first recognize me, and I parted their columns for some distance, and had just reached the rear, when some of them began to suspect who it was. They immediately wheeled their column and came after me; I did not hurry at all, believing it was not for such a man as I am to flee. They seemed a little loath to come on me, and I could hear their leaders swearing at them, and telling them to “push on,” &c. By this time they began to throw clods of dirt at me, and several hit, without hurting me. And now a fellow pushed up to my side armed with a club, to ascertain certainly who it was. He then yelled out, “It’s the d——d Abolitionist, give him hell;” whereat there was another rush upon me. But when they got close up, they seemed again to fall back. At length a number of them, linked arm in arm, pushed by me and wheeled in the road before me, thus stopping me completely. I then spoke to them, asking them why they stopped me. By this time the cry was all around me, “d——n him,” “rail him,” “rail him,” “tar and feather him,” “tar and feather him.” I had no doubt that such was to be my fate. I then said to them, I have one request to make of you, and then you may do with me what you please,—I then asked them to send one of their number to take the medicine to my wife, which I begged they would do without alarming her. This they promised, and sent one of their number to do it, who did it according to their promise. I then said to them, “You had better let me go home, you have no right to detain me, I have never injured you.” They began to curse and swear, when I added, “I am in your hands, and you must do with me whatever God permits you to do.” They consulted a few moments, and then told me I might go home.” pp. 233, 234.

Immediately after this transaction the friends of the paper met, and decided that “the Observer must be re-established and go on.” One wealthy gentleman said, that rather than it should not, he would mortgage every cent of his private property. Mr. Lovejoy sent out a short appeal for subscribers and aid, which was promptly responded to. Where we ask was the wrong of this? Had they not a right to publish, subject to the laws? Some of the supporters of the paper differing as to its course, Mr. Lovejoy offered, on certain just conditions, to give it up entirely to their disposal. Was he headstrong or obstinate at this time? The list of subscribers which he proposed to give up to be released from responsibilities past or present, and to be furnished with the means of removal, was twenty one hundred. A meeting was called to consider this proposition, and two resolutions, one “that the Alton Observer ought to be established,” the other “that the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy ought to continue its editor,” were introduced. The first was passed without a dis-

sending vote; the second was discussed in several meetings, but not decided. In this state of things, while Mr. L. was absent, the press was landed, and notwithstanding the positive assurance of the mayor, that it should be protected, and a constable was stationed to guard it, ten or twelve "*respectable ruffians disguised*," "broke open the store, rolled the press across the street to the river side, broke it into pieces and threw it in." The mayor arrived and bade them to disperse. Their reply was, they would "as soon as they got through," and continued. "The mayor returned and said that he never witnessed a more quiet and *gentlemanly* mob." But this was not all; Mr. Lovejoy's life was attempted at St. Charles, Missouri, where he had gone. Our readers, doubtless, all recollect the heroic conduct of his wife, who, on this occasion, threw herself before him and protected him at the risk of her own life. The brutality of the assailants may be judged of by the fact, that a second time they broke into the room, and while she lay unable to move, in the midst of her heart-rending shrieks, sought to remove her husband from her side.

This outrage was but a prelude to the final transaction at Alton. Mr. Lovejoy was now disposed to go to Quincy, whither he had been invited, but he wished to have the advice of friends; a convention in which the venerable Dr. Blackburn presided, assembled, and a State Anti-Slavery Society was formed. Two colonization meetings, as they are termed, were held, and if some mistake does not exist as to the sentiments promulgated in some of the speeches, there was a most culpable departure from the path of duty in the persons concerned in those meetings. So far from encouraging the already lawless spirit which was abroad, they were bound to allay it and to uphold at almost all risk, the freedom of speech and of the press. This was the ground taken by Pres. Beecher, in his speeches in the Convention, and had the citizens of Alton boldly come out and declared their determination to sustain the rights of Mr. Lovejoy, there would have been no mob; or if otherwise, the rioters would have gone forward at their peril.

The resolutions offered by Pres. Beecher in the public meeting of citizens, are in our view just such as ought to have been adopted if any action by a public meeting was to be had. But instead of this, a resolution was passed which promised protection only during the discussion. Now if the citizens could thus edge themselves to maintain the laws during the discussion, why could they not do the same afterwards? Why did they not? The answer is one which deeply concerns them. But they did

not. The press arrived—was stored, the building was attacked by an armed mob; the protection which had been requested was withheld; shots were exchanged, and Mr. Lovejoy was murdered defending his rights, in the hearing of hundreds who should have sprung forward to interpose their aid. Mr. Lovejoy's defense before the meeting is one which must have touched the heart of any one who had not hushed his generous feelings in the cry of passion or prejudice:

"Mr. Chairman,—it is not true, as has been charged upon me, that I hold in contempt the feelings and sentiments of this community, in reference to the question which is now agitating it. I respect and appreciate the feelings and opinions of my fellow-citizens, and it is one of the most painful and unpleasant duties of my life, that I am called upon to act in opposition to them. If you suppose, sir, that I have published sentiments contrary to those generally held in this community, because I delighted in differing from them, or in occasioning a disturbance, you have entirely misapprehended me. But, sir, while I value the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, as highly as any one, I may be permitted to say, that I am governed by higher considerations than either the favor or the fear of man. I am impelled to the course I have taken, because I fear God. As I shall answer it to my God in the great day, I dare not abandon my sentiments, or cease in all proper ways to propagate them.

I, Mr. Chairman, have not desired, or asked any *compromise*. I have asked for nothing but to be protected in my rights as a citizen—rights which God has given me, and which are guaranteed to me by the constitution of my country. Have I, sir, been guilty of any infraction of the laws? Whose good name have I injured? When and where have I published any thing injurious to the reputation of Alton? Have I not, on the other hand, labored, in common with the rest of my fellow-citizens, to promote the reputation and interests of this city? What, sir, I ask, has been my offence? Put your finger upon it—define it—and I stand ready to answer for it. If I have committed any crime, you can easily convict me. You have public sentiment in your favor. You have your juries, and you have your attorney, (looking at the Attorney-General,) and I have *no doubt* you can *convict* me. But if I have been guilty of no violation of law, why am I hunted up and down continually like a partridge upon the mountains? Why am I threatened with the *tar-barrel*? Why am I waylaid every day, and from night to night, and my life in jeopardy every hour?

You have, sir, made up, as the lawyers say, a false issue; there are not two parties between whom there can be a *compromise*. I plant myself, sir, down on my unquestionable *rights*, and the question to be decided is, whether I shall be protected in the exercise and enjoyment of those rights—that is the question, sir;—whether my property shall be protected, whether I shall be suffered to go home to my family at night without being assailed, and threatened with tar and feathers, and

assassination ; whether my afflicted wife, whose life has been in jeopardy, from continued alarm and excitement, shall night after night be driven from a sick bed into the garret to save her life from the brickbats and violence of the mobs ; *that, sir, is the question.*" Here, much affected and overcome by his feelings, he burst into tears. Many, not excepting even his enemies, wept—several sobbed aloud, and the sympathies of the whole meeting were deeply excited. He continued : "Forgive me, sir, that I have thus betrayed my weakness. It was the allusion to my family that overcame my feelings. Not, sir, I assure you, from any fears on my part. I have no personal fears. Not that I feel able to contest the matter with the whole community. I know perfectly well I am not. I know, sir, that you can tar and feather me, hang me up, or put me into the Mississippi, without the least difficulty. But what then ? Where shall I go ? I have been made to feel that if I am not safe at Alton, I shall not be safe any where. I recently visited St. Charles to bring home my family, and was torn from their frantic embrace by a mob. I have been beset night and day at Alton. And now if I leave here and go elsewhere, violence may overtake me in my retreat, and I have no more claim upon the protection of any other community than I have upon this ; and I have concluded, after consultation with my friends, and earnestly seeking counsel of God, to *remain at Alton*, and here to insist on protection in the exercise of my rights. If the civil authorities refuse to protect me, I must look to God ; and if I die, I have determined to make my grave in Alton." pp. 278—281.

He did make his grave in Alton, and as he was borne forth on his hearse to his last resting-place, the mourning train were saluted by the jeers and scoffs of bystanders. There he sleeps ; but long and bitterly will the advocates of slavery rue the night which, by their bloody outrages, has opened a thousand voices to speak their condemnation. We must close ; but we hope that this book will be widely disseminated and read. We have occupied more room already than we can well spare ; but less, we have felt, we could not say. Mr. Lovejoy did as we doubt not every man who valued his rights, in his circumstances, might have done. They who have been foremost to condemn him, would, we believe, have been full as obstinate in upholding their own rights. The remainder of the volume we must pass over ; but there is much interesting matter still untouched. We are glad to learn, that so wide-spread a feeling of honest indignation has prevailed in regard to this outrage. It will never cease. The name of *Lovejoy* will be mentioned with feelings of respect, when the censures which have been heaped on him will be forgotten. If the press is to be fettered ; if men are to be murdered while protecting it, to propitiate the demands of slavery ; we augur, that it will not be long before the whole of New England, at least, will be as one man in opposition to its claims.

ART. VIII.—NATURAL THEOLOGY.

*On Natural Theology*; by THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. & LL. D.,  
Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and  
Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France.  
New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co. 1836.

THE peculiar characteristics of Dr. Chalmers as a writer, are well known to our readers. Ever delaying on his main thoughts, expanding them, and reiterating them in new forms, almost to satiety and disgust, and employing, withal, a phraseology elaborate and bordering on magniloquence, he still keeps his eye firmly and intently fixed on the conclusion at which he is aiming, and renders the delaying care and caution with which he surveys each step of his way, but the means of a more resistless and triumphant progress: like the flow of a deep and broad river, with its eddying whirls, slow, but powerfully onward; or rather, like the march of an invading army, careful to guard well every post it takes, that its way may be more sure to the citadel, stepping, as it goes, to the piping of lofty and exulting notes.

It is interesting to follow such a writer into the field of Natural Theology. Here, amid lofty themes, which merge away into the mysterious, and the incomprehensible; and practical themes, too, which touch at every point the duties, interests, and destinies, of ourselves,—we like to follow a guide who is sufficiently cautious and dilatory to show us the solidity of his premises, and sufficiently firm and decided, as a reasoner, to speak out the conclusions of truth. Dr. Chalmers, however, has brought to the task the discipline of a long course of study and thought on other and kindred subjects, and those special preparations which have arisen from his previous essays on the same subject, as in his *Bridgewater Treatise*; and more especially in the many discussions which must have come up in handling the various topics of the scriptures during the several years of his christian ministry.

To the last mentioned cause, in our opinion, is to be attributed the chief interest of these volumes. We feel, that we are following in them the pulpit, rather than the academic theist,—the one who, from his high station of a servant of Christ, intent to call the guilty to salvation, sends forth the calls, the cries and warnings of nature itself, to help him in his message, and

to oppress with a sense of obligation and want, even those who, in their ignorance and unbelief, are farthest from God, rather than the academician, intent chiefly on the acquisition or communication of science, and who, in his philosophic pride, seems to withdraw himself and his pupils from the gospel itself, to repose in the substitute which his reason has discovered. True, the very topics in the natural world which he has selected as the basis of his arguments, stand in most intimate relation to the obligations and spiritual wants of man, and thus strongly favor the subserviency of the subject in his hands to the ends of christianity; but it is the minister of Christ, who, by the very nature of his vocation, in studying and ministering to the moral maladies of mankind, is most at home in these topics, as well as most disposed to urge them to their highest and best results.

The topics of Dr. Chalmers are taken from a field, we have intimated, than all others more subservient to practical christianity. In Ray and Derham, and in the consummate work of Paley, the eye is kept chiefly on studying physical and external nature; the exhibitions are chiefly those of wisdom, and power, and skill; the emotions chiefly called for are those of wonder or of calm delight: and though we allow these topics a high and useful place in subservience to true religion,—as indeed adoration and delight in the wisdom and goodness of God are,—yet they are chiefly so to a mind and heart that has already become reconciled to God through Jesus Christ, in lifting it up in the ways of God; while to a heart averse to God and reconciliation, this survey of the natural loveliness of God, portrayed in the external objects of the natural world, may lead that heart to repose and linger on this outer field of truth, rather than take refuge, as a lost sinner, in the saving truths of christianity. Dr. Chalmers, on the other hand, after taking a brief survey of the external world for evidence of the being of God, enters into the internal and spiritual world of man, to fetch up from man's nature the memorials not only of his Creator's being, but of his Creator's righteousness,—the bonds of obligation are felt to be around him,—the moral laws of his Maker and Sovereign are heralded in his very nature,—the voluntary course on which he is embarked in life, is seen to be against the law, and working its righteous penalty of death upon his very nature, in the fixedness of destructive habit; and amid the terrors of apprehended wrath, and the faint gleamings of mercy, that dawn from the forbearance that is waiting on him, he is led to cry out, "What must I do to be saved?" Nature thus warns of danger, and points the guilty to a refuge in Christ.

We would not imply, in these remarks, that each topic and branch of evidence in Natural Theology is not worthy of strict and close attention; but rather, that the whole field, and every part of it, should be exhibited as a practical system, landing man in no place of security short of the gospel. "Along the confines of its domain," as says the writer we are reviewing, "there should be raised, in every quarter, the floating signals of distress; that its scholars, instead of being lulled into the imagination, that now they may repose as in so many secure and splendid dwelling-places, should be taught to regard them only as towers of observation—whence they have to look for their ulterior guidance and their ulterior supplies, to the region of a continuous theology."

We will, however, descend from these general remarks, to a more minute survey of the work itself we are reviewing:—The work opens with a chapter on the distinction between the ethics of theology and the objects of theology, and on the ground of this distinction proceeds, in the next chapter, to show the duty which is laid upon men by the probability or even the imagination of a God. The design in these chapters is, to bring on the conscience of every one the obligation to inquire, with candor and earnestness, after the evidences of God and his ways; to reach even the atheist, in his darkest retreat of ignorance and unbelief, with the obligation, if not of the instant belief of God, of the instant and earnest inquiry after him. After showing, that the atheist cannot possibly take the positive position, that there is no God,—which would require for its demonstration a knowledge of the whole universe,—and that he cannot recede from theism any farther than to the simple point of ignorance and unbelief, he remarks:

'Now to this condition there attaches a most clear and incumbent morality. It is to go in quest of that unseen benefactor, who, for aught I know, has ushered me into existence, and spread so glorious a panorama around me. It is to probe the secret of my being and my birth; and, if possible, to make discovery whether it was indeed the hand of a benefactor, that brought me forth from the chambers of non-entity, and gave me place and entertainment in that glowing territory, which is lighted up with the hopes and happiness of living men. It is thus that the very conception of a God throws a responsibility after it; and that duty, solemn and important duty, stand associated with the thought of a possible deity, as well as with the sight of a present deity, standing in full manifestation before us. Even anterior to all knowledge of God, or when that knowledge is in embryo, there is both a path of irreligion and a path of piety; and that law which denounces the one and gives to the other an approving testimony, may find in him who is still in utter dark-

ness about his origin and his end, a fit subject for the retributions which she deals in. He cannot be said to have borne disregard to the will of that God, whom he has found. But his is the guilt of impiety, in that he has borne disregard to the knowledge of that God, whom he was bound by every tie of gratitude to seek after—a duty not founded on the proofs that may be exhibited for the being of a God, but a duty to which even the most slight and slender of presumptions should give rise.' Vol. I. pp. 68, 69.

A moral force is thus brought to bear on the individual who is farthest from God, and which ceases not to urge him forward, if he yield to its dictates, to a landing in christianity, a happy reconciliation with God, and a holy and joyous fellowship, that bears in its very nature the stamp of immortality. For,

“He that doeth truth,” says the Savior, “cometh to the light.” He that is rightly affected by the ethics of the question, cometh to the objects: and thus an entrance is made on the field of the Celestial Ethics, and possession taken by the mind of at least one section of it—*Natural Theology*. But after this is traversed, and the ulterior or revealed Theology has come into prospect, we hold that the same impulse which carried him onwards to the first, will carry him onwards to the second.' Vol. I. p. 94.

In the two chapters immediately succeeding, the metaphysics which have been employed by Dr. Clarke in the proof of God, and by Hume in evading the proof, are considered. The argument of Clarke, that infinite space and eternal duration are necessary, involving a contradiction in the very supposition of their non-existence, and that consequently they must be the properties of a being, who is alike necessary, involving a like contradiction in the very supposition of his non-existence,—that is, of a self-existent and infinite being,—is represented as being subtle, rather than conclusive, and as operating, even if it were conclusive, by its very abstruseness, to impede, rather than favor conviction in the mass of minds. To the reply which is given to the argument of Hume, the author, in his preface, has requested the judgment of the more thoughtful of his readers. The argument of that infidel and atheistic writer is based on the position, that experience is necessary in order to ascertain the actual sequences in nature. The sequences are admitted to be established and invariable; but it is claimed, that the conjunction between any two terms in such a sequence, must be first observed by us, before we can infer at a future time, from the observation of only one of them, the existence of the other. Hence, as we never saw an instance of world-making, we have no experience on which we can found the conclusion, that the



world has an antecedent or a maker. Reid and Stewart, in replying to this argument, have denied, that the inference of design, from its effects, is a result either of reasoning or experience, but have claimed, that it is founded on an intuitive judgment of the mind. But our author objects to the course taken by these philosophers, and chooses rather to base his reply on the very position of Hume, as being, in his view, the ground of truth :

‘ We concede to him his own premises—even that we are not entitled to infer an antecedent from its consequent, unless we have before had the completed observation of both these terms and of the succession between them. We disclaim the aid of all new or questionable principles in meeting his objection, and would rest the argument *a posteriori* for the being of a God, on a strictly experimental basis.’ Vol. I. p. 138.

Passing over the slow process by which Dr. Chalmers strips, one after another, the non-essentials, first from the antecedent, and next from the consequent, in a specific sequence, we will present barely the sum of the argument :—An individual sees, in his own case, by consciousness, the connection between his own mind and some contrivance which springs from it ; and from this experience he infers, when he sees a like contrivance executed by another, that it proceeded from a like antecedent,—a thinking and contriving mind in him ; or when he sees the contrivance itself only, he infers, that some designing mind gave it its origin. Nor is the inference which thus began in his own experience, confined to one kind of mechanism or one kind of artificer ; it matters not whether it be a watch, a house, or a steamboat, that is before him, or whether it proceeded from a carpenter, a joiner, or watchmaker ; his inference, that it proceeded from a mind of commensurate wisdom and power, is but applying to the given case, the generality which lay in the germ of his first and constant experience of causation in the actings of his own mind. Though, therefore, the world is a singular and special effect, which he has not competent power to produce, and which he never saw produced by one that is competent ; yet, his experience in its general conclusion,—that the adaptation of means to *an* end, springs from *an* intelligent mind,—clearly carries with it as a consequent, that it is an *effect*. He ascends by a sure stepping-stone, “ from the seen handi-work of man, to the unseen handi-work of God ;” for, the adaptation of means to *an* end,—that which is the essential thing in the sequent, established by his experience,—is as discernible in the framework of the world, as in any frame-work of human art.

In our view, the position of Hume, as he himself states and defends it, is untrue ; for it implies, that for every special effect we must have observed the antecedent ; whereas mankind universally infer from the inspection of a particular species of mechanism, that it sprung from an intelligent author, whether they ever contrived the same species themselves, or saw the same made by others. But as the position is modified and restricted by Chalmers to refer to a general sequent,—to the essential and not the circumstantial, found in a special sequent,—it passes into a verity. At least, the power of the mind to produce mechanical contrivance, is so far a matter of experience at least, as that the power must first be called into exercise, either in adjusting the parts of some contrivance ourselves, or in comprehending some contrivance that is presented to us, before we see, by intuition, that the mind is the proper and real cause of contrivance. But, we think, the belief may be originated and sustained by the action of our minds in comprehending a piece of mechanism presented to our view, as truly as by the direct act of striking out an original contrivance. For the general truth, that it is mind which plans, which thinks, is as obvious to consciousness in comprehending, as it is in striking out a plan,—in following, as it is in guiding a train of thought. And the order of the world favors most the idea of this method of receiving our earliest convictions. For we begin existence, not as planners, contrivers, and inventors, so much as pupils ; not in workshops, to perform or witness the varied elaborations of art, but in the family, with all the means and appliances of busy life around us.

The thought just presented, suggests a distinction we would make on the subject of causation, which, however, we will omit to state just now, in order first to present to our readers the subject to which we would apply it—the subject of the Second Book in the work before us—the proofs for the being of a God in the dispositions of matter. In managing this argument from the manifestation of design in the external world, Dr. Chalmers presents, clearly, the distinction between the collocations and arrangements of matter and the laws of matter, and by showing the inadequacy of the laws of matter to account for the arrangement of matter, sweeps away the favorite and most plausible subterfuge erected by the atheist, and moves decidedly in advance of Paley in the power he gives to this part of the theistic argument. But in order to show that the world with all its arrangements had an origin, he immediately forsakes the argument from design, and rests the whole conclu-

sion solely on historical evidence. To obtain such evidence, he thinks that the scriptures, considered merely as a historical document, may be fairly cited to give their testimony, and that, if this testimony be denied, we still have a historical record of the destruction of previous races that once inhabited the globe, and, consequently, of the subsequent commencement of the present races, in geological data—the permanent scrolls and records of the creation. In referring, however, to the scriptural record for its testimony to the work of creation, it is clear that he has entered within the domains of revelation: for, although this record may be considered as a document from man, in relation to subsequent events which man witnessed, as fairly as any book of ancient history, yet in respect to the creation itself, which preceded him, man could never give us, in any document, the testimony of an original witness, he could only transmit to us, either the conclusions of his own reason, or the communications of direct revelation. And although the geological facts as well as the ancient histories of man are impressive on the subject of the recent origin of the present races of the globe, yet in forsaking, on this point, the argument from design, Dr. Chalmers has, in our view, unnecessarily weakened his conclusion.

To place this subject, as we conceive, in its proper light, we will present the distinction just adverted to,—a distinction clearly defined, between the understanding as the cause of a plan, and an efficient will as the cause of executing a plan. So distinct are these causes from each other as to be often entirely separated in their operation, and to lay a foundation for dividing off mankind into the two separate classes—of the inventors and the imitators, the scientific theorists and the practical operatives. A person of good understanding, for instance, comprehends some possible adaptation of means to accomplish a given end, which may prove of great utility to mankind, and if, in this act of mind, he strikes out a plan which is new to himself, he is an originator of the plan; and if, on making it known to the public, it is new to them, he stands in the relation of the inventor of it to society. Again, with sufficient means at the command of his will, he resolves to execute the plan, by arranging according to it the necessary materials in the construction of an individual machine; here, by the efficiency which his will has called into operation, he is an originator of the collocation of matter in this individual case. The thousand copies which follow from other hands are as clearly originated by the wills of others. Now origination may be understood in either

of these senses. Accordingly, in every piece of mechanism we recognize two effects; an effect of the understanding in the plan, and an effect of the will in the collocation of matter in the individual model. On the inspection of an individual piece of mechanism, therefore, we are as directly conscious that our understanding perceives a plan in the actual model before us, as we should be, had we invented it, that our understanding perceived an ideal plan among the possibles. Consequently, we infer, that the plan is an effect of the understanding of some person, but whether the collocation or arrangement of the portions of matter composing this individual, is an effect of the will of the same person, we must ascertain from other evidence. If, for instance, you open a book and read there a continuous argument or narration, or if you enter a cotton-factory and trace the power employed in its distribution through the complicated machinery and its application to the result, you know from the operations of your own understanding that you are contemplating an effect of intelligence. More than this; the materials of the book, the materials of the machinery, are not the cause of the design, for they are not mind; and mind alone, your experience tells you, is the cause of design. You have come then justly to the conclusion, that the book or machine has both a contriver and a maker. But if your inquiry were, who is the maker,—who disposed the materials of the book or of the machine in their present order? it is obvious that it may be either the original composer of the train of thought and expression, the original inventor of the mechanical plan, or some other person or persons, more or less remote, who received them from him. For the decision of this question, therefore, you must rely strictly on historical evidence.

Now to apply our observations to those proofs of a God which are under contemplation. We contend, that independently of the historical evidence, the argument from the design which is apparent in the constitution of the world, leads us fairly to the conclusion, that there is a God:—in other words, that the plan which pervades the world, leads us directly to an *intelligent* author, distinct from the world itself—the passive material of the plan, and who is consequently identified with the efficient author who arranged the material; while the historical evidence leads us, by another route, directly to an *efficient* author, who set in order the present system of the world, and who is thus identified as the intelligent contriver of the system:—the inference of identity in the two cases, springing clearly from the fact, that the whole world in all its parts, its

furniture, its inhabitants and their succession, and its relation to the worlds around it, is the subject of a plan and an efficiency originating in a Power evidently beyond the whole material and intellectual economy to be found in the worlds themselves. This is the outline of the view we take of the proprieties and strength of the argument. We cannot well leave the consideration of the present topic, without presenting to our readers the characteristic portrait which Chalmers has given at the conclusion, of a writer whose celebrated work on the same topic has deservedly taken precedence of all others :

‘Even these, however, [the works of Ray and Derham,] have been now superseded by the masterly performance of Dr. Paley—a writer of whom it is not too much to say, that he has done more than any other individual who can be named to accommodate the defense both of the Natural and the Christian Theology to the general understanding of our times. He, in particular, has illustrated with great felicity and effect the argument for a God from those final causes which may be descried in the appearances of nature—and, although he has confined himself chiefly to one department, that is, the anatomical, yet that being far the most prolific of this sort of evidence, he has altogether composed from it a most impressive pleading on the side of Theism. He attempts no eloquence; but there is all the power of eloquence in his graphic representation of natural scenes and natural objects—just as a painter of the Flemish School may without any creative faculty of his own, but on the strength of his imitative faculties only, minister to the spectators of his art all those emotions both of the Sublime and Beautiful which the reality of visible things is fitted to awaken. And so without aught of the imaginative, or aught of the ethereal about him—but in virtue of the just impression which external things make upon his mind, and of the admirable sense and truth wherewith he reflects them back again, does our author by acting merely the part of a faithful copyist, give a fuller sense of the richness and repleteness of this argument, than is or can be effected by all the elaborations of an ambitious oratory. Of him it may be said, and with as emphatic justice as of any man who ever wrote, that there is no nonsense about him—and so, with all his conceptions most appropriate to the subject that he is treating, and these bodied forth in words each of which is instinct with significancy and most strikingly appropriate—we have altogether a performance neither vitiated in expression by one clause or epithet of verbiage, nor vitiated in substance by one impertinence of prurient or misplaced imagination. His predominant faculty is judgment—and therefore it is, that he is always sure to seize on the relevancies or strong points of an argument, which never suffer from his mode of rendering them, because, to use a familiar but expressive phrase, they are at all times exceedingly well put. His perfect freedom from aim and all affectation is a mighty disencumbrance to him—he having evidently no other object, than to give forth in as clear and cor-

rect delineation as possible, those impressions which nature and truth had spontaneously made on his own just and vigorous understanding. So that, altogether, although we should say of the mind of Paley that it was of a decidedly prosaic or secular cast—although we should be at a loss to find out what is termed the poetry of his character, and doubt in fact whether any of the elements of poetry were there—although never to be found in the walk of sentiment or of metaphysics, or indeed in any high transcendental walk whatever, whether of the reason or of the fancy—yet to him there most unquestionably belonged a very high order of faculties. His most original work is the *Horæ Paulinæ*, yet even there he discovers more of the observational than the inventive; for after all, it was but a new track of observation which he opened up, and not a new species of argument which he devised that might immortalize its author, like the discovery of a before unknown calculus in the mathematics. All the mental exercises of Paley lie within the limits of sense and of experience—nor would one ever think of awarding to him the meed of genius. Yet in the whole staple and substance of his thoughts there was something better than genius—the homebred product of a hale and well-conditioned intellect, that dealt in the *ipsa corpora* of truth, and studied use and not ornament in the drapery wherewith he invested it. We admit that he had neither the organ of high poetry nor of high metaphysics—and perhaps would have recoiled from both as from some unmeaning mysticism of which nothing could be made. Yet he had most efficient organs notwithstanding—and the Volumes which he has given to the world, plain, perspicuous and powerful, as was the habitude of his own understanding—fraught throughout with meaning, and lighted up not in the gorgeous coloring of fancy but in the clearness of truth's own element—these Volumes form one of the most precious contributions which, for the last half century, have been added to the theological literature of our land.

It has been said that there is nothing more uncommon than common sense. It is the perfection of his common sense which makes Paley at once so rare and so valuable a specimen of our nature. The characteristics of his mind make up a most interesting variety, and constitute him into what may be termed a literary phenomenon. One likes to behold the action and reaction of dissimilar minds—and therefore it were curious to have ascertained how he would have stood affected by the perusal of a volume of Kant, or by a volume of lake poetry. We figure that he would have liked Franklin; and that, coming down to our day, the strength of Cobbett would have had in it a redeeming quality to make even his coarseness palatable. He would have abhorred all German sentimentalism—and of the *a priori* argument of Clarke, he would have wanted the perception chiefly because he wanted patience for it. His appetite for truth and sense would make him intolerant of all which did not engage the discerning faculties of his soul—and from the sheer force and promptitude of his decided judgment, he would throw off *instantly* all that he felt to be uncongenial to it. The general solidity of his mind posted him as if by gravitation on the *terra firma*

of experience, and restrained his flight into any region of transcendental speculation. Yet Coleridge makes obeisance to him—and differently moulded as these men were, this testimony from the distinguished metaphysician and poet does honor to both.' Vol. I. pp. 274—277.

We now enter on a topic of proof which forms the chief subject of the volumes before us,—proofs for the being and character of God derived from the human mind,—from its internal constitution, and the adaptations to it which exist in external nature.

The main facts in the constitution of the human mind, which are selected as the basis of argument, are three:—the supremacy of conscience, the pleasure of virtuous and misery of vicious affections, and the power and operation of habit: and in respect to what is external to the mind, the relations between an individual mind and other minds around it, or society, and between the mind and the material world. The argument from these sources is summed up by the author in showing the capacities of the world to render a virtuous species happy.

It is but an act of justice to remark, that in this most comprehensive part of the work before us, the author has chiefly transcribed his Bridgewater Treatise; and that what is original lies mainly in two chapters which follow, in which, in order to take a more comprehensive survey of the bearing of the argument, and to relieve it from the embarrassments arising to it from the existence of moral evil, he treats on man's limited knowledge of divine things, and on the use of hypotheses in theology.

It is not our intention to follow the author, step by step, in his progress through this vast field of inquiry. We will rather notice the defects which pervade his general argument, which, if they do not destroy, impair its force; and then attempt to exhibit what we deem a true estimate of the evidence arising from the proofs in question.

The author here, it will be seen, enters as an inquirer and reasoner into that very field which we have attempted to explore, not merely as it is seen in the comparative darkness of nature, but as lighted up with the broad blaze of revelation;—the constitution of that moral system which comprises man and the means that bear on his well-being, and which revelation ascertains to extend, in its essentials, beyond man to a universe. In his inquiry he is brought at last to the same conclusion as we have been,—that the design of God, as to the final results, is vindicated only by the hypothesis of an *optimism*, not to which

sin ministers as a necessary means, but to which it attaches as a result incident to the system,—a result unavoidable to the adoption of the best means to attain the highest possible good.

The faults into which, in our view, Chalmers has fallen, in the management of the argument, are the following :

1. The neglect to solve at the outset, or at any stage of his inquiries, the question, either in its metaphysical or ethical bearing, What is virtue? The phraseology adopted as the title, and employed throughout the contents of the chapter on the pleasure of virtuous and misery of vicious affections, would seem to comprise virtue and vice, metaphysically, in various specific affections, themselves inherent in the constitution. The exposition he gives of the specific affections, that they crave their specific objects, and that all outward action is adopted in order to gratify their specific cravings, seems to show, that such is his conclusion. How then is the author consistent in the illustration of a vicious affection, which he gives in this chapter, that it is anger resenting an injury, with what he elsewhere says of the affection of anger in the relations of an individual to society,—that it is an affection implanted in the constitution for good,—for the defense of the individual, and for his commanding the respect of society? This difference of representation would make the same specific affection to be employed in virtue and vice ; and this, we should suppose, was the real truth, though in contradiction to the only professed exposition which he has given.

He was more careful in his Bridgewater Treatise to ascertain and fix in the various mental phenomena the precise limitations to be assigned to virtue and vice,—that it lies not in the inherent affections which co-exist, in the various desires springing from them which may co-exist, but in the one volition, that is at any time appended to them. Thus he says: "The point of deepest interest is that step of the process, at which the character of right or wrong comes to be applicable. It is not at that point, when the appetites or affections of our nature solicit from the will a particular movement ; neither is it at that point, when either a rational self-love or a sense of duty remonstrates against it. It is not at that point, when the consent of the will is pleaded for, on the one side or other—but all-important to be borne in mind, it is at that point when the consent is given."

Again, the inquiry—What is virtue? in its ethical aspect, is professedly dismissed by the author as unnecessary,—since he reiterates the assertion, that he inquires not respecting ethics in the abstract, but respecting the constitution of man. But grant-



ing it was not incumbent on him to produce a system of ethics, does not the very object for which he makes his observations require, that some essential quality of virtue be settled, and carried with him as the principle or test by which to try the soundness of his conclusions?

Is not the way we have now stated the proper one in which to conduct observations that are made with the only intent to ascertain whether there is any thing in the human mind, that testifies in favor of virtue, and against sin? How can he, as an observer, know whether that which conscience demands is a virtue, or that which it forbids is a sin, if the meaning of the terms themselves is not settled? Or if he knows not what is virtue or what is sin, in respect to an affection, how can he ascertain by observation, whether a given affection is virtuous or sinful, or whether pleasure attendant on a given affection, is attendant on it as virtuous or as vicious? It is as if one, looking into a spring with the professed object of discovering whether there were platina in it, should say, it is no concern of mine now to know what are the properties of platina, whether black or white, specifically lighter or heavier than water, but to search into the contents of the spring.

Not that we call for a labored and philosophical discussion of the nature of virtue, but that while on the field of observation for such an object as his, it seems necessary to separate that in the system which is essential to the possibility of virtue from that which is adapted to promote virtue, before he can discover any indication of the design of God in the bearings of the system on virtue. Now to us it appears, that, in order to constitute the possibility of virtue or its opposite, something of good or evil in result to the system must be made to depend on a given mode of action or its opposite, and that the individual must be so far intelligent and voluntary, as to be capable of apprehending to some extent the necessary result, and therefore of consenting to it or willing it in acting. With this principle settled, we are prepared the more clearly to see and appreciate the particular proofs alledged as the indications of design on the part of God. Conscience now appears as an internal law in the individual, enforcing, by its commands, its promises and threatenings, before action, that kind of action which the understanding perceives to be necessary to the welfare of others; and the susceptibility to the contraction of confirmed habit in action is another law which, while it enhances the influence the individual may have in his actions over the welfare of others by assisting them to the contraction of habits of virtue or

vice, bears along with it the power to confirm the individual in his chosen course, and place him, if immortal, under the eternal rewards or punishments, the endless smiles or frowns of conscience. In other words, the tendency of the constitution is seen, in its presenting to man as an intelligent and voluntary being, a preponderance of motive on the side of virtue,—in bearing within itself the essential elements of a moral government.

2. The only other general fault which we notice is, that the author rests his conclusion respecting the moral character of God, too exclusively, on the indications of the specific attribute of righteousness, and that for its own sake, without reference to its subservience to the cause of benevolence. We can appreciate well the opposition of the author to that system of theism which merges the moral character of the Creator into the specific trait of kindness and indulgent bounty towards sentient beings, and which enthrones not God as a sovereign over his intelligent creation, guarding and protecting their interests and that virtue on which their welfare depends, by the authority and rigor of his justice. Nor do we hesitate to say that the facts which he gathers from the moral world and presents in favor of the righteousness of the Ruler are in themselves rich and deeply impressive. All we would intimate is, that we would change, somewhat, the shape of the argument. Truth, we think, requires us to say, that the foundations of righteousness are laid deep in the necessities of the kingdom itself, as it is constituted; or that the welfare and happiness of a kingdom of beings, who themselves are capable of designing the good or the injury of their fellows, cannot possibly be consulted except by the means of a righteous government. When righteousness is shown to be demanded by the welfare of the system, then are we on ground to show, from its manifestations, that the Creator set up the system for a good end. If the view is confined to righteousness itself for its own sake, then what will be the conclusion from the existing state of the system, when all the capacities of the world to make a virtuous species happy seem turning into executioners of wrath on a revolted race? If righteousness is separated from its necessary and inseparable relation to the general good, and when thus separated is made the only end of the creation, then what is the evidence from the facts presented, that the Creator contemplated any other result in the issue than the entire prostration and ruin of the whole system, by the execution of punitive justice? Then, where exists the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator in the contrivance and efficient production of a system all whose

issues are ruinous? To us it appears, that the specific attributes of bounty, truth, justice, mercy, must be viewed in their inseparable relation to the general good in the moral system, in order even to sustain their own character; or that the generic perfection of benevolence must be shewn to preside over the will of the Creator in establishing the system, before we come to any sound conclusion as to his moral character. We ask for the evidence from nature, for the grand central truth which the scriptures proclaim, that God is love.

Now taking the principles which have been presented in the above criticisms on the author,—that virtue can be predicated only of intelligent and voluntary beings, and that moral perfection in God implies a benevolence which chooses the highest attainable good, we are prepared briefly to exhibit an estimate of the evidence furnished, independently of revelation, by a view of the constitution of the mind and its external relations, for the moral excellence of God.

Without inquiring, particularly, for the proof of the being of God contained in the mental economy of the world, we will now take it for granted, that there is proof enough within that economy and external to it, to show that it proceeded from the contriving mind and efficient will of God; and our inquiry is simply, What is the evidence to be gathered from a survey of the economy respecting the character of God?

1. The very existence of the system shows that the Creator entertained a design in regard to the result, either benevolent or the opposite. For, consisting of beings who are capable not only of happiness and misery, but of the virtue and vice which occasion happiness or misery to themselves and others, the Creator who contrived the system by his infinite intelligence must have seen the end and issue of it, in itself or in its relation to other systems, from the beginning; and in exerting his efficient will in calling it into existence and ordaining its issues, must have been moved by consideration of the good or evil to be reached in the end. The only possible issues of the system are good or evil. These constitute the only possible objective motives to the mind of God for calling it into being, and consequently he must have been moved to the work by inherent benevolence or its opposite. The specific perfections of truth and justice, though they might have all been present in the counsel of creation, would not, singly, have turned the scale.

2. If we now survey the particular parts of the system in their relations, as Dr. Chalmers has done, we shall find the following distinct steps of evidence:

First, The original ordinations of the system favor only virtue and happiness. If we survey the constitution of man in distinction from his conduct in good or evil, or the effects to be traced directly to that conduct; if we survey his constitution, we shall find nothing there that is not adapted to some good end; nothing in the various specific affections that are fitted to impel him as an intelligent and voluntary being to action, which cannot be appropriately employed for that which is good to the individual or others. At the same time, conscience imperatively claims with the authority of law, that all be conducted aright, to their appropriate end. Taking these facts, or laws if you will, and other original laws, such as the pleasure attending on the very indulgence of the benevolent affections, and misery of the contrary, and the power of repeated action to confirm a habit of thought and feeling; and is not the constitution in all its parts fitted to promote the ends of virtue and happiness in man? Here then we have presumptive evidence, that the Creator wills the virtue and happiness of men in their creation. But if to this it is objected, that the means ordained for the virtue and happiness of men have not been followed with success, or that men have revolted from the law of conscience, then we remark:

Secondly, That the evil springs from the perversion on the part of man, of original ordinations for his well-being. The occasions or temptations to such perversion, may arise out of the inherent defect and weakness of man as a creature, and some external cause incidental to the system of means in operation; and in yielding to such temptations, man perverts the laws of his being and contravenes the law of conscience. As says our author: "When what is obviously the regulating power [the regulator in the watch, or conscience in man] has quitted its hold, whether of the material or the spiritual mechanism, we distinctly recognize of each, that it is not in its natural state but in a state of disorder, arising in the one case from the wear of the materials or from some shake that the machinery has received, arising in the other case either from some incidental disturbance, or from some inherent frailty and defect that attaches to the creature."

There is no mystery in the origin of evil, if we look simply at the facts. For sin is originating in ourselves and others around us every day. Temptation solicits: we yield. Objects around us, which heaven ordained as good gifts, and our natures that are also good gifts, furnish occasion to lust, and when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin. Or if it is urged, that the

sin now universally discovered in the race, points to a higher and more remote source: then we may avail ourselves of the scriptures as a history of man, and from the fact ascertained of Adam, the progenitor of the whole race, that he sinned, ascribe some remote cause of the success of temptation in the world, to the effect, that the inletting of sin has had, through the general law of derivation from parentage, on the original nature of all, to render it more susceptible to the power of temptation. But it is clear, that the sin originates not in the direct tendency of the original laws of nature themselves. Chalmers observes: "It is from the native and proper tendency of aught which is made, that we conclude as to the mind and disposition of the maker; and not from the actual effect, when that tendency has been rendered abortive, by the extrinsic operation of some disturbing force on an else goodly and well-going mechanism." We are, therefore, still warranted to hold to the indications of goodness and righteousness in the Creator's ordinations for man, notwithstanding the actual perversions of them by man. But if it is objected, that the perversion may amount to an evil so great, and to such a defeat of all good on the part of mankind, as, for aught that appears from the light of nature to the contrary, to render the whole plan of God abortive in its issues, and irreconcilable with goodness and perfection, then we remark:

Thirdly, The indications which exist in the system, that the original ordinations are made still to subserve the purpose of man's welfare, give ground of hope, that there are still some good issues in reserve for man. Man is spared, though he sins. He is treated with patient forbearance. Conscience lifts up still its remonstrances against continuance in sin, and has not fallen to the one and sole office of inflicting the scorpion stings of remorse. Compassion too has waked up to her office in the breast of man, and has its exercise in alleviating the evils come on the world by sin. These are indications of mercy. They are such as have excited earnest expectation among the heathen in every age, and have placed them in the posture, as Paul has represented them, of watching these harbingers, and waiting earnestly for the arrival, of that very revelation of adopting mercy which is made in the word of God. There seems an attestation in nature, even among the heathen, that there is forgiveness with God. Nor has any one in his darkness been warranted at any age to say of the world, that there are not, in some part of it, known ordinations of recovering grace, and a method of pardon published from heaven to the guilty. But if it is said, that notwithstanding the indications of recovering grace, there

is still the progress of ruin going forward and the issue remains uncertain, then we remark :

Fourthly, That all the presumptions arising from righteousness, benevolence and mercy in the ordinations of God, still give ground for the faith, that he is aiming, in the wide plan of his moral kingdom, at the highest good attainable. We cannot indeed take any post of observation whence we can descry the issues of the moral kingdom of God, for it may embrace a universe of beings beyond this world, and extend to eternity. Even in this world the generations to come may yet be visited with such abundant grace, in such countless myriads, through such periods of time, as to make the ages of preparation for it sink and fade away. But our ignorance is not to shake our confidence in the principles we know, or to hinder the conclusions we derive from them for the character of God as aiming, in the methods of bounty, righteousness, and love, at the highest good attainable.

We conclude, therefore, that, of the two hypotheses which have been started, as possible, for vindicating the goodness of God in the permission of sin,—one, that it is the necessary means of the greatest good ; the other, that it is the incidental result of means adopted to secure the highest good—all the facts in the case go against the former, and favor the probability of the latter, as being the truth ; and that, notwithstanding the storm and tempest which is beating here upon this part of the universal kingdom of God, the result in the great harvest will show, that the Being who is enthroned in the might and riches of the universe is garnering up into his kingdom the precious and everlasting products of a wisdom, power, and love, which are boundless, and which were originally combined in counsel, to devise and execute a plan for the highest good.

We had intended, in conclusion, to show the importance of a thorough study of Natural Theology to the ministers of the gospel ; but shall content ourselves with presenting a single extract from the concluding chapter of the work before us on the defects and uses of Natural Theology : only remarking first, in conclusion of our notice of the author, that his peculiar power and impassioned eloquence are pre-eminent throughout the work :

‘It is surely of importance to know that the process of Christianization has a clear outset in the moral and rational principles of our nature—and that there is a natural theology among the people which may serve as a harbinger for the higher lessons of the gospel. It is by this natural theology of theirs that the first steps of the process are made good—that a hearing is gained, and attention is drawn to the verisimili-

tudes of the Christian Revelation. It is by the evidence of the gospel itself that these verisimilitudes brighten into verities. It is natural theology which accomplishes the first—it is the proper evidence of Christianity which accomplishes the second part of the process. But mainly it is the internal evidence. The great majority of our people have no access to the other. They are strangers to all that scholarship and criticism and historical investigation, which serve to illustrate the outward credentials of the book. But they need be no strangers to the contents of the book—and we will not anticipate how it is that they discern the signatures of a divinity there—or how from the simple apparatus of a bible and a conscience, that light is struck out which guides the peasant safely to Heaven. It is saying much for the importance of natural theology that it does contribute to a result so glorious—nor let us longer speak of nature's light as if it had gone into utter extinction—when in fact the two great instrumental causes for the Christianity of all our cottages, are the light of nature and the self-evidencing power of the bible.' Vol. II. pp. 386, 387.

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ART. IX.—THE TROUBLES IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

*The Catastrophe of the Presbyterian Church, in 1837, including a full View of the recent Theological Controversies in New England ;* by ZEBULON CROCKER, Delegate from the General Association of Connecticut to the General Assembly of 1837. pp. 300. 12mo. New Haven : B. & W. Noyes. 1838.

At the late hour at which this book has come into our hands, it is impossible for us to give so full an account of it as we might otherwise attempt. The author, having been an eye and ear witness of the strange proceedings in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, last May,—proceedings which particularly affected the relations of the General Assembly with the body which he represented,—felt himself bound to give some attention to the history of the “plan of union,” in its origin, in its operation, and in its abrogation, and in some authentic way to communicate the leading facts of this history to the public. As he pursued the last branch of the subject, he found himself necessarily drawn into the history of those recent theological discussions in New England, which have resulted in bringing a small junto of Congregational ministers into a

close alliance with those men in the Presbyterian church, who taking advantage of an accidental majority in the General Assembly, have violently, and in contempt not only of the spirit, but of all the forms of justice, expelled from the communion of that body about six hundred churches, whose only crime, in truth, was their New England origin, and their New England sympathies.

The outline of the work may be sketched as follows:—The author, having described the plan of union, its design, the nature of the compact, and the benefits which it has conferred upon a large portion of the United States, examines the ostensible reasons for its abrogation as set forth in the abrogating resolution, and comes to the conclusion that the true reasons for the abrogation must be found, not upon the face of the resolution, but in the various causes which have lately operated to change the views and party connections of certain portions of the Presbyterian church. He goes back to the origin of the Presbyterian organization in this country, and shows that from the first the organization has included discordant elements, and that the principle of the plan of union, the principle of meeting Congregationalists half-way, has been the characteristic spirit of the American Presbyterian church from the beginning, resisted however with various success by the “old side” party of a hundred years ago, and the “old school” party of the present time. The Presbyterian church has ever drawn its best growth and prosperity from New England, and yet it has ever included a party opposed to New England. Within a few years past, various causes have conspired to increase the strength of that party, and to give new violence to its prejudices. These causes are,—first, the recent agitations in different parts of the country against slavery, which have the two-fold effect of awakening strong jealousy in the South against New England, the old home of freedom, and of recommending to the confidence of the South those who in their conservative zeal for whatsoever things are old, are not so scrupulous as they might be about whatsoever things are just, pure, lovely, and of good report;—secondly, the fear of encroachment upon the supposed prerogatives of “the church in her distinctive character,” which inspires not a few with stronger dislike of New England, because New England men befriend the Home Missionary Society;—thirdly, the judicial proceedings in various quarters, which, originating in a real difference of theological views, have had the effect of reviving the rancor of old prejudices;—and, fourthly, the late theological controversies of New England, which have been



used as a means of spreading panic wherever diligent misrepresentation had any chance of success.

Mr. Crocker occupies only a few pages with the consideration of the first and second of these causes. The third is considered more at length; and upon the fourth, as might reasonably be expected, the history goes into details. It is this part of the work which will probably be found most interesting to the majority of readers, and most useful. The history of the "New Haven controversy," from Professor Fitch's "Two Discourses on the nature of Sin," in the year 1826, down to President Tyler's Letters to Dr. Witherspoon in 1837,—is given with as much minuteness as is consistent with a due regard for the patience of the reader. No man of ordinary candor and intelligence, who has been imposed upon by the misrepresentations so studiously propagated, respecting the "New Haven Theology," can read this volume, and not be, in some measure at least, disabused.

We have read the work, hastily indeed, but not without care; and we do not hesitate to speak confidently of its accuracy, not only because we know the author to be an accurate man, but also because we have some familiarity with the matters in question. The author has defined very carefully the propositions which have been successively debated during the progress of the controversy, and he has shown as minutely as was consistent with the historical nature of the work, the line of argument by which the propositions have been assaulted or defended.

Not only is it important for ministers and theologians to understand something of the history and merits of "the New Haven controversy," but in many places it is becoming necessary for the whole body of the church to have the means of knowing what has been said, and what has not been said, at New Haven, on the one hand, and by Doctors Tyler and Woods, and their associates, on the other hand. For this reason the book before us is particularly suited to the times. Any man who chooses may now see the truth, in relation to the New Haven controversy, clearly and fairly stated, without traveling through a long series of dusty pamphlets, and year after year of monthly and quarterly periodicals.

For a specimen of the work, we will give a few passages from some of the last pages:

'The letters [Dr. Tyler's] are also calculated to give a false impression, in respect to the whole system of the New Haven divines. Ministers five hundred or a thousand miles distant, on reading them, would very naturally conclude, that Dr. Taylor and his friends are Arminians,

Pelagians, and Unitarians. The book begins with insinuations of this kind, which are rendered plausible by numerous quotations from the letters of theological partizans. I must proceed, says Dr. Tyler, to answer your inquiries respecting "the origin and progress of Arminian views in New England." I suppose you refer to the New Haven speculations. He says not a word to correct the false impression which the language of his correspondent is calculated to produce, but proceeds as though the inquiry was properly made. To keep up the impression, he quotes a passage from the late Dr. Porter of Andover, and introduces a doggerel rhyme, the purport of which is, that Dr. Taylor was reviving Arminianism. In another place, he quotes from Dr. Fisk, of the Wesleyan University, to show that he claims an agreement with the New Haven divines, and on the authority of Dr. Griffin, represents his claim as just. He also gives extracts from the writings of Noah Worcester, a Unitarian clergyman of Massachusetts, in which he approves of certain doctrines maintained by them, viz. "that sin is a voluntary transgression of a known law, that there is no such thing as a sinful nature antecedent to sinful volition, or moral action," and that sin may be incidental to the best moral system. Many other quotations might be noticed, apparently designed to impress the reader with the belief, that Dr. Taylor and his friends have exchanged Calvinism, for one or another system of error. Now was Dr. Tyler so ignorant of the quality of his own writings, that he was not aware what would be their effect; or did he intend to produce such impressions? If the latter supposition is true, why did he not come out with a bold and manly front in Connecticut, put his insinuations into the shape of charges, and meet Dr. Taylor face to face upon them, or at least make them under the signature of his own name? Such charges could not be substantiated, according to Dr. Tyler's own confession. See page 181.

The letters are calculated to mislead, in respect to the difference of sentiment between the New Haven divines and their brethren, both of a former period and the present day. Several letters are occupied in shewing the difference of opinion between them and other writers in respect to the government of God over the universe; in regard to original sin and native depravity; in regard to regeneration, the influence of self-love, the mode of the Spirit's operations, and the doctrine of election. On all these important subjects, such sentiments are attributed to the New Haven divines, as they utterly discard, and such as the passages adduced as proof, by no means justify. Take, for example, the doctrine of election. Dr. Tyler would make it appear, that they hold the Arminian doctrine on this subject, viz. that God eternally purposed to save those, who he foresaw would cease to resist his grace and submit to his authority, but did not purpose at all to make them holy. This, Dr. Taylor has expressly disclaimed; and the quotations from the review of Fisk on predestination and election, if they furnish any plausible support of the position, convey a different meaning detached, from what they do in their connection in the original article. The self-love also, which they regard as the primary cause of all moral action, is a very different thing from the selfishness so pointedly condemned under

the name of selflove, by the writers whom Dr. Tyler quotes. Indeed, among the many passages which he has extracted from the writings of the standard divines of New England, to show a difference of sentiments on the doctrines in question, there is hardly one to which the New Haven divines would not cheerfully subscribe.

Another thing ought to be noticed in estimating this work of Dr. Tyler's. Extracts are made from the private letters of some New England ministers, as though they expressed the present views and feelings of the writers; whereas these have materially changed within the six or seven years since the letters were written. Some have even apologized for the expressions which they had used in free correspondence, under a particular aspect of things, and which, without their consent, were published to the world.

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Such, in their general character, are believed to be the Letters on "New Haven Theology," written by Dr. Tyler, President of the Theological Institute of Connecticut. No other president or professor of a theological institution, it is presumed, ever has written, or under similar circumstances, ever will write another just such book. And why did Dr. Tyler write these letters to Dr. Witherspoon? Why did he attempt to write a history of events in which he was a principal actor? Was it because a person engaged for years in spirited if not prejudiced discussion, would be likely to be an impartial historian? And if he undertook to write at all, why did he not subscribe his own name and publish them in Connecticut? Perhaps it will be said, the letters were written at the request of Dr. Witherspoon. But the inquiry then arises, Why did Dr. Tyler undertake to write a series of eighteen letters, when he admits that his correspondent probably expected but one? And why should they be published in the Southern Christian Herald, and copied into all the Old School Presbyterian papers, just previous to the meeting of the General Assembly of 1837? May not these questions be satisfactorily solved, on the supposition of an alliance of Old School leaders in Connecticut and the Presbyterian church, on the ground, that "if one fails the other fails, and if one prospers the other prospers?" For whatever purpose they were written, there can be no doubt that they exerted a considerable influence in causing the violent proceedings of the Assembly, which immediately followed their publication. They assisted the members of the Philadelphia Convention to make out so accurate a list of errors, as to need, perhaps, no correction from their friends in New England. They emboldened the Assembly to adopt measures which could never have been carried, but for their belief in the existence of wide-spread and prevailing heresy in the Congregational churches. The impartial historian of future days, therefore, will award to Dr. Tyler the reputation of having done something to abrogate the Plan of Union, and occasion the catastrophe of the Presbyterian church.

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The preceding account of the late theological controversy in New England shows, that the two leading points of inquiry have been, *first*,

what is the nature of sin; and *secondly*, for what reasons has it been permitted? In regard to the first point, the New Haven divines have uniformly maintained, that all sin consists in voluntary action, and that men are guilty and deserving of punishment, only as transgressors of the known law. Dr. Harvey undertook to controvert this position, and at first maintained that there is in mankind, back of all moral action, a nature which is the cause of all actual transgression, and is itself sinful. He afterwards explained himself to mean, that this sinful nature is the voluntary state of the mind in which man is born, and is itself a transgression of the divine law. Dr. Tyler at first maintained, that there is in man a native propensity to evil propagated from parent to child, like other natural propensities. He afterwards explained himself to mean, that "this propensity is not in the structure of the mind," and also to agree with Edwards, that mankind come into the world destitute of those superior principles with which Adam was created, and that this constitutes their propensity to sin. Dr. Spring maintained, that all sin consists in voluntary action, and that mankind are born into the world with moral dispositions which are sinful, and an essential part of the soul's existence. Dr. Woods maintained, that mankind are "born in a state of moral depravity leading to certain ruin; or that according to the common laws of descent, they are partakers of a corrupt nature, the offspring being like the parent." This statement compared with what he had written in former years, ought not perhaps to be understood as asserting any thing contrary to the doctrine, "that all sin consists in voluntary action, and is a transgression of known law." This doctrine, it is believed, the great body of New England divines at the present day fully adopt. So did Edwards and the old Calvinists. All who have ever held *literally*, "that in Adam's fall we sinned all," have maintained, in the language of the Westminster divines, "that we sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression;" that is, *we* transgressed *in his act* the divine command, and are *guilty* of the sin of eating the forbidden fruit. The doctrine of the New Haven divines on this subject is denied only by three classes of theologians: those who hold the doctrine of a physically depraved nature, which is itself sinful; those who adopt that view of imputation, which regards mankind as truly and properly sinners by the sin of Adam, without personal transgression; and those who maintain, that men are born into the world with a voluntary state of mind, which, without any acts of choice or preference in view of a known rule of duty, involves them in guilt and just condemnation. Out of the discussions on the nature of sin, sprung several subordinate inquiries.

1. What is the character of infants? The old divines said, they are sinners in Adam, and as soon as they are capable of acting morally, they transgress the law of God, and become *actual* sinners. The believers in physical depravity say, they are born into the world with constitutional propensities intrinsically sinful, and leading directly to the choice of forbidden objects; and that under the impulse of these sinful desires they crave sinful indulgence, in the same manner that they crave food and drink. Dr. Spring and others say, they are created with

moral qualities no less than with natural faculties, and are actual transgressors from the instant of birth. The New Haven divines say, they are born with such a nature, that they sin as soon as they are capable of knowing right and wrong, which is at a very early period of life, and if not at its commencement, the time intervening between birth and moral agency is so short, as to claim no special notice; in other words, they sin as soon as they can sin, and it is not important to know the precise moment of their first sinful act. But how can infants be saved, it was asked, if they are not born into the world sinners? By the redemption of Jesus Christ, it was answered. If they die before actual transgression, they may, through the grace of God in Christ Jesus, be saved from the consequences of belonging to a fallen race, and be made holy. Again it was asked, why do they die, if they are not sinners from their birth? Why do they die before they are born, it was asked in reply; and why do animals die? Death does not in all cases prove sin. Infants *may* die, because they belong to a race of beings who, in consequence of Adam's sin, are mortal.

2. Another question growing out of the discussion on the nature of sin, was, if all sin consists in man's own act, what ground of certainty is there, that all mankind will become sinners? To this it was replied: Adam was created a moral agent, and sinned through temptation presented to his natural appetites; and man, with the same powers and faculties, may do the same, even though there were no other occasion. But though the human soul has the same powers and faculties *in kind*, as Adam had in a state of innocency, yet, in consequence of his fall, the inferior principles of our nature are much more susceptible to excitement from inferior objects, than in him; and this, as well as a constitutional propensity to sin for its own sake, may furnish the ground of certainty, that the first moral act of every individual of our race will be sinful. Indeed it is an intuitive truth, that the cause of *the first sin* in the human mind cannot itself be *sin*, nor possess any moral quality whatever.

3. Another question arising from the discussion of the nature of sin, was, what is the nature of regeneration? Dr. Taylor and the New Haven divines said, that regeneration, when the term is used in its most restricted sense, to denote the change in man, is a moral act, consisting in a transfer of the supreme affections from the world to God. In a more general sense, it includes the intellectual perception and comparison of the two objects of preference, God and the world, which are necessary to the choice of God as the portion of the soul. The sinner uses the means of regeneration only in the indivisible moment, while he so compares and estimates the two objects, that his supreme affections are given to God. In doing this, the active love of the world is suspended, previous, in the order of time, to the act which in the most restricted sense constitutes regeneration. This change in man is wrought in him as a moral being, by the agency of the Holy Spirit operating on his mind.

No, says Dr. Tyler. This view of the subject is incorrect. Sinners never use the means of regeneration. The active love of the world is

never suspended till the heart is changed. If it were, the sinner would never be in a state of neutrality. If this is a true account of the subject, regeneration is a progressive change,—is man's own work; and the Holy Spirit only applies the truth to the mind by way of moral suasion. Say the believers in physical depravity, God performs an act of creation in renewing the sinner, as much as when he brought the soul into existence. To consider the change in regeneration an act of the sinner, the mere choice of his mind, is to deny the necessity of the Spirit's operations, and is heretical. There must be an act of divine efficiency, in which God by his physical omnipotence changes the nature and constitution of the soul.

Thus the whole debate respecting the nature of sin, might be resolved into the question, What is a moral agent? Is he a being capable of thinking, feeling, and choosing? Is he endued with such faculties, that he is capable of knowing right and wrong, and choosing between them, that is, of making either a right or wrong choice? Do all men, whether sinful or holy, as moral agents, have the same nature in kind, that is, are they created with the same natural faculties, irrespective of the manner in which they afterwards use them? Is it the exerting of these faculties in wrong acts of choice or preference, with the knowledge that they are wrong, and with the power to do otherwise, that constitutes a moral agent a sinner? Is it the beginning to use these faculties aright, that constitutes his turning to God; in other words, is it the preferring of God to the world, the loving of him supremely, with the faculties which he has given, that constitutes the change in regeneration? and has a moral agent power in all circumstances, and under all influences, to choose right or wrong? Let these questions be answered in the affirmative, and let this view of moral agency be carried out into all its relations to the doctrines of the gospel; and physical depravity, and physical regeneration, and the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to his posterity, their acting in his act, and the modern dogma of created voluntary transgression in the state of the will with which mankind are born, can no longer have place among the doctrines of the church; much less, be set up as tests of orthodoxy.

The *second* point of inquiry in the late theological controversy was, for what reason was sin permitted?

That sin is the necessary means of the greatest good, and that God prefers it on the whole to holiness in its stead, says Dr. Taylor, are groundless assumptions. Dr. Woods and others say, that they do not pretend to tell the reasons why God decreed sin; yet they argue to prove that the present system is the best conceivable, and that the degree of sin that exists, is preferred by God as a means of the greatest good.

To furnish a resting place to the mind, and to meet the objections of the infidel, Dr. Taylor suggested the theory, that the reason of the divine permission of sin *may be*, that it is incidental, in respect to divine prevention, to the best system possible to God, and that he purposes it, not in preference to holiness in its stead, but in preference to the non-exist-

ence of the best system. Dr. Fitch advocated this view of the subject in an article in the *Christian Spectator*, in which he maintained, that the evils that exist in the moral universe may arise from the nature of the moral universe itself; and he adduced the probabilities in favor of such a supposition.\* Such a theory, said their opponents, limits the power of God. It makes him desirous of preventing sin, but unable to prevent it. God has complete control over every creature, and can keep all his subjects from sinning, and bring all sinners to repentance. They go on to charge the New Haven divines as teaching for truth, what they only suggested as a probable solution of a difficulty, and deduce many alarming consequences from their theory.

Out of this inquiry respecting the reasons of the permission of sin, sprung others.

1. One was, the same as that which lay at the foundation of the inquiry respecting the nature of sin, viz. What is the nature of a moral agent? He is one, say the New Haven divines, who has in all possible circumstances the power of choice. This definition, some thought, denied the power of God to control moral agents, overthrew the doctrine of irresistible grace, and made man independent of his Maker. Others said it was the old Arminian doctrine revived, of a self-determining power of the will.

2. Another question agitated was, in what manner does God govern a moral universe? Not by physical omnipotence, say the New Haven divines, but by an influence consistent with moral agency, leaving the mind free to act otherwise. This their opponents thought was the doctrine of moral suasion, and left it uncertain to the divine mind, whether he could keep any in holiness, or secure the perseverance of the saints.

3. Another inquiry was, Is not God disappointed and unhappy in the results of his moral universe? Some said, He cannot do all the good he would, and must therefore be unhappy. Dr. Tyler said, He cannot accomplish his decrees and do all his pleasure. The New Haven divines said, He foresaw and purposed all things from eternity, and is not disappointed in the result, but infinitely blessed in his infinite beneficence; whilst he is indeed "grieved" with the transgression of his law, and desires that all sinners should come to repentance, rather than continue in sin. Thus the theory suggested as a possible mode of accounting for the permission of sin, was carried out in the discussion, through the principal doctrines of the gospel, in a manner to awaken great alarm lest the whole fabric of Calvinism should be subverted. Inconsistencies were charged on the New Haven divines. It was asserted that they had departed from the standard theological writers of New England; and when they attempted to show their agreement with them, in all the essential doctrines of the Calvinistic system, they were suspected of insincerity and accused of self-contradiction. They complained that they were misrepresented; but they were charged with unintelligibleness in their writings. They claimed that their opponents abandoned their original positions, and came to that ground on which there was a virtual

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\* Vol. iv. (Quarterly Series,) p. 614.

agreement; and they were charged with departing from their own ground, or with insincerity. Their doctrines were continually misstated; they were charged with errors which they solemnly disclaimed; they were branded with names of Arminian, Pelagian, and Unitarian, and ranked with those who had been foremost in opposition to "orthodoxy."

Under such circumstances, it is wonderful that the "New Haven speculations" have prevailed, in so short a time, to such an extent as to require for their suppression, a new theological institution in the State of Connecticut; the union of a party in New England with the Old School party in the Presbyterian church; and the revolutionary and violent proceedings of the majority of the General Assembly of 1837. Especially is it wonderful that such results should have taken place, from the discussion of the question, what is the nature of sin and why is it permitted, when all parties in the controversy are agreed, in all the important articles of the Calvinistic creed. Yet there can be no doubt, that even the measures of the memorable Assembly of 1837 owe their origin and result to the controversies in Connecticut, more than to any other single cause; and that they who formerly condemned Hopkinsianism, are now arranged in a party, which receives its chief countenance and sympathy in New England from Hopkinsians of the highest school; while they whose heresy is an object of alarm, agree much more nearly than their opponents, with the old Calvinists.\* These wonders must be accounted for, in part, on the ground of the misapprehensions which prevail in a portion of the Presbyterian church, respecting the doctrines of the New Haven school. The removal of misapprehensions has greatly promoted harmony and confidence in New England, and will no doubt one day do it in the Presbyterian church, whatever may be the issue of the present conflict.

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Let the Congregational churches of New England, from the experience of the past, learn not to give countenance to rumors of heresy, in regard to those who hold and teach the great doctrines on which their faith is founded. Though some in the ministry should charge their brethren with radical error, on the ground that their theories subvert the doctrines of grace; and should adduce arguments to prove that "certain speculations," if carried out into their legitimate consequences, would remove the ancient landmarks; let them not indulge suspicion, till they see some evidence of actual defection from the faith. Let them endeavor to discriminate between the real sentiments of the accused, and the interpretation and inferences of those who are enlisted in con-

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\* So far as "New Haven Theology" differs from the New England Theology, which Presbyterians used to call Hopkinsianism, it approaches towards old Calvinism. Hopkinsian disinterestedness,—God's efficiency in the production of sin,—concreated *actual* sin,—sin the necessary means,—on all these points the New Haven divines depart from Hopkins towards Calvin and the Westminster divines. The Hopkinsians say that infants suffer and die because of their own personal sin; New Haven and Princeton agree in saying that it is in consequence of Adam's sin.



troversy. If "the speculations" in question are too abstruse to be understood by them, though the doctrines are familiar which it is claimed they subvert; let them feel safe in the assurance, that heresy always relates to a denial of doctrines, and not to the mere philosophical theories which are adopted as modes of explanation.

Finally, let those who are young in the ministry, lay it down as a principle to be adhered to during their whole life, that they will receive truth from whatever source it may be derived, and however much at variance with pre-conceived opinions. Let them plant their feet upon that sure foundation of the prophets and apostles, the word of God, and attach no undue importance to creeds, and confessions, and the commandments of men. Let them prove all things, hold fast that which is good, and contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; but let them not imagine that all who differ from them, in philosophical opinions and theories, are heretical, or laboring to bring a flood of error upon the churches. Then may charity, and brotherly love, and confidence, unite their hearts, and the kingdom of our Redeemer, through their instrumentality, be greatly advanced.' pp. 278—297.

#### MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*New Tribute to the Memory of James Brainerd Taylor.* New York, John S. Taylor. 1838.

THE sweet spirit of James Brainerd Taylor has shed its blessed unction on many a heart which has lingered over the memorials he has left of his devotion to God. A *New Tribute* cannot be inappropriate to one who was so much beloved; we are gratified therefore to receive any additional materials which may serve to aid us in forming our estimate of his character as a man and a Christian. The present volume is if any thing more interesting than the former volume of memoirs. Although it contains portions of the letters previously published, it also gives others which have no place in the former work. This tribute was originally prepared for surviving friends, and hence it is more unreserved in its communication of his filial and fraternal feelings, and this gives a new charm to the references to his history. His life was short, but it was one of continued usefulness, and every insight we gain into the heart and springs of action of such a man, is a rich addition to our means of self-cultivation and advancement in holiness. We recommend this book particularly to those persons who alledge, that New Haven Theology is destructive of experimental religion; for James B. Taylor was an attached student of the New Haven Seminary. There was something melancholy in the fact, that one who so greatly loved his home and friends at the fireside there, should die abroad, but kindness waited on his couch, to soothe his pain, and the hand of a brother was

there to close his eyes; while the tears of those whose hearts he had gained, and whom he taught how a Christian could die, bedewed his grave. His bereaved family could ask no more enduring or more honorable memorial for their beloved James, than has been prepared in this present volume. To them, and to all who knew him, with how many tender recollections will its perusal be fraught.—The fine paper edition of this work is a handsome, and with here and there an occasional error, a correct specimen of typography, which does honor to the publisher.

*History of the English Language and Literature, by Robert Chambers. To which is added, a History of American Contributions to the English Language and Literature. By Rev. Royal Robbins. Hartford. Edward Hopkins. 1837. 12mo. pp. 328.*

IN this volume may be found the most complete account ever published, of the numberless authors, both English and American, who have contributed to the rich and abundant stores of English literature. Almost every writer of note, who is distinguished in its annals, both earlier and later, is here named, and his works noticed, and peculiarities described. Many too of those who deserved a place, from the simple fact that they have written and published, are also here set before our view. We heartily commend it to the general reader, as furnishing the most complete history of English literature, in a condensed and accessible form, which can be found; and to the scholar, as a convenient manual, by which he can revive and make more distinct the recollections he has gathered from his miscellaneous reading, and supply any deficiencies that his earlier studies have left unfilled. Though prepared originally, as it would seem, for the young, and for those who possess little knowledge of the subject treated of, it is a most valuable book of reference for the literary and professional man.

As a dictionary or catalogue of writers, the work deserves high commendation; as a work of criticism, it is as good as such a book could reasonably be expected to be. Next to the ability to write a work of genius, stands the power justly to appreciate and describe such a work. No one can doubt this who is familiar with the criticisms of Coleridge upon Shakspeare, Wordsworth and other writers. To criticise a poet, one must be something of a poet in his temperament; to understand and unfold the merits of a mental philosopher, one must be familiar with inquiries into the nature of the human mind. An estimate of all the writers in the English or any other language, which should be just and adequate to their merits, ought to be prepared by almost as many different men as there are works to be criticised, and would occupy nearly as many volumes as have been composed in that language. The notices which are given in this volume, though distinguished by no attempt to be profound or powerful, are in general candid and liberal, and they may be relied upon as being in a good degree accurate and just.

The additions by the Rev. Mr. Robbins greatly increase the value of the work to the American reader, and form the best, if not the only,

complete view of American literature, which has ever been prepared. Such a history of the various authors who have written upon this side of the Atlantic, has been a great desideratum, and we are happy to see it so well supplied. Names may here find a place, which can assert no well grounded claim to such notice, but we are glad to see a strong light thrown upon the *terra incognita* of American authorship, even though it may call up not a few names, which had at once met with deserved neglect, or fallen back from the notice of the day into merited oblivion. The editor, for his care and faithfulness, deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the literature of their native land. His researches must have cost much labor and reading, and they are, as far as we can judge, marked by accuracy, and a love of truth. Their results are presented to us in Mr. Robbins' usual chaste and lucid style. It is interesting to behold the advance of our own authorship, from its fantastic and homely beginnings, to its present perfection, and its still brighter promises; to mark the obstacles with which it has contended, and the favoring impulses which it has received from strong minds of native power at home, and propitious incitements from abroad. We again commend the work to the attention of our readers, as one which will be interesting to all, and with which many of them cannot well dispense, without loss to themselves.

*Reports and other Documents relating to the State Lunatic Hospital, at Worcester, Mass.* Printed by order of the Senate. Boston, 1837. pp. 200. 8vo.

*Fifth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital, at Worcester, Mass., December, 1837.* Boston, 1838. pp. 71. 8vo.

WE have been much interested in the perusal of these works. They contain a great mass of well-arranged facts relative to lunatics, and afford a pleasing evidence of the excellence of christianity in providing for the necessities of the unhappy of every condition and grade. Hospitals, asylums, and institutions erected and maintained for the relief of human woe, the legitimate fruits of christian principles, are peculiar to the christian era, and to lands which are included within the pale of christendom. Dr. Woodward deserves great credit for the lucid reports he has given of the institution which is honored by his superintendence; and the candid manner in which he has drawn his deductions from the various catalogues of his patients as they are classified with respect to age, cause of disease, habits, &c. will commend his opinions to all who are unprejudiced. As christian spectators we were struck by a number of the facts developed in these statements, and would gladly make several extracts, but we must content ourselves with the following, which, together with the works themselves, we would especially urge upon our readers:

'The disparity of cases from various religious causes, of forty one cases, twenty six were males and fifteen females.

'There are one or two facts in this connection that deserve a passing remark. It is a very common observation by the unreflecting, that females become insane more frequently than men from religious causes, and this is often spoken reproachfully of religion. The facts here recorded shew a different result. Another fact is, that religious people are not more frequently afflicted with religious melancholy or religious phrenzy than the dissolute and licentious, the scoffers and revilers of christianity. Such has been my observation in my intercourse with the insane. It may be surprising to some that so large a number of cases are attributed to religious causes, but when we consider the diversity of modes by which these causes may affect the mind, we shall cease to be surprised. In one case the cause is high excitement, in another exaltation, in a third, fear of future punishment, in a fourth, fear of the displeasure of Deity, in a fifth, sense of guilt, &c.

'The genuine principles of christianity have no tendency to distract the mind; on the contrary, they are directly calculated to calm and allay the feelings when excited, and to encourage and give hope to the depressed and desponding. But the discordant views of mankind on this subject may have a very different tendency, and the mode adopted to impress the subject upon the attention is often most injudicious, and directly calculated to excite the passions, and carry them on beyond control of the reason and the judgment. Insanity from such a cause is not chargeable to religion itself.' Reports, pp. 160, 161.

'Religious worship has been introduced within the last few months, as one of the moral means of cure, and, so far as a judgment can be formed from so short a trial, much is to be hoped from the experiment. At all events, a fact has been established, which the most sanguine were scarcely disposed to admit in anticipation, namely, that out of one hundred and eighty patients, afflicted with every degree of derangement, from the fading illusions of the almost recovered convalescent, up to the phrenzy of the raging madman, one hundred and thirty five could be found, who could so far control themselves, as to attend, with propriety and apparent devotion, to the exercises of public worship, for the space of one hour and a half, and then leave the chapel in the quiet manner of other congregations, without any extraordinary exertion of vigilance on the part of their attendants, walk together through the open area of the establishment, and retire without disorder to their respective apartments. Extraordinary as this statement may appear, it has been verified by repeated exhibitions. Does not the experiment afford reason to hope, that the management of the insane by moral means, is destined to arrive at a degree of perfection, for which the most philanthropic have heretofore scarcely dared to hope?' Fifth Annual Report, p. 9.

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'Insanity from religious causes is found, as heretofore, to affect males more than females; in the proportion of *thirty two* males to *twenty one* females; a great disparity. In this Hospital we have always admitted the bible freely into all our apartments; we have permitted all our patients to read it as much as they choose, no evil that is appreciable has

arisen from it, far less, it is believed, than would arise from withholding it.

The caviller may accuse religion of producing insanity : but he does not see how many causes of insanity it averts, how much comfort it affords to the weary and heavy laden, how effectually it buoys up the desponding, and how directly it points to the transgressor the way of pardon and of peace. If, by a mistaken view of christianity, a few are led into the mazes of delusion, how many thousands, by relying with confidence upon its promises, as an anchor of hope, sure and steadfast in every trial, have avoided that shipwreck of the mind, which nothing else under heaven could have averted !

‘ Religion, instead of having a tendency to produce insanity, affords the surest and most effectual security amid all the trials of life, which tend directly to distract the mind.’ Annual Report, p. 52.

We are glad that there are such men as Dr. Woodward, and we could mention others too among our physicians, who do not deem it a part of their wisdom to show their contempt for the christian religion. We venerate such men, who devote their noble energies to the labor of lightening the burdens of human suffering, rather than in seeking to wrench from the sufferers their chief and choicest consolations.

*An Introduction to Natural Philosophy: designed as a text book for the use of the Students in Yale College.* In two volumes, 8vo. Compiled from various authorities. By DENISON OLMSTED, A. M. Prof. of Nat. Phil. and Astron. Third edition. New Haven, New York, &c. 1838.

A NEW edition of this excellent and widely used treatise has just appeared. The first volume is occupied, with first, an exposition of the *Mathematical Elements of Mechanics*, accompanied by numerous illustrative problems ; secondly, *the practical applications of the principles of Mechanics* ; and thirdly, *the Elements of Hydrostatics and Hydraulics*. The second volume comprises the subjects of *Pneumatics, Acoustics, Electricity, Magnetism, and Optics*. Prefixed to each volume is a full synoptical table of its contents. These are of the highest utility to the student, and furnish to all inquirers the means of readily arriving at any important fact or principle which the work contains.

The character of this treatise is so well known, that it is unnecessary for us to commend it to the public. It is unquestionably better fitted than any other work on Natural Philosophy, to the wants of our students, and possesses the surest of all testimonials to its value in being used as a text book by a large number of the most respectable colleges of our land. It seems, however, proper to state, that this edition has many advantages over the preceding. On comparison with the previous one, we find that in the present, many new problems have been introduced, many new facts and illustrations added, and in short that the whole work has received a very thorough revision. The printing has evidently been conducted with assiduous care, and the book is in consequence, uncommonly free from errors of typography, which so often, in books of science, perplex and confound the reader.

*Wanderings and Adventures in the interior of South Africa.*

By ANDREW STEEDMAN. In two volumes. London, 1835. pp. 330, 358. Sold by John S. Taylor, New York.

THIS is a valuable addition to our means of information respecting the southern parts of Africa, and exemplifies the success as well as the importance of missionary effort among the Caffres and other interior tribes. The author, a pious man, during a residence of ten years at Capetown, made several excursions along the coast and into the interior of the country north as far as the Orange river. The scenery is described, and many interesting particulars are furnished as to the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Several new species of animals and birds were discovered, and plates are given representing some of these, as well other things to which reference is made. One of these latter, an inhabited tree, is a curious illustration of the insecure state of the wilds, where the lions find their lairs. The appendix also furnishes a good view of more recent expeditions, and a variety of historical and statistical information. All these will be appreciated by persons who take an interest in the civilization of man, or in the prosperity of the missionary enterprise.

*Emancipation in the West Indies; a six months' tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837.* By JAMES A. THOME and J. HORACE KIMBALL. New York. 1838.

WE intend hereafter to notice this work in full; and can now only say, that it is one of great interest and which is destined we believe to produce no little effect on the minds of men in fastening the conviction, that the immediate abolition of slavery is by no means so fraught with evil as has been anticipated. Prof. Hovey, we are told, for we have not yet seen his work, comes to the same conclusion, and as these are separate and independent witnesses, they are destined, we doubt not, to influence the public mind on this subject to an unusual degree. For our own part we shall truly rejoice to have so desirable a consummation hastened by the power of truth as the entire and immediate abolition of slavery in our own country. We trust the day is not far distant when scenes of rejoicing and gratitude like those described in Antigua may be recorded in some of these United States. Kentucky is already on the march towards such a result; and facts like these coming fresh from one of her own sons may do much to work conviction in the doubting. Statesmen will do well to read and carefully reflect on the results of the different modes of emancipation disclosed in this volume.

WE have just had laid on our table the "Letters of Isabella Graham," "Memoirs of Hannah Hobbie," "A Leaf from the Tree of Life," "Winslow's Views of the Atonement," and "Christ the theme of the Missionary." These books we have not time at present particularly to examine; but we hope to do so for a future number. So far as we can judge by a slight review they will be well received by a christian public; and the publisher has done well to send them out from his press. They are all of a practical cast, and inculcate an elevated standard of piety.

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ART. I.—ON DUELING.

*Reasons for Legislative Interference to prevent the Practice of Dueling: Addressed to the Members of both Houses of Parliament; by J. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., M. P.*

A RECENT shocking occurrence in our capital, and among the members of our national legislature, has turned the attention of the community to the painful subject which is considered in the paper, whose title we have given above. It may be as fitting an occasion at present, to offer some remarks upon it in this journal, as may be afforded, and we hope, ever will be afforded, in the course of our labors. Our religious periodical literature is charged with the duty of bearing its testimony against every sin committed in the land; and although in regard to the sin in question, many have lifted up their voice from the pulpit, and some have come before the public in print, we feel, that our own duty is imperative. No one can discharge for us responsibilities which belong to ourselves. All must clear their garments from guilt, especially from the guilt of blood. It is not our intention to contemplate this subject, nor should it ever be contemplated, in any connection with party or sectional politics. All we wish is, in co-operation with the virtuous, thinking portion of our citizens, who feel a common interest in the subject, to interpose, if possible, some effectual obstacle to the detestable, barbarous practice. It seems to us so abhorrent to

the amenities of civilized life, to a refined humanity, to the peace-seeking spirit of the age, and to the promises of the halcyon future, that we cannot endure the thought of its continued existence, even in any isolated cases.

The consideration of some mode to prevent the practice in this country, led to the republication of Mr. Buckingham's able and eloquent paper. It was solicited, it seems, by a friend, who, in view of the catastrophe at Washington, was persuaded, that the British philanthropist's suggestions might be appropriate at this time, and "assist in correcting public sentiment on a most important subject." It was originally presented, as the title imports, to the members of both houses of the British parliament; and, although particularly adapted to that meridian, it has a general application to us, and to every country where dueling is known. We shall hereafter refer occasionally to Mr. Buckingham's views, in illustration of our own, as well as, in one or two instances, for the purpose of dissent. The piece first appeared among us in a half-sheet print extra of the *New York American*, and doubtless has thence been conveyed, according to the author's hope, to "the remotest verge of our extensive country."

It is by no means easy in itself, nor is it required of us, to form a scale of crimes, in respect to their enormity or their evil consequences. Especially, we can not measure, nor are we called upon to measure, their comparative hatefulness and guilt in the divine view. They are all utterly detested, on the part of Him against whom they are committed; and although some may be more heinous in his sight than others, yet who can or may designate them in that view, and make out a regular graduated list? It is on this account, that the propriety of certain resolutions adopted by a church in a neighboring State, in special condemnation of this sin, has been called in question in an estimable religious publication.\* In the periodical referred to, they say, "Why should dueling have such a pre-eminence, or be thus made the scape-goat? What evidence have we, that slander, lying, envy, malice, intrigue, lewdness, profanation of the sabbath, blasphemy, infidelity, drunkenness, and scores of other sins, are not as abominable in the sight of God, and as injurious to our country, and to the souls of men, as the sin of dueling?" In regard to this sentiment, we would remark, that should it be literally true, and possibly it is, it seems to us rather ill-timed, and calculated to abate the feelings of horror,

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\* The Religious Magazine and Family Miscellany.



which should affect the minds of our citizens, in view of such a crime. Besides, we see not why a vice may not be selected for public reprobation, when circumstances occur, as in the present case, to call up the attention of the people to the subject. This has been done, severally, in respect to the sins of intemperance, sabbath-breaking, licentiousness, and perhaps others. There is *one* point of view, moreover, in which we should consider the sin of dueling as peculiarly fearful and to be avoided. To say nothing here of the sanctity of human life, and the care with which it has always been guarded under all regular governments, as a natural good, it is, as we know from the bible, the season, and the only season, of man's probation. When it terminates, he has no more opportunities of securing the salvation of his soul, provided he has not already secured it. He who falls in private combat, therefore, puts a period to his probation, and to every opportunity of obtaining the good which is the great object of human life. If previous opportunities for this purpose have been neglected, as we may well suppose in this case, then all are departed. And to add, if possible, to the evil of ending one's probationary being under these circumstances, he who falls in private combat, dies committing an act of disobedience to God. He dies in his sins, impenitent, and consequently unforgiven. Now, in regard to other sins committed, on the supposition, that they are equal to this in degree, yet we are not without hope, that while life continues, they may be repented of and forsaken. A circumstance exists, then, in regard to this sin, which does not exist as to others. And it is of a very serious nature. We may, therefore, be justified in contemplating it with peculiar dread, and as especially to be shunned. As a species of self-murder,—and the same remark is applicable to any act of voluntary, conscious suicide,—it presents the guilty subject of it in a hopeless point of view, as to his soul's salvation.

If the bible does not literally tell us what crimes are most enormous in the list of crimes, still its injunctions in regard to the preservation of our own lives and the lives of others, are emphatic, and cannot be disregarded but at awful hazard. Its denunciations of wrath, its appointed penalties for the destruction of life, are solemn and terrific. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." "Thou shalt not kill." "He that killeth any man, shall surely be put to death." Blood shed for an unjustifiable cause, we are given to understand, defiles a whole land, and needs expiation. "So shall ye not pollute the land wherein ye are, for blood it polluteth the land; and the

land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." "For all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." "And ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." A commentator on the passage first introduced, makes a remark of this kind. "It is a subject for serious inquiry to all who are cordially affected to the welfare of these nations, how far it can be justified before God, and how far national guilt is contracted, when so many are suffered to elude justice, who commit willful, deliberate murder in duels; whilst numbers of thieves are put to death, which God never commanded, perhaps does not approve." This is spoken of the comparative treatment of these crimes in Great Britain, and applies to our own country only in relation to the former crime. If the killing of a man in the private combat of honor is, in all cases, willful, deliberate murder, then, truly, national guilt must be contracted, in reference to the common and notorious escape of duelists, from the inflictions of a just punishment.

It has, indeed, been made a question whether the killing of an antagonist in a duel can be justly punished with death. The negative side of this question can, of course, be maintained only by showing, that the act committed is not murder, or does not possess the turpitude of murder. But if this crime, as it has been defined in our ethical works, is "the deliberate taking away of human life, otherwise than by public authority," then homicide in dueling is certainly murder. This being the case, as believers in divine revelation, we ought not to object to the punishment of death, as the award of him who has killed another in a private quarrel. And this should be the sense of a christian community. It is well known, however, that duelists, in mosts cases, escape with impunity. The laws in the several States of the Union, denouncing death, in many instances, are seldom enforced. This may be partly owing to the nature of the case,—the circumstances under which duels are usually fought. The preliminaries to the combat, including the challenge, the acceptance, designation of time and place of meeting, and the like, are carefully concealed, where this is felt to be necessary. The design with which the parties appear on the field, is indicated only by the fact of their being found there. The case brought before a court of justice for trial, turns upon the design of the meeting; but of this there is no other evidence than the actual combat. Death occurring under such circumstances, that is to say, where a man appears in the act of contending with an adversary, is deemed merely manslaughter, according to the law.

But the escape of the duelist is oftener owing to the laxness of public sentiment. The most common punishment, which is death, is thought by many to be too severe, and is therefore but seldom, if ever, inflicted. It is for this reason, that Mr. Buckingham proposes to do away the punishment of death altogether. As it is not in accordance with public sentiment ; it is a dead letter in the English statute-books. And the same may be said of it in regard to this country. The laws are indifferently put into execution. Mr. B. is himself of an opinion, that the punishment of death is too severe. He says :

‘ I contend, then, that death is altogether an excessive as well as unsuitable punishment for dueling ; since to put the man who voluntarily risks his life against that of another, and combats fairly and openly, on the same footing with the secret murderer and midnight assassin, is to confound all notions of right and justice, and defeat the very end of law, by revolting every man against its injunctions. Besides which, the fear of death will never deter men from fighting duels, since it is to show their contempt of personal danger, that they always go out to the combat. What they most dread, is degradation in the estimation of those classes of society with whom they habitually associate. It is to avoid being scorned and shunned by their equals, rather than to take vengeance, or even to prove their courage, that they go to the field.’

There seems to be an inconsistency here, in the statement of the object of the duelist, but that perhaps is more his fault, than one of the writer. The object probably is various, and not always very well defined. There is a show of courage—of contempt of personal danger in the deadly private rencounter ; but the basis of the affair, if it have any basis, is a cowardly apprehension of the scorn of comrades. We have always thought, that the duel is not a very brave mode of settling a private quarrel ; but we may advert to this thought again. To meet the case before us, which Mr. B. thinks is inadequately provided for in the ordinary extreme, punishment of death, and with a view to prevention, he proposes the following things :

‘ First, to provide competent tribunals for the adjustment of those differences, then and now referred to decision by deadly weapons, so as to afford redress to the injured, and preserve the honor of the aggrieved. Secondly, to provide a substitute for the extreme penalty of death, in a series of secondary punishments, so in harmony with public opinion, as to insure their being inflicted, and so capable of graduation, as to meet every variety of case. For the want of such tribunals, men take the law into their own hands. And for the want of secondary punishments, the offenders escape with impunity, as the severe penalty of death is never inflicted, because of its severity, and no other remains to be applied in its stead.’

In the course of his address, Mr. B. states *seriatim*, the provisions which he would suggest, as the substance at least of legislative enactments, respecting the tribunals referred to, and the punishments to be awarded in the event of fighting a duel. We need not introduce them to the notice of our readers, as they are somewhat minute, and extended. It may be observed merely in regard to the courts of honor, which he would have established, that they seem calculated to be useful, as a means of the prevention of duels, so far as we may suppose their authority would be respected, and that in reference to the punishments to be inflicted in cases of offense, he relies chiefly on dismissal from office, exclusion from all civil and political privileges, and the being placed without the protection of law, for a period; as also in the event of wounds or death being inflicted, pecuniary reparation to the injured, or to their families and dependants.

It may be replied, however, to his whole plan, so far as it is connected with coercion or punishment, that if death by a duel is murder, we have no option, as to what punishment should be inflicted. The bible has already determined this point. If it cannot be inflicted on account of the belief, on the part of the community, that it is unreasonably severe, then that belief should be changed. Efforts should be put forth to produce this change. That death is the proper punishment in this case, or that the certain prospect of it, is, more than any thing else a preventive, appears from Mr. Buckingham's own showing in another part of the piece, where he was speaking of the energetic conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, on a certain occasion. The story he gives as follows:—

‘ During one of his campaigns in Russia, the practice of dueling had reached such a height in his own army, that he denounced death against any who should engage in it. Two officers in high command, nevertheless, subsequently quarreled, and knowing the king to be inflexible, they did not dare to fight without his permission. It was granted; but on condition that the king himself should be an eye witness of the combat. The time and place being appointed, the combatants appeared; when they found the king accompanied by a small body of infantry, which he drew in a circle round them, and calling the provost-marshal to attend as executioner, he said, “ Let the combatants continue until one is slain, and the instant that occurs, do you behead the other before my eyes.” The generals, (for the officers were of that high rank,) pausing at the inflexible determination of the sovereign, mutually embraced and forgave each other in the presence of their monarch—solicited and received his pardon, and promised to be, as they continued till death, firm and faithful friends.’

The certainty of punishment, and such a punishment as death, would be the most effectual preventive of the pernicious practice. All hope of escape, should, if possible, be taken away, and death should be the duelist's only prospect. We are surprised that Mr. Buckingham did not perceive from his own story, that the dread of death, contrary to a declaration he has made, can operate to the prevention of duels.

But although we believe in the correctness of the views we have now taken, as to the proper punishment of this crime, it is enough for our purpose, that duelling is a great sin and evil, and exposes those who are guilty of it, and the land which tolerates it, to the wrath of God. Whether it be murder or not, (although we have no doubt that it is,) it surely is enough, that it ought to be discarded, and put down forever, by public sentiment. It is sufficient to justify us in our strictures, distant as we are from the usual scenes of these combats, that there is not a sufficient abhorrence of the practice, in the minds of the community, and that even in this portion of the union, it is less frowned upon than it should be, though scarcely ever indeed witnessed here.

In order that a correct public sentiment may prevail respecting dueling, it should be viewed first of all, as a SIN AGAINST GOD. Such it is, in a fearful and emphatic sense.

1. God has expressly forbidden it. "Thou shalt not kill," is the great generic command which is violated by the duelist. He kills—he kills in the sense of the divine interdiction. He kills deliberately, intentionally, with a desire to kill, or a willingness to be killed. He wantonly exposes, or violently takes away human life, not only without public authority, but against it. In this sense, it is a killing which the divine law doubly condemns. It ought not to be doubted, that such an act is murder—murder committed by him who kills, and self-murder in him who is killed. It is no less than a mutual *felo de se*, for each consents to be slain by the other: and what a man does by the hand of another, he is deemed to do himself. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*. Mr. Buckingham urges his principal moral argument against dueling, on the ground that it is self-murder:

'But I content myself with merely saying, that as suicide or self-destruction, is, by the common consent of christians of every denomination, held to be a crime of the deepest die, the practice of dueling, which places both the combatants in the position of men voluntarily risking their lives in private quarrels, and permitting a reciprocal suicide to be perpetrated for the satisfaction of private vengeance alone, must

be deemed contrary to the very essence and spirit of christianity, which teaches forgiveness of injuries, and the return of good for evil, as the sacred duty of every man professing the christian faith.'

We may incidentally remark, also, it is scarcely less clear from the light of nature, that dueling is a sin against God. If, according to Montesquien, "there is a primitive reason, and laws are the relations subsisting between it and different beings, and the relations of these to one another"—and if moreover, the laws by which God created all things, are those by which he preserves them, "it cannot then be doubted that the violation of relations thus established, in the voluntary destruction of human life, is contrary to his will. His laws are in effect so far abrogated by the act of man, for the latter destroys a part of that creation which God by his fixed and unalterable laws, intended to preserve. Hence nature, as well as the decalogue, has its stern interdiction—'thou shalt not kill.'"

2. God has expressly forbidden those principles and passions which the duelist cherishes, and by which he is controlled. The ingredients which make up the crime committed, as it lies subjectively in the mind, are all, and severally interdicted.

As, for instance, the crime consists in part, of a preference of the regard of men above the favor and approbation of God, where the one competes with the other; and this all know is wholly opposed to the law of the Bible. It contradicts and excludes the entire spirit of christianity. It is a preference of the consideration of men to the favor and approbation of God, according to Mr. Wilberforce's idea, as quoted by Mr. Buckingham, "*in articulo mortis*, in an instant, in which our own life, and that of a fellow creature are at stake; and wherein we run the risk of rushing into the presence of our maker, in the very act of offending him." With duelists it is a supreme concern what men may think of them, and how their reputation and honor are affected in this world, and particularly in view of their associates. In pursuit of this fancied good, they treat the divine consideration with neglect or contempt. The essential guilt of the private mortal combat, consists very much in this disproportionate regard of men, in comparison with God.

Again, in the custom of dueling there is a settled determination to practice it, however wrong it may be, whenever circumstances shall call upon the parties so to do. In this view, it is evidently a flagrant sin against God. This determination obviously exists in the case of the challenger, with whom it is always optional, whether he will summon his fellow into the field; and it may exist in the case of the challenged, as the

latter may possibly offer an affront, in order to secure, through a summons, an opportunity of contending with one whom he hates. At any rate, both the challenger and the challenged, acting on the principle, the one, that he will give a challenge upon an affront, and the other, that he will accept of one whenever offered, so that their honor or their courage shall never be called in question, plainly show a settled determination to break the law of God whenever they please. This law is nothing in their view, if it stands in the way of their humor or selfishness. "This is a consideration, which places the crime of dueling on a different footing from almost any other. Indeed, there is perhaps no other which mankind habitually and deliberately resolve to practice whenever the temptation shall occur. In this sense, the crime is far more general among the higher classes than is commonly supposed, and the whole sum of the guilt which this practice produces is great, beyond what has perhaps been ever conceived." This determination spoken of, enters into the nature of the modern duel; and it cannot be doubted, that the law of God interdicts all unlawful resolutions or purposes, as well as deeds.

Again, pride enters essentially into the crime of dueling, and this passion we know is peculiarly hateful to God, as it is also a matter of divine interdiction. No man ever gave or received a challenge, except as he was moved by this hateful feeling, among others. It is an unreasonable conceit of one's own superiority, and an affected contempt of others, which leads to the fearful practice in question. The operation of pride must be excessive indeed, to induce men to expose their own lives or to seek the lives of others, for the slightest imputations against their character. It is a remark of an author, that "duelists are men pre-eminently proud, haughty, insolent, and proverbially irritable; jealous to an extreme of what they call their rights, disdaining to have them determined as those of other men are, by tribunals of justice." There is no doubt much truth in this observation; and the mode which they take to secure attention to themselves or to punish neglect, is the highest proof and effect of pride. We ask, moreover, do humble men, do meek christian men, ever engage in duels,—can they feel any motive urging them to such a step? No, it is accursed, insufferable pride, which has a large share in prompting one to this iniquity. Pride induces men to resent an affront,—humility induces them to forgive it.

Again, hatred and revenge are commonly, if not always felt in the perpetration of this crime. This allegation has some-

times been objected to, as not literally correct. It has been supposed by some, that the deed may be committed, and often is committed, without malice or even the wish to destroy life. Mr. Wilberforce, in saying, that dueling "has sometimes been opposed on grounds hardly tenable, particularly when it has been considered as an indication of malice and revenge," has given the sanction of his opinion to this view of the subject. President Dwight, on the other hand, has ingeniously argued the existence of a spirit of revenge, as probably always a concomitant of the modern duel. We believe the latter to be correct. Rarely, if ever, can it be conceived, that intelligent beings can consent to be instrumental in depriving one another of so great a good as life, or subject themselves to the risk of losing it, except as they hate one another, and are actuated by a spirit of revenge. And we are forced to believe, that it is not an ordinary degree of these feelings which impels men to the deadly strife. The first thought suggested by an affair of honor in the mind of reflecting persons, is, that ungovernable resentments have driven the parties to a deed of the utmost rashness. The extremes of anger and malice must usually inflame their bosoms, if from the most trifling causes they can consent to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, revenge supplying the place almost of every other motive. It is evidently in the high passions of the mind, that the spirit of dueling finds its aliment. Duels are founded on injuries received or supposed to be received, and injuries, though slight in degree, in the bosoms of men not professing to be governed by christian principles, commonly imply the feelings of resentment and hatred. In the nature of things, where injuries are received or supposed to be received, there will be either a spirit of forgiveness, or of revenge and hatred, or possibly an entire indifference. In regard to the first and last of these results, they have no concern with the settlement of difficulties by private mortal combat. Forgiveness is the christian's method,—indifference is the stoic's trait of character. It is your fierce men of honor who must expiate the least injuries by blood,—men, who have not only no conscientious scruples on the subject, but whose positive convictions are, that revenge is right, is lawful, and who avow, that private feeling calls for it as well as the codes of honor. But revenge and hatred, and every approximation towards them, God has peremptorily forbidden.

Furthermore, in dueling is involved an assumption of a peculiar divine prerogative, and that in a two-fold point of view. independently of every thing except a self-constituted authori-



ty, it affects to call a fellow-being to account in matters pertaining to the extremity of his fate, and to inflict a supposed merited vengeance. Now in both of these respects, God is the last resort,—his will is the ultimate appeal. He alone has the right of decision in concerns so important as these. As the arbiter of all things, he only can properly recall the gift which he gave. Life and death are at his sole disposal. “I kill,” he says, “and I make alive; I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.” As the moral governor of the world, it is his province in contradistinction from that of every other being, to mete out the awards which his creatures deserve. God has said, “to me belongeth vengeance and recompense,” also, “vengeance is mine, I will repay it,” and we are solemnly forbidden to avenge ourselves,—“dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath.” Now the duelist, by taking upon himself a prerogative, that attaches solely to the divine nature, commits a high-handed offense against God. His malice is aimed at the throne of the Eternal. There are other evil passions and principles involved in dueling, which constitute it a sin against God of an aggravated kind, but the consideration of these must be omitted. As he has forbidden these passions and principles, dueling, which embraces them all, is a singularly fearful sin against him.

If we have established this truth, we are prepared to show also, that it is a SIN AGAINST SOCIETY. In illustrating the latter point, we bring of course additional evidence of the hatefulness of dueling in the divine view. But it is convenient, and even important, to make the distinction. In other words, dueling is an enormous evil in civil and social life. It is such an evil in proportion to its prevalence. And in the nations of modern Europe, and in portions of this country, it has prevailed to a considerable extent. We are not well furnished with the statistics of this crime; nor if we were, could we afford the requisite space. Mr. Buckingham has quoted from an accurate author, the number and issue of the duels fought in Great Britain during the reign of George III. alone:

‘In 172 combats, including 344 individuals, 69 persons were killed; in three of these, neither of the combatants survived, 96 were wounded, 48 of them desperately and 48 slightly; 188 escaped unhurt. From this statement it will be seen, that rather more than one fifth of the combatants lost their lives, and that nearly one half received the bullets of their antagonists.’

This statement presents an annual average of nearly three combats, of between five and six individuals engaged, and of a small fraction over one person killed, during a reign of sixty years. As this is for one country only, the aggregate for all the nations where the practice prevails, must be considerable. If we may judge from the accounts so frequently published of duels fought in our own country, it would seem, that the number of combats and deaths must be many times greater by the year, than that which occurred in Great Britain during the period above stated. To some persons, the evil may appear insignificant in magnitude from the comparative rareness of these affairs of honor, and for this reason they may be supposed to deprecate legislative interference. But we may say with Mr. B. on this topic,—“Were only one life lost in the year, it would be no sufficient reason why an effort should not be made to save even that solitary being.” But probably among most *christian* nations, several lives are yearly sacrificed in each, by the practice in question. And as every death affects a circle of relatives and acquaintances more or less extensive, and also the community in a degree, the aggregate of the evil in this point of view, is by no means inconsiderable. But we will make a few specifications on this part of our general subject.

Dueling is a sin against society, since it deprives a country of its citizens,—sometimes eminent citizens,—useful in civil life, and distinguished for talents, station, and influence. We cannot call them men of an “excellent spirit,” or real christians, inasmuch as the cause in which they fall, viz. that of private revenge, is contrary to the first principles of goodness and the gospel: but in many cases they are persons whom we would retain in the community, especially may it be so in regard to the challenged person. Dueling, as it implies certain laws and regulations of honor, prevails of course among the more influential orders of society, men of station occupying the higher civil, military, and naval departments. And it is no slight calamity, in some instances, to lose persons of this description. Many of our readers doubtless remember the sensation which was produced by the murder of Hamilton in a duel with Burr. The whole nation was moved as if it had been by a stroke of fate. Such instances are liable to occur, whenever dueling is at all tolerated in a community; and the extinction of valuable life must be the consequence.

Dueling produces a corrupt public sentiment. As it is a dereliction of moral principle, its prevalence vitiates irreparably the minds of the people. Like every other vice, it is pestifer-

ous to the principles and feelings of the community which tolerates it. These become perverted, debased, contrary to the purity of religion, and prepare men for the indulgence of unbridled passions, and the perpetration of unmeasured wickedness. Any wrong practice of this kind, tolerated among the people, produces permanent states of wrong feeling. The public mind itself becomes poisoned and perverted by the influence of an unrebuked and patiently endured vice. This remark is fully substantiated by the condition of the public mind, during the unresisted sway of intemperance in our land. The moral feelings of the great mass of the community, were well nigh prostrated by the influence of this vice. Dueling, with a far more limited range, whether in practice or in intention, is yet sufficiently corrupting. It deadens all the moral sensibilities. In proportion to its prevalence, it perhaps more completely subverts the foundations of kind and virtuous emotion among a people, than most other vices: and let it be remembered, that no greater evil exists than a corrupt public sentiment. Then every good is put to hazard, and every evil is liable to be suffered in the community.

Dueling sets the law at defiance. It casts contempt on the state. It takes the redress of wrongs into one's own hands, and sets aside the institutions of society as altogether needless or useless. Duelists place their own selfish feelings and fancies above the solemn obligations of law. "By resorting to arms, and determining a private quarrel by single and deadly combat, men go back to the lawless state of savage nature, and abjure, as it were, all respect for civilized institutions." This is a tremendous evil. It is a high-handed sin against society. Indeed, it is virtually the destruction of society. So far as any kind or degree of violence is applied, in the way of private vengeance and punishment, it is a sin against society, and tends to undermine its foundations. Law is the great cement of social order, and must be respected if we would enjoy the privileges and benefits of civilized life. Men in high stations, and especially our lawgivers, ought to know this; and yet, by the practice of dueling, they set the example of violating the very institutions by which they become elevated in the community,—they set the example of bringing into contempt their own enactments. If they who make the laws, purposely and wantonly break them, how can they expect from others a better and different course, and especially how can they punish the latter for any infraction of the public ordinances?

Dueling produces a blood-thirsty spirit and a savage temper. It tends to bring back the era of barbarism,—at least it is a relic of such an infelicitous period of nations. The practice originated in the ages of darkness, and descended to us from our untutored barbarian ancestors. It most prevailed among the Goths and Vandals, and the Teutonic tribes, whose manners were marked by the utmost harshness and ferocity. Every scholar is acquainted with the fact, that the most refined nations of antiquity, as the Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks knew nothing of any usage like that of the modern duel. It breeds a deadly, savage, and unforgiving spirit. Should it extensively prevail,—should the notion of settling private quarrels by an appeal to arms become fashionable among us, who is safe? The slightest offense, however unintentional, might subject one to the deadly ordeal. Perhaps no one would be safe in reproving his neighbor for sin. Affront might be received even from performing the most sacred duties of religion towards our fellow-men; and though the practice can never obtain among christians, it might drive christians at length from the land. The progress of christianity would at least be effectually arrested. The practice, (we borrow in part the language of Mr. B., shaping it more nearly to our purpose,) is inconsistent with entire freedom of opinion, and the undismayed enjoyment of expressing it as powerfully as we feel its truth. There should be no state of the community where good men may be deterred by the fear of giving offense, from the freest and fullest performance of their public duty. There should be no state of the community, which should permit any individual whose vices or whose follies, whose misdeeds or whose errors are properly and usefully exposed, to take upon himself the task of replying to a just accusation, by presenting a pistol at the breast, or redeeming his iniquities, in the blood of his worthy reprovcr.

Dueling is an employment of the greatest conceivable cruelty, in its effects on the relatives and friends of the man who falls in a private dispute. They are bereaved of an endeared member of their little community. The sweet family circle is broken, and diminished. The sacred charities are violated. Desolation and anguish are sent into many a fond heart. Those are separated with an unnatural violence, who were ordained of God to live together. The defenseless wife loses her constituted protector. The dependent children are doomed to a bitter orphanage. Both are called to bear the wretchedness of affliction, under the most terrible aggravations. They are strip-

ped of every well-founded hope, in respect to the spiritual state of their deceased friend. Perhaps they are reduced to penury and want—perhaps they are exposed to the rude scoffs of the world, in the fall of their fortunes. At the best, they are deprived of that care, and guardianship, and temporal provision which are made the duty of every husband and father, towards objects with whom he is so tenderly connected. A son falls in a rencounter, and an object of expectation—a source of solace is torn from the heaving parental bosom. Brothers and sisters meet no more the companion and partaker of their joys. And here, too, they all must sorrow, even more emphatically than any “others who have no hope.” But we have no power and no inclination to paint this scene in its real features of horror and hopelessness. It defies description. And for what is all this misery inflicted on survivors? A mere punctilio—the bubble of a temporary eclat—the admiration of fools. The usage which inflicts such a misery, for such a purpose, combines the essence of cruelty.

But dueling is a sin not only against God, and society—it is a **SIN AGAINST ONE’S OWN SELF**—and this idea presents one other general topic. The man himself, who engages in it, is sinned against in a fearful degree, and is exposed to a tremendous evil. In this point of view, dueling is an infinite folly.

Where it takes effect according to its intention, it first murders the body and then the soul. A man enacts against himself the greatest conceivable injustice—he brings upon his being the greatest possible evil, by falling in a duel. All the pleasures and all the good of life he sacrifices at a stroke. He abandons in a moment every endearment of friendship—every love of domestic life. He annihilates at once all his prospects of usefulness or distinction, in the world. As to his immortal soul, that must be ruined, for he dies while sinning against God, and while designing to sin against him. His death itself is a sin, an inextinguishable sin. Other sins which a person commits might be repented of, but this cannot be. Where death is the immediate result, there is of course no time for repentance. The expiring breath of the duelist is rather that of execration against his murderer, than of prayer for mercy. And as to the survivor himself, he seems to be in a scarcely less deplorable condition, agitated, condemned, and ever after a most unlikely subject for evangelical repentance. Sometimes as a man, he is filled with unavailing regrets, that he has committed such a cruelty, and so needlessly and thoughtlessly brought an insupportable load of suffering upon a fellow creature, to whom he owed benevo-

lence and not vengeance. Sometimes, if his conscience be not seared, he feels as an offender, its pungent reproofs, and anticipates the remorse of a damned spirit, ere he is brought to the bar of his judge. The history of dueling in this country has been marked, in one instance at least, by the immediate fearful judgments of the Almighty, when the prematurely whitened locks, and the maniac stare of the son of an honored sire, told the tale of a horror-stricken conscience, for murder committed in a duel.

Again, dueling is no proper punishment inflicted on the offender—the man who offers the insult. The absurdity here is so great, that we are amazed every one does not feel it, and recoil at such a method of punishing an offender. The absurdity lies in the circumstance, that it is as probable the person who received the insult or injury will fall, as that the injurious person will. The originally innocent man in this concern, is just as liable to be punished as the offending man, and to have the evil of death superadded to that which he has already received, or supposes himself to have received. For an intelligent being, purposely to put himself in such a condition, betrays a singular infatuation.

Again, dueling is no proper reparation for the wrongs which have been received. Mr. B. remarks: "In the present clumsy as well as barbarous mode of proceeding, the duel proves nothing, as to the merits of the case in dispute,—nothing, as to the right or wrong of the parties; but after the combat is over, and one or both have fallen victims, the merits or demerits of the case remain untouched." Dr. Paley says: "It is difficult to explain in what the satisfaction consists, or how it tends to undo the injury, or to afford a compensation for the damage already sustained. The truth is," he further intimates, "it is not considered as either. A law of honor having annexed the imputation of cowardice to patience under an affront, challenges are given and accepted with no other design than to prevent or wipe off this suspicion,"—he might have added, instead of what he has said, "and to gratify the anger and revenge arising from an affront, or the same feelings arising from being called to a combat on such an account." When the battle is fought, every one sees, that the character remains the same, or rather is blackened on the part of both, by the unjustifiable method which has been taken to set things aright. No calumny is disproved; no truth is made error. Both parties, therefore, are unjust to themselves, as well as towards each other, in submitting to a dangerous and wicked ordeal, which, let the issue be what it will, proves absolutely nothing.

Should it be inquired, What is the proper corrective of the evil? it may be expressed in a few words,—in mere hints of thoughts.

1. Let the crime be promptly punished, agreeably to the laws of the land; or if that cannot be at present, through the opposition or indifference of the public to the application of severe penalties, let the public sentiment be brought up to it. A sentiment should be created for the occasion, as there has been in regard to the temperance reformation. It should be created by reason, by argument, by persuasion, by example, or, if necessary, by association. Or if, according to Mr. B., courts of honor are desirable as a preventive, let these courts be instituted, wherever they are needed, for the adjustment of difficulties, that are now decided by an appeal to force.

2. The fear of God should be cultivated and cherished in the land. This will cure every other fear. It is a fear of man,—the fear of scorn and contempt among that class in society in which duelists and their abettors are found, which urges men on to an appeal to arms, in their private quarrels. Dueling is so far a species of cowardice. It is at least a much higher exercise of courage to meet and face this evil, than to meet and face a man in battle, when the blood is heated and stirred up by injury or insult. The one is a cool, dispassionate, intellectual courage; the other partakes of rashness, blindness, and stupidity. Paradoxical as it may seem, the former is produced by the fear of God; the latter, by the fear of man. It is no cowardice to dread offending God, or meeting him as an adversary, for this is an evil which cannot be borne. But it is cowardice of a moral kind, to dread the contempt of the world, or of one's associates, for that is an evil which can be borne. And where the object is to avoid an infinitely greater evil, it is surely the part of wisdom to cultivate the fear of God. Let this fear, then, let piety abound, and an end will come to all these unnatural contentions.

3. It would be a preventive of this crime, to strengthen our social and domestic attachments. Let the love of kindred burn more purely and brightly in the bosoms of our citizens. There can be no danger of excess here, so long as a sympathy of this kind is subordinated to the love of God, and involved in that love. This ardent attachment to relatives and home, based on gospel principles, and directed by gospel light, would render fathers and brothers of families wholly averse to every such scene of strife. An invincible repugnance would be felt on the part of these inmates of households, to plunge their beloved associ-

ates into the depths of anguish. No earthly means can be found for preventing this practice, or indeed any other practice, bringing woe and disappointment in its train, like these strong, home-bred attachments. We may well adore God, in view of his wisdom and kindness, in such an appointment and relationship. It is the neglect of these attachments, the living away from home under unsocial influences, together with the projects of ambition, and the cold, calculating spirit of infidelity, that renders men indifferent to their own lives, or to the lives and happiness of others.

After all, it may be thought, that we at the North have little interest in such a subject. It is true, that we have a less interest in it, in one point of view, than attaches to some other portions of our country. Our stricter notions, our habits, and our domestic circumstances, are greater obstacles to the practice, than are found in some other parts of the nation. These have almost entirely prevented it here. But, as has already been remarked, the shedding of blood in this case,—blood unatoned for, affects the land with guilt, in whatever part it takes place; and at least our testimony against it is due, since we cannot interfere in any other manner. Besides, our high-spirited or untutored sons, as they leave us, may yield to temptation, and favor the practice abroad. This we would by all means prevent, if possible. And, furthermore, occasionally a favorite son of the North actually falls in horrid combat, when far distant from his home. Cases occur which show, that this most impious crime may be committed by a New Englander, with all his sterner educational notions, let him go to places where the practice prevails to any extent. Within our own day, one of the most venerable clergymen of Connecticut, now deceased, lost a singularly accomplished son in a duel at the southwest. He was a young man of liberal education, of beautiful person, and of the brightest promise, in respect to talents and an honorable professional career. Some years afterwards, it was our privilege to hear the aged and afflicted minister, on one occasion, in a family prayer. He seemed to be ripe for a better world; but it was a melancholy consideration, that his soul had been riven by so poignant a sorrow, and that he had been called to pass through such a scene of tribulation, on his way to that world.



## ART. II.—ATLANTIC STEAM-NAVIGATION.

*The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of Steam Navigation across the Atlantic, &c.* pp. 76, 12mo. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1838.

THE arrival at New York, of the Steam-packets Sirius and Great Western, after having thrice traversed the broad Atlantic, and accomplished their passages with the regularity of intervals anticipated—forms an interesting era in the progress of scientific navigation. The practicability of a stated and frequent intercourse with Europe, may now be considered as determined; and the period is probably not far distant, when numerous lines of packets, navigated mostly by steam, will arrive and depart, true to the day of their announcement. Our readers are doubtless aware of the rejoicing which has been so generally manifested, both in our own ports and in those of Great Britain, on the fortunate issue of the experiment thus made. Visits, festivals and expressions of congratulation, mutually tendered and received, with all the usual exhibitions of delight, have followed each other in quick succession. The conductors of the daily press have vied in their efforts to describe the welcomed strangers, and in praise of the enterprise. The stocks have felt the electric impulse, and have sprung up under its influence. The little pamphlet now before us is also the product of the same feeling. Probably scarcely a single person who has been greeted by the intelligence, but has shared in the general exultation. Even the disastrous catastrophes of steamboats, which are taking place almost daily, have hardly if at all, weakened the confidence established and expressed with respect to the entire feasibility and safety of the enterprise just commenced. Reasons deemed sufficient—and which will continue to be so viewed, unless some similar painful events shall occur—are found to exempt these ships from the fate of numerous others on our coast, and our rivers and lakes. Sincerely do we hope that the course of time may prove the expectation true.

We too are unwilling to pass over an event fraught with such important results without deriving therefrom reflections which look beyond the mere question of commercial convenience and of temporal benefits. It is mainly with this design, we have placed the title of this pamphlet on our pages, and while we shall aim to aid in disseminating the facts of its history, we shall dwell for a short time upon its relations to the moral and

religious aspect of the world.—It is to be presumed that our readers are familiar with the proximate history of these recent voyages contained in the little work before us. But there are also facts here stated, which are less generally known, which it may be interesting and instructive to some to have presented in connexion with our main object. The event has come upon us so suddenly, that probably few were actually prepared to anticipate it so soon. Rumors of the project had now and then been breathed; few however seemed to have deemed them serious, till a month or two before the arrival of the *Sirius*. They had not followed the history, the progress of steam navigation—or allowed themselves to speculate soberly upon its probabilities. Articles which from time to time had been published as feelers of public sentiment, met with no response and were suffered to die as it were, upon the pages in which they first appeared. The burst of feeling, therefore, which ensued, was that of a surprised people. A portion of their present enthusiasm is without doubt to be ascribed to the unreflecting love of novelty and excitement, which is ever in waiting, ready to seize any occasion of its gratification; as well as to the hopes of enriching themselves by means of the greater facilities of commerce and trade, thus unexpectedly opened. Others too have at once gone deeper into their estimates of the possible results, and have been prompted by a nobler spirit of philanthropy, to mark the bearings of such an event on the general happiness of our own race. Their minds have teemed with projects of extensive benevolence, and they have seen at no great distance, the realization of their hopes, in the diffusion every where of knowledge and civilization, with their attendant blessings. In the glowing visions of their enterprising spirits, every clime has been visited by the heralds of salvation, and the gospel has exerted its mighty power to break down the selfishness of man, and to bring him under a delightful sense of allegiance to the authority of his God and Redeemer. The sun of millennial glory is already risen, the brightness of its mid-day beams are shed down upon the realms of sin, and myriads groping without a guide or comforter in the gloomy and icebound regions of superstition and infidelity, are basking in the light and heat of its effulgence. We would not dash the hopes of any one, especially, whenever those expectations are the offspring of faith in the promises of Heaven—and we have strong confidence, that in many respects the happy results predicted will be realized. But of this, more anon. We will briefly state a few of the facts which are contained in the pamphlet before us.

Although the voyages of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, are the first successful effort to accomplish the regular passage of the Atlantic by steam—yet the suggestion has been made and plans proposed by numbers years since; and a partial attempt was carried into execution, in the case of the ship *Savannah*, in 1819.

The following account given of her appearance in Great Britain, is taken from a communication published in the *New London Gazette*, by Capt. Stephen Rogers, who was the sailing master of the *Savannah*.

‘FIRST ATLANTIC STEAMER!’

‘She (the *Savannah*) was seen from the telegraph station, at Cape Clear, on the southern coast of Ireland, and reported as a ship on fire. The Admiral, who lay in the Cove of Cork, despatched one of the King’s cutters to her relief; but great was their wonder at their inability, with all sail, in a fast vessel, to come up with a ship under bare poles. After several shots were fired from the cutter, the engine was stopped, and the surprise of her crew at the mistake they had made, as well as their curiosity to see the singular Yankee craft, can be easily imagined. They asked permission to go on board, and were much gratified by the inspection of this naval novelty. On approaching Liverpool, hundreds of people came off in boats to see her. She was compelled to lay outside the bar till the tide should serve for her to go in. During this time she had her colors all flying, when a boat from a British sloop-of-war came along-side and hailed. The sailing-master was on deck at the time, and answered. The officer of the boat asked him, “Where is your master?” to which he gave the laconic reply, “I have no master, sir.” “Where’s your *Captain*, then?” “He’s below; do you wish to see him?” “I do, sir.” The Captain, who was then below, on being called, asked what he wanted; to which he answered, “Why do you wear that pennant, sir?” “Because my country allows me to, sir.” “My commander thinks it was done to insult him, and if you don’t take it down he will send a force that will do it.” Captain Rogers then exclaimed to the engineer, “Get the hot water engine ready.” Although there was no such machine on board the vessel, it had the desired effect, and John Bull was glad to paddle off as fast as possible. On approaching the city, the shipping, piers, and roofs of houses were thronged with persons cheering the adventurous craft. Several naval officers, noblemen, and merchants, from London, came down to visit her, and were very curious to ascertain her speed, destination, &c. As it was soon after Jerome Bonaparte had offered a large reward to any one who would succeed in taking his brother Napoleon from St. Helena, it was suspected that that was the object of the *Savannah*. After remaining 25 days in Liverpool, during which time she was visited by thousands of people of all ranks, and her officers were treated with marked attention, she left for Copenhagen, at which place she ar-

rived in safety, where she excited similar curiosity. She proceeded thence to Stockholm, in Sweden, where she was visited by the Royal family, the foreign ministers, naval officers, nobility, and others, who, by invitation of Mr. Hughes, the American Minister, dined on board, and took an excursion among the neighboring islands, with which they were much delighted.

Lord Lyndock, of England, who was then on a tour through the North of Europe, by invitation of our Minister, took passage on board of the *Savannah* for St. Petersburg, which place she reached in due time. Here she was visited by the invitation of our Minister at that Court, by several noblemen, military and naval officers, who also tested her superior qualities by a trip to Cronstadt. Her officers received several valuable presents of plate, &c. &c.; and we have now before us a superb gold snuff box, which was presented to her sailing-master, Capt. Stephens Rogers, by Lord Lyndock. She sailed from St. Petersburg to Copenhagen, and thence to Arendal, in Norway, whence she returned to Savannah, where, after a passage of about 25 days, she arrived in safety, being the first steam vessel that ever crossed the Atlantic, and after performing a voyage highly creditable to American ingenuity and enterprise.

She used Liverpool coal for fuel, of which she took seventy five tons; as well as twenty five cords of wood for kindling. She had no freight, and only used her engines when not able to go at the rate of four knots an hour with her sails. By the great fire in Savannah, her owners were compelled to sell her, and she was purchased to run as a packet between that place and New York, whither she was bound, under the charge of Captain Nathaniel Holdredge, (now master of the Liverpool packet-ship *United States*,) when she was lost on the South side of Long Island.' pp. 11, 12, 13.

She is said also to have crossed the Atlantic the second time, visiting Constantinople, where her captain received presents from the Grand Seignor. The *Savannah*, as will be seen above, did not use steam, except when her sails could not be profitably used. In the *American Rail-road Journal* in New York of the 24th Nov., 1833—an article was published from the pen of Ithiel Town, Esq., well known as an architect, urging the advantages of a steam ship to Europe. The author expresses his full conviction of its practicability, and presents numerous considerations to the enterprising to engage them in the undertaking. How far this article may have influenced in the formation of the company, by which the achievement has been performed, or whether it was seen by the projector or not, we are unable to say.

It was natural that as soon as the invention of steamboats had been fully tested, and our rivers and lakes were daily witnesses of their utility, the inquiry should be directed to the question of their practicability in the navigation of the ocean.

Some minds more daring than others had ventured to predict that they would yet supersede the usual mode of navigation. Even twenty years before Fulton manufactured his first boats, Fitch who had made a boat to run on the Delaware, eight miles an hour, "boldly predicted the future and early navigation of the Atlantic by steam." It has been reserved, however, to another country than that of Fulton's, to carry out effectually so great an undertaking. Yet it is with pleasure we observe, that to a New England man, a graduate of Yale College, belongs the honor of projecting, and aided by others of actually forming a great commercial company, for the purpose of making the experiment, the success of which so greatly redounds to their fame. As early as 1833, Junius Smith, Esq., a native of Plymouth, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College, for many years a resident in London, was intently engaged in this enterprise. His labors in bringing his scheme to perfection are thus described :

'In maturing the plans, almost single-handed, his first effort was to unite in it some noble spirit of enterprise kindred with his own ; and in doing this, he met with Macgregor Laird, Esq., whose name is associated with the noble Lander, of African exploration memory, having been connected with him in the grand exploit of exploring the source of the Nile, [Niger ?] This Laird combined with his enterprise much practical knowledge, which, in union with Smith's, displayed the project fully and clearly to the public, as being not only practicable, but feasible in all its aspects, under proper management. They, therefore, set about forming a company, amidst the doubts and opposition of multitudes ; and although in doing so they often encountered discouragement, yet nothing daunted, they only removed one obstacle to surmount another.' p. 62.

The first public movement, by issuing a prospectus for forming a company, was made in the spring of 1835. At this time, Mr. Smith, in a letter to Messrs. Wadsworth & Smith, the present agents in New York, after giving his calculations, says :

' " You will remark that I have every thing to do myself. I have to hunt up directors, appoint a banker, solicitor, auditors, &c. This takes much time. Gentlemen in London of good standing, whatever may be their occupation, have generally such a mass of business upon their hands, that it is no easy matter to find those of the right stamp, willing to take upon themselves the duties of a director. This increases the labor two-fold ; for when I call upon a gentleman to offer him the office of a director, I must have a long talk, and probably have to call two or three times before I get a final answer. If he declines, why then I have to start again, and go over the same ground with some other person. All this keeps me in a sweat in the month of July. But I see no

reason to despair: on the contrary, every day affords fresh encouragement to go on." pp. 63, 64.

The prospectus is also given, in which the object of the company, called "The British and American Steam Navigation Company," is stated to be "to establish a regular and certain communication by Steam vessels between Great Britain and the United States," and the time of average passage is not expected to exceed fifteen days, making a gain of at least two weeks on the average passage of the usual packets. The average speed in all weathers is assumed to be two hundred nautic miles per day. It is remarkable how nearly these calculations have been fulfilled. Various statements of expenditures and profits are also given in the same paper. The plan gradually came to maturity. In the summer of 1835, the company was formed, with a capital of a million sterling, the direction completed, and a contract was immediately entered into for the building of the first steam ship for their purpose. The original calculation was to have had the ship ready for sea in the autumn of 1837. This contract failed, and consequently a delay occurred by which the "British Queen," as the ship is termed, (her-first proposed name was the "Royal Victoria,") will not leave Great Britain till August of the present year. The Sirius was chartered merely to supply her place till she was completed, as another company formed subsequently, was about to take to themselves the honor of a first appearance in our ports. We think that the honor has fallen where it justly belongs, and we are therefore glad, that the Sirius was the first to be greeted with the loud acclaims of a rejoicing community. It would be aside from our purpose to go into detail. By the description, the "British Queen," when she makes her appearance in New York, will be worth seeing. She is probably the largest ship in the world. We have heard one who has seen and examined her, speak of her in the most enthusiastic terms. Her tonnage is stated to be 1890 tons, 1100 more than the Sirius and 500 more than the Great Western, her length of deck 260 feet. It is calculated that she may be able to carry 500 passengers of various classes, besides 800 or 1000 tons of measurement for goods. She is to cost £100,000 sterling—and is built with great care, and with much attention to strength and ability to stem the waves. She is to have but two masts, we believe—these being deemed sufficient for all of the purposes of the sails which may be needed. Numerous recent improvements in the engines, rendering them more safe and operative, have also been introduced—and from the account we have had of her construction it would seem as if

she was most effectually guarded against the dangers both of fire and water.

The pamphlet before us contains a full description of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, and of their voyages across the ocean—and is illustrated by good wood-cuts, representing the two ships. The *Sirius*, said to be a new ship, about “six months at work,” started from Cork, where she last touched in Great Britain to receive passengers, on the 4th of April, and came to anchor off the Battery at New York on the 23d of the same month. Her log-book shows that she was thoroughly tested, as she encountered severe weather—storms, “breezes with squalls and heavy head sea,” &c.

‘The *Sirius*, Lieut. R. Roberts, of the R. N., commander, came to anchor off the Battery early on the morning of the 23d: where crowds were collected to look at her, and a continual stream of visitors was to be seen going and returning.

‘She is a finely modelled vessel of 700 tons; long, straight, and low; schooner rigged; and sits lightly on the water. Her two engines are of 320 horse power each. Her boilers were supplied the whole way with fresh water, by means of a distilling apparatus, which converted the salt into fresh water. The distilling worms, small copper tubes, measure, as is stated, near *four miles*.’ pp. 16, 17.

The *Great Western* also left Bristol, England, April 7th, and reached New York in the afternoon of the 23d—thus presenting the two ships at anchor in the same port on that day, after having traversed the ocean, the one in eighteen and the other in sixteen days. The *Great Western*’s log-book likewise shows some stormy weather—“squally—strong gales—strong winds,” &c. She was under command of Lieutenant Hosken, R. N. and is thus described:

‘The *Great Western* is a vessel of 1340 tons, of which it is computed the gross weight of the steam apparatus is 490; that of the boilers alone, with the water they contain, being 180, and the piston cranks 17 tons each. In the space surrounding the engines is stowage room, in iron boxes of very convenient construction, for 800 tons of coals, whilst the diameter of her paddle-wheels are not less than 38 feet, and are moved by 450 horse power. The dimensions of this fine vessel are such as to afford a state cabin or saloon of 82 feet in length, with an extreme breadth of 34 feet, but of this a certain portion is taken up on each side for convenient and separate sleeping berths, except in the center, where the entire space being left open, forms, instead, two commodious recesses, elegantly fitted up with sofas and looking glasses. The saloon is decorated in the style of the age of *Louis Quatorze*. The sides, which separate it from the sleeping berths, consist of pannels, divided

by upright pilasters, surmounted by capitals of that character. The pannels contain allegorical and emblematic paintings in the style of Watteau, by Mr. Parris. The prevailing color of the apartment, pilasters, &c., is a light salmon or flesh color, with rich gold ornaments and decoration; but the frames of the looking glasses are in imitation of Dresden china, and those of the settees are in carved oak. The cushions of the latter are covered with a new article, composed of horse hair and American grass, said to be of a greater durability than silk, of which it has so much the appearance. This apartment, when completed and furnished, will certainly be one of the most elegant and costly of the kind ever executed. At the lower end of the saloon, on the right, is a small apartment, elegantly fitted up with sofas and draperies, as a withdrawing room, exclusively for the use of the lady passengers. At the corresponding corner, on the left, is the steward's room, and a staircase leading to a cabin under the saloon, entirely fitted up with sleeping berths of the first class, for gentlemen. The fore-cabin, which is divided from the principal one by the engine-room, is forty-six feet long, and of a proportionate breadth, having on each side berths enclosed by partitions, and doors painted to resemble ornamented wood, with gold mouldings; and beyond is a mess-room for the officers of the ship. The whole number of berths is 128, exclusive of those for servants, and other accommodations. The engine-room, placed between the saloons and the fore cabin, is admirably arranged. The engineers are not cramped up in a place too small for convenience, but have plenty of room to attend to the operation of the engines, and to pay due attention to their working. Affixed to the frame-work of the engine is a clock or index, by which the number of the strokes performed by the machinery, and the rate of their performance, is shown with the greatest accuracy, and we are told that without requiring to be again wound up, it will mark as many strokes as will suffice for the whole voyage.

'The coal tanks are so disposed, that, as fast as they are emptied during the voyage, they will be filled with sea water, the fuel and water alternately supplying the place of ballast.' pp. 30, 31, 32.

Both ships participated in the welcome to our shores, and a full account of the festivities and expressions of feeling accorded is given in the pamphlet before us. These we must however pass over. Suffice it to say, that they were, if not in all respects such as rigid temperance men could have desired, at least not lacking in the common methods of entertainment and good cheer. Individuals of both nations mingled in the entertainments, and hailed the day as one which augured well for their mutual prosperity and lasting fellowship.

Speeches were made among others by the Hon. Daniel Webster, Her Majesty's Consul Mr. Buchanan, and by John Ridge a chief of the Cherokee nation. We have dwelt thus far on the facts connected with the arrival of these ships, because we



think the event an important one, and deserving commemoration on our pages. It only remains for us to say, in conclusion of this part of our subject, that, as our readers are aware, the *Sirius* sailed from New York for London on the 1st, and the *Great Western* for Bristol on the 7th of May, the former with forty-eight and the latter with sixty or more passengers. Another British steam-vessel, the *Sir Lionel Smith*, left New York for London on the 14th of May, "and the *City of Kingston*, also a British steam-ship, sailed from Baltimore on the 21st, for the same destination making four steam-ships from the United States in less than a month." The *Sirius* and the *Great Western* accomplished their return voyages in safety, the former in eighteen, the latter in fourteen days, and were greeted with equal enthusiasm in Great Britain. The commander of the *Sirius*, we are informed, received an invitation from the Queen to appear at her court, and it is thought that when he next comes to our country in the command of the new ship, the *British Queen*, which was launched the 24th of May, being the Queen's birth day, it may be as *Sir Richard Roberts*. At the time we write this, the experiment has been repeated; the *Great Western* and the *Sirius* have again visited New York, and are again on their way to their own country, bearing the renewed manifestations of pleasure in our citizens. The success of the enterprise has called out additional efforts in England, and three ships of the burthen of 2000 tons are already contracted for by the British and American Steam-Navigation company—while at Liverpool, Dublin and other ports, the determination is expressed to participate in the enterprise, by the formation of regular lines of steam-packets to the United States. Should nothing occur to prevent these designs, and should equal success attend them as has hitherto been enjoyed—in a few years the Atlantic will be covered by steam-packets, crossing and re-crossing, to almost every great port.

Especially should the electro-magnetic power eventually be brought into use for this purpose, as it perhaps may be, there is scarcely any limits to the expectations of improvement in the modes of intercourse between this country and England. We forgot to mention before, that another ship called the *Columbus*, a quick-silver steam-ship, was announced in a Liverpool paper, as about to leave early in April for New York—to be propelled by two patent vapor engines, of one hundred and twenty horse-power. The following is a description of her machinery in that paper :

“This steamer differs from all others in having literally no boiler. She has steam generators, in which water in small quantities is made to drop from an orifice on a heated plate, which rests upon a stratum of mercury about three inches and a half thick, which is heated up to the temperature of three or four hundred degrees by means of a fire underneath. The rest of the engine is similar to the common low pressure engines, except that the cold water cistern is kept cool by means of pipes of cold salt water running through it. It is originally filled with fresh water, so that the evil of using salt water for condensation is avoided. The fuel burnt is coke and stone coal, and the vessel will carry sufficient for fifty days’ consumption. The vessel steamed the whole of the way from London, and frequently attained a speed of eleven knots per hour. Such is the construction of this vessel; and it must be acknowledged that great advantages, even for short voyages, are obtained by the use of machinery occupying so little room as this does. I am told, however, that it is found extremely difficult to keep the joints of the vessel containing the mercury perfectly tight, and that the effect has been seriously to affect the health of the men employed. It appears to me, however, that some substitute for this volatile and dangerous metal might be employed, say Newton’s fusible metal, which melts at two hundred degrees, and which is not at all volatile.” pp. 59, 60.

In this pamphlet, likewise, is an account of a steam-vessel intended for the Liverpool trade, on the principle of Bennet’s new invention, which it is supposed will produce a great saving—nine-tenths it is said—of fuel, and enable the vessel to reach Liverpool in ten days, besides affording other important advantages. She was announced as to be ready for her first voyage to Liverpool on the 10th of June. We are not aware of her sailing, as yet, though the fact might have escaped our notice. Leaving these details, we proceed, briefly, to throw out some suggestions as to the probable effects of the experiment thus made.

It is obvious that the bringing of England and the United States, within a fortnight’s sail of each other, must materially influence the prospects of both countries. Many who would never have crossed the Atlantic, will be led to do so. The situation of either country will be better understood by the other; the facilities of trade will be vastly increased, and as we think, the two countries must almost necessarily be drawn into a closer alliance. We are aware, that the proximity of countries does not always produce the most peaceful results. Witness England and France, which have been so often at war with each other. But while the United States and Great Britain are liable, as we know, to plunge into hostility with each other, nothing can be more at variance with the interests of the two na-

tions, than such a state of warfare. To neither could there be advantages in it sufficient to counterbalance the injury they would sustain. The commerce and trade of both would materially suffer, and it may be a question, whether at the close of such a struggle, Great Britain might not find herself deprived of her Canadian possessions, an acquisition the benefit of which to us, to say the least, would be very problematical. Than such a war, no event could be more deprecated by the philanthropist and the Christian. In the keeping of these two great nations, by the providence of God, is placed the happiness of a large portion of the globe. From them are to emanate enterprises to bless mankind. They only possess the religion of Christ, in its purest condition on earth, and to them, eventually, the myriads now in paganism, must look for the light of life. Other countries may be in a high degree civilized, and the progress of the arts and sciences among them rapid. But it is in England and the United States that the moral power of truth is gathering its strength, and preparing for the mightiest grappling with ignorance and sin. England is the older country—every thing in her enterprises is marked with the impressions of permanence, and have respect to the final result. She can afford to proceed more leisurely, and therefore may avoid many of the evils which we in our dashing progress, must almost necessarily incur. Every thing among us, is done as it were in a hurry, and no wonder that often the old adage, “haste makes waste,” often finds in our country, its verification. Men are in haste to be rich, and they are made to suffer the penalties of their want of forethought. We are in haste to have our canals and rail-roads completed, and they are consequently not so well done. This fact is strikingly exemplified in respect to the British steam-ships, and our own. Probably no more beautiful models can be found than those which ply upon our own waters. But while the British boats are in many respects less convenient or elegant, they are built with far greater attention to safety. The timbers are put together with much skill, and precautions are taken to prevent the calamities so frequent among us. No man is allowed to be an engineer, unless after seven years’ apprenticeship he has passed a regular examination before the proper board. Each ship has three engineers, able men, the youngest of whom must be competent in case of necessity to take the place of the first engineer. Penalties also exist, to deter from carelessness. The consequence is, that scarcely an instance occurs of a steam-ship being blown up or lost. The peculiar necessity of avoiding such catastrophes makes the owners careful to take every

precaution that their vessels shall be strongly constructed. The community, protected by such laws as are there in force, would not sleep quiet amid the continual bursting of boilers, and the loss of lives. It cannot be said, that the trial is not as great in the British channel as along our own coast. The storms and tempests there are proverbial; yet the steam-ships are regular in their sailing for the ports in Ireland and elsewhere, undeterred by the winds or waves. May we not hope, that by the frequent visits of the British steam-packets, we shall learn also to proceed on the same principle, and prefer safety to beauty or dispatch. Our ship-builders may be led thus to combine their skill and science, in the effort to furnish ships of requisite strength and power, while at the same time, so far as possible, they may preserve the characteristic symmetry and beauty of frame and architecture.

The benefits of intercourse among civilized nations are numerous, and many of them also too obvious to need particular mention. The improvements of one nation are soon transmitted to another; habits of thinking and action in the one, insensibly exert a powerful influence in molding the projects and enterprises of the other. Laws and conventional usages, which have nothing but long antiquity, or some unreasonable caprice, to recommend them, gradually give way before the power of truth thus brought to bear upon them, in the actual observation and experience of others, and a sympathy of aim springs up which is adapted to strengthen both. Let the people of England, for instance, learn, by actual observation, the true condition of our churches, and they would begin to lose some of their dread of the principle of voluntary associations. Let them come among us at all times in greater numbers, and here, by fair-minded inquiry, ascertain the history of revivals, join us in our worship, and blend their hearts with our own; let them become conversant with our feelings, and thus, of themselves, study our characters, and rightly appreciate our condition; and many prejudices, which still linger with them, and often, in spite of the better feelings of their hearts, make them unjust in their judgments, would be relinquished. So too, we may be led more attentively to acquaint ourselves with life as it is among them,—may find apologies for what we deem objectionable,—be led to avoid their errors, and to imitate their virtues. We are aware, that the same facilities which thus are afforded for the transmission of what is good, may also bring in upon us the vices of the old world. An undesirable class of population may be poured in upon us; the corruptions and de-

gradations of wickedness may be increased, by the power of multiplying its sources of evil from its favorite haunts abroad. We know the objections that may be urged in reference to the spirit of money making, which will be fostered, as it is thought, by the increased inlets to enterprise and speculation. We give these suggestions all their weight, and we acknowledge that weight not small. But after all, it seems to us the balance is in favor of a closer regular intercourse. The more precision which can be given to the commercial relations between two countries so situated, the more legitimate will be the operations of capital and industry, the less likely, as it seems to us, will be the desire to rush into unlawful and hazardous schemes of business. If every person possessed the same knowledge of local advantages, the inducements to speculation must, in no small degree, be taken away. It is because one man is in advance of the other in his intelligence, that he is often tempted to enrich himself at another's expense. We believe, too, there is much wealth in Great Britain, which might find its way to this country, to be invested so as might promote the productive industry of our country.

But it is in the nobler relation of fellow-laborers in the great cause of human happiness, that the subject of intercourse between Great Britain and the United States deserves consideration. Already they have mutually exerted an influence on each other. From them we have caught the grand idea of a National Bible Society; while they are equally indebted to us for the Temperance reformation. It is pleasing to trace the progress of both people towards a union in benevolent effort. And what might not their combined energies effect? The successful lines of communication across the Atlantic by steam, will lead to the determination in the same way to traverse the Pacific and the Indian oceans. Allow it to be successful, and it will not be long before India, China, and the isles of the sea, will be witness to the wonderful developments of steam. Perhaps there is scarcely any improvement in civilized life, which will so much strike the uncivilized pagan, or convince him of the immense superiority of civilization. The distance between the extreme portions of the globe being thus shortened, and a safe passage rendered practicable, those countries which are now, from their distance, so entirely ignorant of the nations where christianity is acknowledged, will be brought into more direct contact with the operations of civilized life. Missionaries of the cross may perform their voyages to the fields of their labor within half or a third of the time. Intelligence may

be transmitted back and forth frequently and at short intervals. If God, in his mercy, pours down his Spirit on some missionary station, christians in England and America may have it in their power to rejoice in such a dispensation of loving-kindness, before even the scenes which call forth their praise have ceased to be enjoyed in that place of their manifestation. There is that in the sympathy thus created, which is adapted to waken a livelier interest in the welfare of its subjects. The breath of prayer will oftener rise from the true altar of the heart, as the incense of gratitude, and memory will dwell with increased delight on any participation had in thus sending out the gospel to bless mankind. Besides, the natural tendency of a more extended intercourse with other nations, is, to promote a feeling of benevolent regard. There is no truer way to render any people selfish and narrow in their views, than to shut them out from the acquaintance with other people. God, in peopling the various parts of our world, never designed that they should be thus secluded. Had he done so, he would doubtless have constituted it differently. No wants, beyond what might have been gratified on the spot where they originated, would have prompted the secluded being to explore other realms, or seek an acquaintance with other people. Man is one great family, and is designed to be one great brotherhood. Hence their social capacities. It is a perversion, when any people insulate themselves. Thus the Chinese have done, and the consequence is, that notwithstanding their improvements in some things, and their ingenuity, they are among the most selfish and proud of all nations. A few months' or years' intercourse with other nations, would lower their self-estimation, and teach them how far short of perfection they are, how much that is truly valuable they might learn, of those whom they now count as barbarians. The voice of prophecy has proclaimed a glorious era in reserve for the church of God. To hasten this period, the way must be prepared not only morally but naturally. At its approach draws near, the world must rapidly advance in every method of improvement. Such has hitherto been the progress of things, and such, in the nature of the case, must be the subsequent history of the world. Not a year but witnesses some great discovery, invention, or modification of existing means, which is destined to exert a mighty influence in calling out and giving direction to the energies of man. Look at the increase of knowledge and the channels of communication which a few centuries have furnished. Is it to be supposed, that all this additional science and art brought into action, is to

leave us where it found us? It is not possible. The improvements of one age must be transmitted to another, wherein new adaptations and applications may be discovered, by which their power may be increased ten-fold or a hundred-fold. Such too must be the effect in regard to moral power created and brought into action. We can now, by means of stereotyping, throw off thousands of copies of the bible or tracts, where previously we could only at most prepare some few hundreds. We can make three voyages in less time than it took to make one. We can traverse countries of remote extent, where before, at most, we could but go over a single province. Great questions relating to civil constitutions, to the happiness of nations, are to be decided, and many are the people who are to aid in forming the decision. A community of feeling, in all that is honorable, and just, and good, is to be created and extended. The spark struck out by one nation, must be passed over to another, until all are in one bright blaze of irradiating truth. It is in this point of view we would estimate the results of steam-navigation. Such a power, so applied, must be productive of important effects. It must have a tendency more and more to bring nations under a process of assimilation. The christian should stand ready to seize upon every contribution of the sciences or arts, and turn it into the great storehouse of moral enginery for subduing man to the power of the gospel. Thus civilization and the religion of the gospel will go hand in hand, and fulfill their original and legitimate destination. The heart of the child of God will rejoice at every new accession to the means of convenience and comfort to man; for he may feel, that it will swell the amount of moral power which he is to employ in glorifying his Maker, by turning a world unto holiness. The weapons of her unholy warfare will be wrested from infidelity, and every assault against the truth prove vain; for her poisoned shafts will be warded off by the shield of a better science, and fall pointless on the panoply of a well-sustained faith.

When we consider the obligation of the christian to employ every faculty and all the means that God may place at his disposal, for the extension of the dominion of truth; when we think of the consequences of a closer intercourse between nations, to be effected through the agency of steam, it will not be deemed strange, that we have devoted a few pages to this subject. Men will never think by steam—nor speak or write by steam, but their thoughts, their words, and their writings in all their freshness, may, through its agency, reach myriads who otherwise might never hear of them. This fact shows the in-

creasing responsibility of all those who through the press, influence the formation of public opinion. Every extension, direct or indirect, of this great instrument of moral power, renders the claim the more imperative on all who use it, to see to it, that they use it for the welfare of mankind. It is by the combined energy of civilized and christianized nations, that the true principles of liberty and righteousness, are to be propagated and explained. But to effect this union of effort, is no slight labor. The action of each must be felt on the other—and whatever tends to break down the distance, physical or moral, which is interposed, and draws them into mutual confidence, as under the operation of the same great interests, will have an important result in accomplishing such an object. One great difficulty is removed, when nations far apart can thus frequently reach forth the hand of fellowship, and the pulse-throb of benevolent action, is felt almost simultaneously by both. The circle of unselfish purposes, will widen their influence, and the remotest people may be embraced within its range. Jew and Gentile, bond and free—the objects of its self-blessing bounty, will share in the love which prompts its inquiries and its ministrations of good. Arguments, illustrations, and appeals to sympathy and compassion—the urgency of the heart that has no rest till a slumbering world is awakened to feel and to act aright—will thus at once press the conscience, both at home and abroad. When so vast an array of moral power is at work—when Europe and America gird themselves to the onset, who can predict how rapid may be the success? We may not live to see it: most probably, scarce its dawn will greet us with its cheering harbingers of blessing—but in that day, when peace is enthroned in the hearts of all, and the song of salvation breaks its notes of jubilee, from the glad bosom of myriads in every land—that consummation will be acknowledged, under God, to have been hastened by events, in appearance slightly connected with its coming, and the establishment of regular steam-communication between this country and England may be seen to have been one link in the great chain of causes, which have conducted to so happy a termination.



ART. III.—PRACTICAL VIEW OF REVIVALS OF RELIGION.

It may be proper that we should settle at the outset, *What is a Revival of Religion?* For common and almost technical as this phrase has become, it may be understood, by those who oppose all earnestness in religion, and all true religion itself, to denote any and every species of excitement on the subject of religion, or of which religion is the occasion. Consequently, the wildest and most extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, at any time or in any place, may be injuriously and falsely dignified by this name; and thus the cause of true religion may be deeply wronged in the eyes of many. By a revival of religion, then, is meant this, and this only;—That the great truths of natural and revealed theology do, at certain times, and under certain combinations of circumstances, and agreeably to certain laws of God's spiritual providence, become invested in the view of many minds in a community at the same time, with unusual clearness and force, so as to constitute in regard to those minds, as they had not been before, the operative principles of action, usually awakening much deep and solemn feeling, and producing under the special power of God, many interesting and permanent changes of moral character,—such changes as every cordial friend to virtue and to human happiness must approve. To be a little more specific in our statement. In a real revival of religion, two things always occur and go together: Evangelical truth is then *seen* with far greater strength and vividness of perception than at other and ordinary times. *Complacency*, also, in the truth as thus seen, begins then by numbers to be experienced for the first time, under the transforming influence of the Spirit of God upon the sinner's heart. The claims of a holy and righteous God are then felt and realized, and delighted in as they are not at other times. Sin then appears in a new and more appalling light than at other times. Eternity with all its dread solemnities appears at such a time comparatively nearer, and this present world vanishes away, as it were, into nothing. In the case too of those who at such a season, yield to the "strivings" of the Divine Spirit and give up their hearts to God, there is a peace, a joy felt by them, which is quite new, and such as they never felt before, growing out of conscious submission to God, penitence for sin, and reliance on Christ for salvation. A revival always presupposes, not only excitement about religion, but excitement in view of *truth*, and followed by a cordial embracing of the truth

in the love of it, and consequently by a holy life. Wherever such a state of things as that just spoken of occurs, *there* is what is appropriately called a revival of religion. It matters not by what particular instrumentality it may have been produced, or to what extent greater or smaller it may have prevailed. The essential characteristics of such a work, are that the Spirit of God made the *truth* effectual in the saving conversion of a number of individuals in the same community, at or near the same time. . This is, briefly, the doctrine of revivals as it will be held up to view in this article, and as evangelical christians generally in this country are supposed to regard it.

Revivals of religion are greatly to be *desired*. We make this remark in full view of all that has sometimes been said, or hinted, respecting the evils of religious excitements. We regard these religious excitements as very great, as unspeakable blessings to the church and to the world. If, from want of due caution in conducting them, or from other causes, evils should incidentally arise out of them in some cases (and what good thing is not liable in the hands of imperfect and sinful men, to be made the occasion, indirectly, of producing some evil?) still we must be permitted, after some careful observation on this subject, to express our strong and decided conviction, that revivals of religion, when viewed in their true and appropriate character and results, deserve to be regarded as most blessed seasons of God's mercy to mankind, and as calling for our gratitude and praise. Let us look carefully at a few *facts*, touching this point. Consider, first, the augmented numbers, comprising all ages and descriptions of persons, who are converted in consequence of revivals; remembering as we proceed, what is the real worth of every single soul, thus plucked from the jaws of death; and let us compare the number of those converted in revivals, with what would have been, probably, the number of conversions without revivals. The writer has been in the ministry, among the same people, a little upwards of twenty years. During that period, he finds, that of the whole number of those who have been added to the church under his care, by profession, about the proportion of seven eighths have been, more or less directly and obviously, the fruits of revivals. That is, about seven eighths of those who have been brought into the church, have been such persons as probably never would have made a profession of religion had it not been for revivals. The baptisms, infant and adult, are about in the same proportion. And among those who have professed religion as the fruits of revivals, the cases of apostacy have been extremely rare, and

the evidence of piety quite as good, it is thought, to say the least, as in the case of the one eighth who have been brought into the church without the influence of revivals. The writer is, also, a member of a Consociation of churches, among whom according to official returns recently made, between seven and eight hundred hopeful conversions took place during the last winter and spring; a larger number than ordinarily takes place within the same congregations in several years, when there is no revival. Now what has been thus true under the writer's eye and within the immediate circle of his own pastoral labors, would appear to be substantially true also (it is thought) if we had the statistics which a wider field of observation would furnish. Revivals then, it would seem, are greatly to be desired when we consider the greater *number* of persons who are thus, in a judgment of charity, converted from the ranks of impenitence and brought to take an open stand on the side of christianity, beyond what would be the probable fact if no revivals were to exist among us.

Again. There is another fact to be looked at, which has a bearing on this subject. The tone of enlightened christian feeling and christian action, on the part of those who have already espoused the cause of the Redeemer, is greatly elevated by means of revivals of religion, beyond what it ordinarily would be, if these blessed seasons of God's peculiar mercy were withheld from us. In the ordinary state of the public mind on the subject of religion, it is well known, that the influence of the world is apt to become predominant, at least to such an extent as greatly to deduct from, if not wholly to paralyze, the proper influence of religious considerations over men's minds. Revivals come in as powerful checks to that terrific spirit of worldliness which is so apt to creep in upon the church where these checks do not exist. The piety of the churches, and along with it their maintaining the great fundamental truths of the gospel, with proper zeal and firmness, would be very greatly endangered, were it not for the kindly quickening impulse to the christian's heart and conscience which these seasons of special Divine mercy administer. They break the christian's hold on this world as nothing else will. They impress the vanity of worldly things. They bring eternity and eternal things nearer. They make men feel the worth of the soul. They help us to realize the value of the gospel, the preciousness of the Redeemer, the boundless grace of God in a sinner's salvation. In a revival, there is a new and different, and juster medium through which all spiritual objects are contemplated. Then it is, that christians

are especially active in the cause of Christ. Then it is, that they especially love one another. Then, that they feel for impenitent sinners, and pray and labor for their salvation. We cannot but think, that revivals would be greatly to be desired, were it only for the healthful influence which they exert upon those who are already christians, in keeping alive their graces, and in upholding divine truth both in its letter and spirit among them. Take away our precious revivals, and who can tell how soon the living pulse of piety would cease to beat in our churches, and how soon we should have another gospel preached in our pulpits.

Revivals, moreover, are the most direct and most powerful of all causes in promoting the public morals of a community. How benign the influence which they exert in aid of the temperance cause; in redeeming the sabbath from neglect; in bringing men to the sanctuary, and leading them to engage in the worship of God there, many of whom, in an ordinary state of things, would never enter the house of God! And more indirectly, in a thousand forms, by the simple process of giving to men's consciences an increased susceptibility of a sense of pain, and remorse, and apprehension, in view of sin and wickedness of every name. Revivals, also, operate as a powerful encouragement to the labors of the ministry, by letting those who are clothed with the sacred office see, very clearly and strikingly, that their labors are not in vain in the Lord. This kind of encouragement, this incentive to fresh animation, and zeal, and energy, and courage, in discharging the duties of an ambassador of Christ to the guilty and the lost, is, oftentimes, exactly what is needed, in order to break up the monotony of a heartless round of inefficient labors, and to raise to new hope and new efforts the sinking mind of the tired, discouraged laborer. On this point we need not dwell. Every minister of Christ, who has spent any considerable time in that difficult and responsible employment, knows what we mean, and can easily anticipate what we would say. By means of revivals, also, more is done for the missionary cause, and for the conversion of the world. Every outpouring of the Spirit raises up new friends to the cause of missions, increases the amount of funds devoted to that cause, wafts to heaven in prayer more numerous and more fervent desires, that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done, on earth as it is done in heaven. Let our revivals stop, and what would become of the great enterprise of converting mankind to God? what would become of our benevolent associations? what would become of our hopes of an approaching millenium of rest and holiness to this world of sin

and sorrow? From every estimate which we can now form on this subject, it would seem clear, beyond a doubt, that we must have revivals of religion, and still more powerful revivals than we have hitherto had, or else (judging from the past) the progress of this world's conversion to God can never be consummated. As matters now are, the prospect sometimes looks sufficiently dark. What would it be, were the windows of heaven to be shut up, and the effusions of divine grace, in the form of extended and powerful revivals, to cease and come to an end?

But there is a brighter aspect to this subject. Revivals are to be *expected*. When the proper means are used, these seasons of special religious interest in a community are not only to be desired, they are precisely such occurrences as are to be looked for; they are what an enlightened christian, with the bible in his hand, and the history of the church before him, would expect. There are some specific considerations which would lead us to expect them.

We should expect them from the *social* character of man, and from the well-known power of *sympathy* or fellow-feeling which belongs to man's nature. That is, if true religion were to exist at all in our world, we should expect, from what we know of the susceptibility of one mind to be moved by another, that there would be particular seasons, more or less frequently recurring, during which a subject so important to every man as religion is, would be seen exerting a more wide-spread and a more potent influence over men's minds than at other times, and that large masses of society would be, or at least might be, moved as by a common impulse. We think it would be rational beforehand to look, under an economy of grace and the actual existence of religion on earth, for just such spiritual phenomena on this subject as every revival presents. We should expect, that one mind, becoming strongly interested on the subject of its salvation, would be the occasion of another mind being roused to attend to the same subject, and that this would lead to the same result in the case of another, and thus that the interest on this momentous subject, which perhaps began with an individual, would be, or easily might be, extended through a large community, until there should be but one paramount and absorbing object of pursuit throughout the whole body. And the denser the population in that community, and the more numerous the points of mutual contact among the members of that community, and the stronger the sympathies which linked them together, the more general and powerful (should we expect) the revival would in that case become,

other things at the same time being equal. It would be strange if mankind, being placed together in a state of society, and possessing as they do such susceptibilities in various respects of being acted upon one by another, and feeling as they do so many ligaments binding them together, should be serious and anxious about their salvation only one at a time, each separately from the others around him, and as though they lived on opposite sides of the globe. It would be strange, if men's social feelings and common sympathies, which operate to bind them together, and to produce a degree of fellow-feeling and sameness of action among them on all other subjects, should on this subject wholly cease to operate in the production of any such effects. We see men moved simultaneously, in large masses, on all other subjects of any general interest or importance to them. Why should we not expect it would be so on the subject of religion, under the agency of the Holy Spirit? What a sensation through a community is sometimes produced by a single instance of mortality in that community! Who has not seen how quickly a numerous circle of mourners, on meeting together, and on seeing each other under some common affliction which has befallen them, are moved to sadness and tears, as if their feelings of grief and sorrow were contagious? Why does a political election, to vary the illustration, sometimes so strongly interest and put into commotion a whole people? Not, always, the intrinsic importance of the occasion. Not, always, any distinct apprehension of much good or evil, that are expected to flow from it. Let the individuals go to the place of election, separately and alone, and there deposit their silent, solitary vote, and how greatly would the interest of the scene be diminished! Now we contend, that the same principle of our nature, the susceptibility of being ourselves moved by seeing others moved, on any subject of general interest to mankind, is to be expected to operate on the subject of religion, as truly and as fully as on any other subjects. It would be unphilosophical, and contrary to analogy, not to look for it. Nay, more than this; we should expect, from the principle of our nature just mentioned, that (under the Spirit's influence) there would be, or at least rationally might be, a more extended, and sudden, and powerful feeling, excited in a community on the subject of religion, than would be likely to take place on any other and merely secular subject, on account of the paramount importance of religion over all other possible subjects of regard. Thus far, the argument in favor of revivals is drawn simply from the social character of man, and from the sympathies

which belong naturally to the human mind, on all subjects in which men have a common interest.

We now proceed a step farther, and shall show, that revivals are to be expected, from the bible. It was a promise under the Mosaic economy, that in the times of the Messiah, or under the new testament dispensation, the Spirit of God should be poured out, and religion revive and prevail, as it had not done before. See Isaiah 44 : 3—5. "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground : I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring : and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses. One shall say I am the Lord's ; and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob ; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel." See also, Joel 2 : 28—32. These passages began to receive their accomplishment just after the ascension of Christ, in the wonderful effusion of the Spirit of God, recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and in the subsequent revivals, of that day, by which many thousands of people were converted and brought into the christian church. These same inspired predictions have continued to be more and more fully and strikingly accomplished, in the revivals with which God has continued to bless the church and the world down to the present day, and by means of which he designs to give to the gospel a universal spread among all nations and to fill the whole earth with his glory. Accordingly, wherever the gospel is faithfully preached, accompanied with a proper spirit of prayer on the part of christians, there we find that at short intervals, these special visitations of divine mercy do actually take place, and many souls are converted to God in them. Now our argument is, that from what is said in the bible on this subject under both dispensations, the old and the new, and especially as compared with what has occurred in the actual history of the church from time to time and in obvious fulfillment of the voice of prophecy in relation to this point, we should be led to expect just such seasons of special "refreshing from the presence of the Lord," as those which are in fact mercifully vouchsafed to us. It is not visionary to look for them. It is not fanatical to calculate upon them, when the proper means are made use of to secure their taking place. They are soberly and rationally to be expected, on the ground, that the bible itself encourages such an expectation of them.

Besides further : We do not see how the world is ever to be converted to God without something of the nature of revivals

of religion, as a means to that end. In the ordinary way of gaining converts to the Redeemer, without any such excitement of the public attention in a community to the subject of religion, as constitutes, according to our definition already given, a revival of religion, we do not see how this world is to be, or can be recovered from its lost and ruined condition and brought under the full and proper influence of the gospel. The occurring of here and there a single solitary instance of conversion, while the great mass of the people lie buried in profound slumber on this subject, and are putting forth no exertion towards their salvation, will never bring about the conversion of the whole race. The general stupidity must be broken up in some way; the common mass of the population in any and every part of the world must be moved; a sensation of alarm in view of danger, a conviction of guilt while remaining (as the impenitent sinner does) in voluntary estrangement from God, must somehow be made to pervade and arouse large bodies of men, and set them to thinking and acting in earnest towards their salvation; else, how can we reasonably expect, that the inhabitants of this entire globe will ever give up their sins and their lying vanities and turn to God. To us it seems clear beyond a doubt, that this world's conversion to the Lord Jesus Christ, is quite a hopeless matter, an occurrence that never will take place, without the agency of revivals to bring it to pass. Take away our revivals, and how is the public mind to be moved? How is the church itself to be simultaneously excited to the proper tone of feeling and of action? How is the vast inert dead mass of impenitent sinners to be reached and roused to "newness of life?" And, without revivals, where is the moral lever that can heave heathenism out of its place? The insulated power of the Spirit, confined to a few individual cases here and there in a community, and acting irrespectively of the known laws of sympathy between mind and mind (if such a thing could exist) would never be adequate to accomplish the desired end. The world cannot be converted to God in this way. At least, so it appears to us. But the world will one day be converted to God; "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters fill the seas." Are not revivals, then, to be looked for? and revivals too, of greater power and wider extent, than have hitherto been experienced. Where is the improbability of supposing, that whole nations, the largest associated bodies of men on the globe, are to feel the power of the Spirit poured out upon them in one general and simultaneous effusion, and to evince, that they do feel this power of the Spirit by a general



and simultaneous turning to God,—just as the whole army of dry bones in the prophet's vision were re-animated and stood upon their feet at once, when the breath from the four winds came upon them. The foregoing are a few of the considerations which would seem to make it reasonable to expect confidently, that revivals of religion would occur from time to time, wherever the proper means are put in operation for that end; and that these seasons of mercy may, and probably will become more and more extended, and with fewer and shorter intervals between them, as the time approaches, when "all men shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest."

But it may perhaps be asked, If the foregoing views be correct, why are not revivals experienced in every part of the christian church, and among all denominations of christians alike? Why are some portions of the church scarcely favored with these seasons of refreshing at all, and some entire denominations of christians almost wholly passed by? A satisfactory solution of these difficulties, we think may easily be found, and the facts alledged be rationally and fully accounted for, without impugning the general theory of revivals as maintained in these pages. Let the following things be candidly weighed.

It is a well known fact, that in certain portions of the church, and among certain classes of professed christians, as for example, in the established church of Great Britain, and to some extent in the Episcopal communion in this country, revivals are looked upon with a suspicious, if not with an unfriendly eye. By many they are not well understood, and owing to this fact are not favored. By many, through the influence of false reports respecting them, they are directly discountenanced and opposed. Fears are entertained of any and all popular excitement, even on the subject of religion. The danger of delusion and of an over-heated zeal is dreaded more than the calm and quiet of an unbroken apathy in sin. And a much smaller number of accessions to the church, without excitement, is preferred to the introduction of a large number with the supposed danger attending such excitement. Surely where these feelings extensively prevail, respecting the danger of excitement in religion, it cannot be a matter of surprise that *there* no extended and powerful revival should exist. For there the means ordinarily essential to their existence will not be used, but on the contrary, will be carefully avoided. And if at any time, symptoms should be discovered, of the public mind becoming more than usually interested on the subject of religion, efforts would there be made to guard against the incipient and dreaded evil.

Who can reasonably wonder, that in such circumstances, there should be no revivals? Would it not rather be strange if the fact were otherwise?

Again. Where the proper theory of revivals is not wholly discarded, but where some sort of belief in them is maintained, it may nevertheless be true, that those doctrines of the bible are not preached which are adapted to promote revivals. Those doctrines, it may be, are not preached which go to alarm the sinner's fears of coming wrath. Those doctrines, it may be, are not preached, which go to make the sinner feel that his sinfulness is wholly his own, and wholly an uncoerced and voluntary thing, and that for it he alone is responsible. It may be true, that in some congregations, the sinner is not accustomed to have the naked claims of God's law brought out, and laid upon his conscience, just as if it was expected he would feel these claims, and feel them now, and be made unhappy by them, till he was willing to abandon forever his present course of life. It may be that the sinner, on the contrary, is accustomed to hear from his minister such representations of sin, as lead him to feel, that it is a physical unavoidable calamity; or that every time he dares to sin against God, he does so because he has not the power to choose otherwise, but is necessitated to do just as he does. It may be, that the notion of dependence for holiness on the Spirit of God, which the sinner has imbibed, is such, that he feels quite passive, and pretty much at rest, in respect to the question of his conversion to God, *that* being a work in which he himself has little or nothing to do (as he supposes) until he is first wrought upon by the Holy Spirit, and consequently, that until such a time he allowably may and in fact must wait and put forth no effort towards his salvation. He may, also, have such views of the sovereignty of God, in giving the Holy Spirit, as shall effectually hinder (instead of encouraging) all effort to gain eternal life. In these, and other respects, the truth of God, it is perfectly plain, may be so loosely or erroneously exhibited, that its point and power, as addressed to the sinner's understanding and conscience, shall be very much enfeebled, if not wholly destroyed. And in such a state of things, with the dictates of men's common sense disregarded, and their consciences but little if at all pressed up to duty, it surely becomes no very inexplicable fact, that revivals are not enjoyed. It is by means of the truth, plain, pungent, right home to the understandings and consciences of men, that revivals are brought about. But what if such truth is not presented and enforced, ought we to be surprised if its appropriate effects should be

wanting, and stupidity should reign, and the quiet peacefulness of death should be upon the churches?

Besides, the whole *system* of religious instruction may be, in given cases, vitally defective. We should not expect revivals, for example, where Universalism or Socinianism was taught. Because, in either case, the system of instruction would be vitally bad, having not only no tendency to convert sinners, but having just the opposite tendency, to quiet them in sin. The same may be said, as being in a degree true, of that system of religious instruction which proceeds upon the ground, that the sinner is something less than totally depraved, in the original moral temper and bias of his soul; or that which takes it for granted, that all men are not wholly dependent upon God for holiness, owing to their own wicked and voluntary perverseness; or that which assumes, that for a portion of mankind, no atonement has been provided. The systems of teaching which proceed upon these latter assumptions, may not be vitally and essentially bad, nor do we consider them, by any means, as standing on the same ground with the preceding errors of Universalism and Socinianism, although we have happened to place them in juxtaposition with those errors; and yet, *in a degree*, they may resemble those greater and more deadly errors, as it respects their want of power upon the sinner's heart and conscience to turn him to God, and their want of adaptedness to produce revivals.

Another thing deserves some notice here. It often happens, that particular portions or classes of nominal christians, who profess not to believe in or to favor revivals, are, nevertheless, unconsciously to themselves, supported and kept alive by them. They would soon slide back into the world, and become identified with it, were it not for revivals. Every revival which occurs in the community around them, puts them upon making more vigorous exertions to build up their own party, or church, or sect; and thus, without favoring revivals, nay, while professedly opposing them, they are indirectly and greatly benefited by them. Indeed, it is seldom the fact, that in a powerful visitation of the Holy Spirit, any denomination of christians in that community where such revival takes place, fails, in some degree, to participate in the blessing, even though at the very time they may be directly and loudly decrying the good work by which they are thus strengthened and blessed. In such cases as these, though a revival in name and form may not be experienced directly among themselves, yet indirectly, and in reality, very many of the blessed fruits of a revival they may and do experience.

There is yet another remark to be made under this topic. Not always is there such a degree of mutual sympathy and co-operation between a minister and his church, in sustaining and carrying on the work of a revival, as there ordinarily must be, in order to the success of that work. It is peculiarly important, that the ministry and the church should work together; that they should see eye to eye; that they should *feel*, that the cause of Christ among them is a common cause; and that they should sympathize reciprocally and fully in each other's plans and measures for promoting the one grand object, the conversion and salvation of souls. An inert, inefficient church, or a rash, indiscreet, self-willed church, will often defeat the best directed efforts of the wisest and best minister on earth. And the same may be true on the other side; an unfaithful, inefficient, time-serving minister, may hang like a dead weight upon a church, to hold it back, and hinder it from doing any thing effectual in the work of saving souls. There must be a proper co-operation on the part of both; ministers must labor, and churches, in their sphere, must labor also, or else they must not look for any very signal display of the power of God in the conversion of sinners.

*How are revivals of religion to be brought about?* This is an important inquiry. Doubtless God is a sovereign in this department of his operations, as he also is in every other; but not in such a sense, probably, as to set aside, much less to counteract, the established and known laws of mind, nor to dispense with the use of means. On the contrary, there are certain antecedents to a revival, which are ordinarily as necessary, as the cause in any other case is necessary to the effect. Among these antecedents are the faithful presentation of divine truth to men's consciences; proper discipline in the church; the prayers of christians; and the special influences of the Holy Spirit, leading men to consider and apply the truth, and making the truth effectual as thus considered and applied by them:—The economy of revivals demands, that there should be, first of all, *a faithful presentation of divine truth* to men's consciences. Without this, no revivals are to be expected. Without this, there is no decisive evidence that revivals can exist. The particular truths which are best adapted to this end, are the following: That sin is not a misfortune either in its origin or continuance; not a physical property of the mind, and in that sense unavoidable; but that it is, evermore, a voluntary controversy with God, and with the dictates of an enlightened conscience, presupposing the power of intelligent moral action in

the committers of it, and involving the necessary obligation of immediate repentance ; that the claims of God upon the sinner are all right and reasonable, founded in unalterable fitness and propriety, and lying within the sinner's physical ability to comply with them ; that mercy is offered on terms as low as any heart but the heart of a rebel would desire ; that nothing on his part is required as an antecedent to salvation, but what is in the nature of the ~~only~~ necessary to that end, and to which the sinner can and ought instantly to yield ; that the sinner will not, however, of himself yield to the proposed terms of salvation, but will steadfastly decline salvation on those terms ; that the interposition of the Spirit is necessary, and why necessary ; the uncertainty, to us, whether the sinner is ever saved, and the ground of this uncertainty ; the fullness and freeness of the provision made for him in the gospel ; his own perverseness, voluntary, but deep-rooted and fixed, the grand difficulty in the way of his being saved ; his consequent danger, notwithstanding an atonement has been provided for him ; and the justice of God in his final and everlasting punishment. These truths, faithfully presented and often reiterated, are adapted to make their way to the sinner's heart, and will seldom be preached in vain, especially when they are preached with a full conviction of their reality, and under a just sense of their amazing importance.

Yet truth alone, as exhibited from the pulpit, and with whatever degree of faithfulness it be set forth, will not effect the object. There are other antecedents to a revival, besides this.

There must be efficient *discipline* in the church. The church is the reflector of divine truth, in its concentrated and burning power, upon the sinner's conscience. This reflector, therefore, must be in such a state, as to throw back, truly and forcibly, the light of which it is designed to be the medium of conveyance to others. The church, in other words, must be kept pure and active, and must let its light shine. Its members must be in such a state, as that the minister of God's truth can point the impenitent sinner to them and say, These are my witnesses : see here the fruits of the gospel. It is of immense importance to the success of a minister's labors, that the state of the church be carefully and thoroughly attended to. Discipline, exact and unintermitted, must be maintained. If the light which is, or should be, in the church, be darkness, how great and portentous is that darkness ! and it will be darkness in any church, without faithful and efficient discipline. Nor is this of itself enough.

There must also be much fervent *prayer* to God, on the part of christians, that he would interpose his mighty aid, and make effectual their efforts in his cause. And then, in addition to the whole, it must be distinctly remembered, that all human agency will prove powerless in this matter, without the special agency of the Holy Spirit. This is our last, our only ultimate reliance. And blessed be God, we may expect the interposition of his almighty aid, whenever the means above spoken of are faithfully used on the part of his children.

But a question of still deeper interest remains: How are revivals, after they have commenced, *to be sustained and carried forward*? How is the natural tendency towards returning apathy in the public mind to be counteracted, and the revival to be continued in progress, after it has begun? So far as means are concerned, as conducing to this end, the following suggestions may not be wholly without their use.

There should be great *simplicity* and *directness* in the presentation of divine truth. The public mind at such a time does not want any thing far-fetched or fine-spun; any thing labored, or recondite, or fanciful; any thing not directly home to the understanding and the conscience. Topics that may be introduced at other times with propriety, may be wholly unsuitable now. The great truths of the bible must be presented with great simplicity, and with as little going round the point, and keeping at a distance from it, as possible. Many a revival has been checked, and prematurely brought to a close, by not pressing plain and solemn truth in a plain and direct manner.

*Continuity* of effort, on the part of the friends of the revival, is also essentially necessary to the continued progress of the work. There is a constant tendency in an imperfectly sanctified mind, leading that mind to remit proper exertion, or suffer the exertion that is made to become fitful and spasmodic. The minds of christians are apt soon to grow tired, or at least to be less uniformly animated with faith and zeal in their labors, after a revival has been in progress some time, and after the novelty of the scene has worn off, than they were at first. Then, there is danger, that there will be a remission of suitable effort, and thus the work will decline. Besides, there is another respect in which continuity of effort is necessary. Religious meetings should be so arranged, in respect to frequency, and time, and place, as to keep up, and if possible to deepen and extend, the impression made from one meeting to another. There should be no break, no chasm of serious reflection, and of collected and solemn feel-

ing. And the means should be so used as to allow of none. The public mind should be held *continuously*, so far as may be, to the contemplation of the great themes of religion,—only the necessary business of this world being attended to in the mean time, and that too as a concern wholly subordinate to the greater interest, the salvation of the soul.

It is also important to the same end,—of sustaining and keeping up a revival of religion,—that there should be a continued sympathy and co-operation in the work between the pastor and the church. Neither of them can carry on the work alone. Neither of them can carry it on without the cordial and efficient aid of the other. But, uniting together, and keeping united, in counsel and in labor, they are strong: though few in numbers, they are, like Gideon's army, a mighty host. It is farther important to the same end, that all proper pains should be taken to bring the impenitent within the reach of the means of grace. This is always suitable; pre-eminently so in a revival, and with particular reference to a continuance of the revival. It frequently happens, that revivals stop, because most of those who have attended on the means used in these revivals have been converted. The rest stay away, and therefore are not reached. For how can the truth benefit those who will not come to hear it!

Another thing of very great utility in keeping up a revival of religion, is, frequent seasons—whole days—of fasting and prayer, held by the church, to which also the impenitent should be affectionately invited. Nothing in the form of means has such an influence as this. It tends most happily to arrest incipient declension in the church, when such declension has begun, and to bring them up anew to the work; and it is like barbed arrows in the hearts of impenitent sinners. Cases have been known, in which impenitent sinners have been awakened while barely passing the place where such meetings were held, and by their being thus led to reflect on the specific object of such meetings.

One thing more. On suitable occasions, let the converts relate briefly their religious exercises, exhort their impenitent companions, and lead in prayer in social meetings. This should indeed be managed with some caution and skill; but when it is properly managed, it is a legitimate and very powerful auxiliary in extending and carrying forward a work of divine grace. It need not encourage an improper forwardness in the converts, (an objection sometimes made to it.) It is compatible, in them, with the most perfect humility. And it does

lay hold of susceptibilities in the minds of their thoughtless associates and acquaintance, which nothing else will. The first converts from Judaism and paganism to christianity, were made use of, by the Spirit of God, in producing and multiplying accessions, at that period, to the christian church. Why should not the same means be employed now? And if judiciously employed, what stronger objection lies against them now than then?

But, when we *have* used every means in our power, and taken every possible precaution to prevent a revival from declining at length and coming to a close, shall we of course have gained our point? Can revivals be made to continue on indefinitely; or must they, by and by cease? This question demands a moment's consideration. There is, doubtless, a sense in which revivals, after they have been in progress for a season, may be expected to decline, and probably will decline; perhaps, *must* decline. They will decline in respect to the degree of vividness and force with which truth will blaze upon the mind and get hold of the feelings of the heart. As man is now constituted, and amid the objects by which he is now surrounded, perhaps it is not possible, that the mind should have, for any great length of time together, those vivid and impressive views of spiritual objects, which for a season it may have, and which in a revival of religion it often does have. We are inclined to think, that the laws of mind, as man is in the present world, forbid it. In this sense, then, it may be expected, that revivals will, perhaps in some degree they *must*, decline. They may be expected to decline, also, in regard to the *number* of minds simultaneously affected by them. There will be a season during which the number of those who are anxious will increase, but that number will, after a while, reach its highest point and begin to decline, and then the revival in this respect will be at stand, or begin to decline. And this, we believe, to be a result which no human skill or power in the use of means can prevent. In respect also to the number and frequency of conversions, and the number of those who attend the special religious meetings, as well as in respect to the intensity of feeling, and the power of sympathetic action between mind and mind, there will be sooner or later a decline. We see no evidence to believe, that in any of these respects, revivals can be prevented from declining after a season; or in other words, that they can be made perpetual, by any power or wisdom in the ministry or church, however well directed the labors of the ministry and the church may be towards that end. The very nature of a revival seems to require, that there should be, at times, a higher



tone of religious feeling in a community, than there is at other times, in the same community ; and yet, there is a sense in which revivals need not decline. They need not decline in respect to the habitually controlling influence of settled religious principle in the hearts of christians. The principle of complacency in the character and government of God, and of true obedience to the will of God, on the part of christians, may become so settled and fixed in their minds, as to exert a steady uniform influence over them. Even when there is little excited religious emotion in their minds, there may be the steadfastness and the energy of christian principle, always, and much of the time unconsciously to themselves, carrying them forward in a regular and undeviating course of obedience to God. This principle may be and should be, gaining fresh strength and activity continually, even in the intervals between revivals, when the word revival is understood in the common technical acceptation of the term. We do not think, that the christian has any excuse at any time or under any circumstances, for suffering a decline in this respect to take place in his piety: christian principle within him, may and should be always triumphant, and always waxing stronger and stronger, although excited religious emotion may and will have its alternations of comparative strength and weakness in his soul. What is true of individual christians in this particular is equally true of churches or bodies of christians. A revival, then, in the common acceptation of the term, may and will decline and stop, but the growth of christians in holiness, need never and should never cease. Their falling back into comparative stupidity and worldliness, after a revival is over, is wholly needless, and wholly without excuse.

Still, it cannot be disguised, that in point of fact, there often is a very undesirable *re-action* succeeding revivals ;—a re-action not only in respect to the community as such, in which the revival had taken place, but in respect to christians themselves. They become, in common with others, remiss in duty, and swallowed up in the world ; and sometimes it seems as if a deeper spirit of slumber afterwards settled down upon a people, in consequence of the temporary wakefulness and anxiety in the public mind which had preceded it. How may such a result be prevented from occurring ?

Without entering at large into the field which is opened by this inquiry, we may be permitted just to state, in passing, that one thing tending to prevent an unfavorable re-action after a revival, is, that the fruits of the revival be gathered into the church at the *proper time* for doing so. Too great precipi-

tancy should be avoided on the one hand, and unreasonable delay on the other. The practice of bringing converts into the church, at once, as soon as they express hope, will generally be found to be, upon the whole, inexpedient and of injurious tendency. It will have this effect ; it will bring numbers into the church without piety, and without the common evidences of piety. For, they being admitted into the church as soon as they express hope or very shortly after, there is no time given them in which to exhibit the evidences of piety. At the same time they may be persons of such previous habits, that nothing short of such a trial of them as *time* furnishes, can ever constitute satisfactory evidence in their favor. There is danger also from running into the opposite extreme and putting the converts off too long before they are received into the visible church, till they themselves begin to doubt, whether their change of character is a saving change, and to feel unprepared and unwilling to come forward and connect themselves by profession with the people of God. This, equally with the former error, may re-act unfavorably upon the cause of religion after a revival. Both of these extremes should be avoided. No determinate length of time, probably, can be fixed upon, during which the candidates shall be considered as on probation, and which shall be applicable to all cases. We would say, however, in respect to the great majority of cases, from two to four and six months might be a proper length of time for this purpose. But whether this be in general the proper term of trial or not, we do earnestly protest against the practice of receiving persons to the communion of the church without some time of previous trial, longer or shorter. Also, let the converts be taught that true piety does not consist, exclusively, in high-wrought frames of feeling. But that it consists, rather, in a fixed choice and purpose of heart to serve God ; in a settled principle of obedience to his will ; and that religion has no root in the soul, which will endure in the hour of temptation, if this characteristic of it be wanting. Religion, let them be taught, may involve feeling, and much deep, strong feeling ; it may awaken emotions in the soul of the most powerful kind, and ordinarily it will be attended with much peace and joy ; but this is not the *whole* of true religion ; there is something back of this ; there is the solemn, calm, deliberate purpose of mind, to go forward, through good report and evil report, with comfort or without comfort, to do the will of God, and seek his glory, come what will as the consequence. Men who set out in religion with such views as these, will not be very likely to fall back again, and bring re-

proach upon the cause of Christ. They will hold out unto the end ; and their path will shine more and more unto the perfect day. Moreover, it would have a happy influence towards the same end, if the converts, both before and after their entering the church, could be in some mode instructed and trained for the work before them, as a sort of catechumens, under the peculiar watch and care of the pastor and the older and more experienced members of the flock. They are too soon lost sight of, as the objects of any special care or supervision. This prepares the way for many grievous backslidings after a revival.

One thing more. Let the church be distinctly and fully apprized of the *danger* which exists on this subject. Let them be taught to apprehend some re-action, and to watch and guard against it. The evil, in general, commences with themselves. The strongest guard is to be placed over their own hearts. Proper vigilance at this point will go far towards remedying the whole difficulty.

How shall *opposition* to a revival be met and its evil effects be obviated ? It is well known, that wicked men hate religion ; and such men there are scattered throughout all our parishes. Religion as exhibited in revivals, they peculiarly hate ; because, it is in revivals, that religion is presented to their minds with peculiar vividness and power. Then, the truth stings, and wounds, and irritates, as it does not at other times. Now how shall the opposition of wicked men to revivals be met ? We answer, Let it entirely alone ; take no notice of it ; go right on with the good work. Unopposed opposition will soon die away, or will defeat its own ends. Is it alledged, against the revival, that persons will lose their health, or lose their reason by it ? that there is a needless waste of time in attending on so many religious meetings ? that religious subjects are kept too constantly before the mind ? that men's worldly business is too much neglected ? that, after all, revivals are only the work of man ? The best way to dispose of such charges is, to take no notice of them, unless it be to pray and live them down, and to shew the authors and propagators of them, in your whole temper and deportment, an invincible love for their souls. This will be heaping coals of fire on their heads with a witness.

Whatever form the opposition may take, meet it as Nehemiah did : " I am doing a great work and cannot come down ; why should the work cease while I come down to you." In *extreme* cases, it may possibly be needful to meet opposers in the field of argument, and to reason and expostulate with them. But in general, silence, kindness, humility, prayer, are the best

weapons with which to contend against them. We have never known much gained in a revival by disputing with avowed opposers. Loss of temper, loss of time, and the loss of men's souls, are the usual consequences.

On the expediency of introducing *foreign* aid in the management of revivals, we wish to add a word. We do not believe, that a church, which is supplied with a pastor in whom they have confidence, and who is ready and able to serve them, needs ordinarily to have any aid brought in from abroad to help on a revival among them. If aid is introduced from abroad, to any such extent as to become a ground of reliance, or to operate in producing a diminished sense of responsibility, on the part of the church and the stated ministry, we believe the effect is decidedly bad; the revival is hindered rather than promoted by it. There are obvious reasons for this belief. The great secret of sustaining a revival of religion, under God, is, that the church and the minister feel, that to carry on the work devolves on them; not on another, but on *themselves*. And as long as this feeling is kept up, and they see souls around them perishing in their sins, they will pray, they will labor, for their conversion. But as soon as they begin to feel, that this work is taken out of their hands by another, and that they are released in a measure from the labor and the responsibility connected with it, and that they may go and look on in the capacity of inactive and idle spectators, that moment the mighty pressure which had previously lain upon their hearts is taken off; the stimulus to exertion is gone; and they do not, they can not feel, the same engagedness of soul, or disposition to work for Christ, which they would feel, if the burden of responsibility lay, where it should lie, upon themselves, and if they felt it lying there. This is not saying, that aid from abroad, in a revival, is never useful. We know the contrary is often true. But it is saying, that no such aid from abroad is useful, as tends to release the church and the stated ministry of the gospel from a full, undivided sense of responsibility, or as sets aside their earnest, active, personal endeavors to carry on the revival. And such, usually, is the tendency of introducing help from abroad, and of placing reliance upon it. If the church and minister will come up to the work and do their duty, let them, we say, have the work to themselves; let the labor and the responsibility be undivided; and they will have, as the consequence, a more abundant and glorious reward in the fruit of their labors. But if a church and minister will *not* labor and pray without assistance from abroad; if they *must* have such

assistance in order to do any thing themselves ; why then let them send, if they will, for some itinerant revival-preacher, some unsettled, supernumerary, roving helper in the work of waking up slumbering churches, and let them devolve the task, which they ought to do themselves, upon *his* hands. There may be a propriety in it. Better so, than that the wise and the foolish should slumber on, and both perish together. We are supposing, however, a different case. We are supposing, that the pastor and his people *are* willing to go forward and labor jointly and faithfully for God and for the good of souls. In this case, we say, they need no foreign aid. They are competent to perform all that needs to be done, all that human agency can do in such a work, and the less of foreign aid, in such a case, the better.

And here, indeed, we cannot but admire the happy manner in which the Lord Jesus Christ has constituted his churches, and the peculiar adaptation of Congregationalism to compass the ends for which local churches are gathered. The great desideratum, when local churches were first organized, seemed to be, to select such an organization as would be best adapted to perpetuate and diffuse christianity among men. At least, this must have been a commanding object in the early gathering of the converts into churches. Something more was needful, than the personal religious comfort, and safety, and growth in grace, of these converts themselves. They were, also, to be the means of perpetuating and extending among men the true religion ; and that, too, in opposition to very many and very powerful tendencies, in the existing institutions of that day, to root out the infant cause of Christ from the earth. They were to contain in themselves, under God, the principle of self-protection and self-propagation. They were to be the leaven which should change, by a silent but powerful process of moral assimilation, the whole mass. Now our proposition is, that every separate distinct church is most happily formed for this important end, and is directly calculated to subserve this design. This is especially true of churches organized on Congregational principles, that is, of churches who hold themselves to be competent to manage their own affairs, without any foreign interference whatever. Where a pastor and church are united and happy in each other, mutually enjoying each other's confidence, and prepared to labor together for the good of souls, and not feeling, that they must rely on extraneous aid, in seeking to promote revivals, and in bringing about the conversion of sinners to God, we do not know what happier instrumentality could have been devised and put in operation to secure the end

in view. And we cannot but admire the wisdom and goodness of God evinced in such an organization of the church. What a blessed spectacle for the eye of christian benevolence to rest upon, is a church thus constituted, with its officers and its members, each and all in their appropriate sphere, harmoniously acting together, in the midst of an extended revival of religion! Their knowledge of each other; their knowledge of the community around them; their perfect conviction, that they have a character at stake on what they do, in the eyes of that community; their consequent sense of responsibility for the measures they employ; their identity of interests, not only among themselves, but with the interests of the population generally, among whom they dwell; the fact, too, that many of that population are their own kindred and friends, in whose welfare they cannot but feel a livelier interest than any mere stranger, whatever excellence of character he possessed, could be supposed to feel; let these, and other things of a like kind, be duly considered, and the happy organization of our Congregational churches, with reference to the most efficient promotion of the interests of religion around them, cannot but be seen, and churches and ministers will feel little disposition, we think, to rely upon external aid in revivals of religion, or to go very far to obtain it.

#### ART. IV.—DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

BIBLICAL critics have been much divided in their opinions as to the true date of the Apocalypse. Its origin some\* have traced back as early as to the reign of the Emperor Claudius, A. D. 41—54. Others† have put it in the time of Nero, A. D. 54—68. It has also been referred to the reign of Galba,‡ or the period between Nero and Vespasian, to that of Vespasian,§ of Titus, and of Domitian.

The importance of ascertaining the date arises from its bearing on the interpretation of certain of the prophetic portions of the book, more especially those which are supposed by some to relate to the destruction of Jerusalem. If the composition of

\* Epiphanius, Grotius.

† Subscription to the Syriac version of the Apoc. Theophylact, Arethas, Andreas.

‡ Lucke.

§ Eichhorn.

the book were fairly ascertained to have been posterior to that event, it might seem, that such an application were out of the question.

The data for solving the problem, are, 1, historical testimony ; and, 2, internal evidence.

The bold opinion has, indeed, been advanced, and zealously supported, that all historical evidence seeming to bear on the point, being, as it is maintained, exclusively derived from the book itself, can have no authority in the case, except so far as its results fall in with the conclusions drawn from the internal evidence. In such a case there would be some little force derived from the consideration, that both ancient and modern interpreters had been harmonious in their mode of explanation. This would be all the weight which, in any case, could be accorded to all the historical evidence that can be furnished on the point in question.\*

But it is obvious, that this opinion can never rise higher than a mere hypothesis, since its correctness, from the very nature of the case, does not admit of demonstration ; and it is very difficult to believe, especially with no other evidence than that the supposition is not demonstrably inconsistent with other historic facts, that the early fathers, who speak of this book, and assign it its date, should never have met with any other sources of information respecting it but the book itself. Irenæus, and it is his testimony, chiefly, which this device is framed to set aside, was the pupil of Polycarp, who was himself a pupil of John. Irenæus, moreover, was educated in the bosom of the seven churches to which the Apocalyptic epistles were more directly addressed. Is it for a moment supposable, now, that Irenæus should never have received any trustworthy information, save from the Apocalypse itself, of the apostle John ; of his banishment to Patmos ; of the events which befell him while there, so remarkable in themselves, of such momentous interest to christianity ? None of that wonderful book itself, of its author, its origin, its date ?

The defenders of this hypothesis, evidently the offspring of attachment to theory, are certainly reduced to this rather unpleasant dilemma.—Either Irenæus and Origen, with the other ancient critics who receive their opinions on this subject, no very despicable names, have found enough in the Apocalypse itself to warrant their opinion, and consequently the au-

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\* Lucke, Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis, c. v. §44.

thors of this hypothesis have all the critical authority of these eminent names against them ; or these fathers were possessed of other sources of information, and so the hypothesis falls to the ground. The probability in the matter is, that they had traditionary, and perhaps other external evidence on the point, and, also, that the contents of the book itself, in their view, confirmed this evidence.

I. The *historical* data, are,

1. The testimony of Irenæus. Speaking of the Revelation, he says, "it was seen not a long time ago, but almost in our own times, towards the close of the reign of Domitian."\*

2. Clement of Alexandria. His testimony goes only to confirm the current tradition, that John was in exile in Patmos, and at the death of the emperor who banished him, returned to Ephesus. He says, "at the death of the tyrant he went from the island of Patmos to Ephesus."† He does not indeed mention the name of the emperor, but it is evident, that he has the common tradition in his mind ; and Eusebius expressly says he refers to Domitian.

3. Origen says, a king of the Romans, according to tradition, exiled John to Patmos, and that John there saw the Revelation.‡

4. Eusebius says expressly, that John was in exile on Patmos, in the fourteenth year of Domitian, (A. D. 95,) and while there received the Revelation.||

5. Epiphanius places the origin of the Apocalypse in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. But his authority is very small in any case. He is an ignorant writer, and speaks very confusedly.

6. The Syriac translation. The subscription to this dates it during the reign of Nero. But there is reason to doubt whether this version, to which this subscription is appended, was made at an earlier period than the sixth century. Theophylact, and the younger Hippolytus, give the Apocalypse the same date.

This, we believe, to be all the *historical* evidence of account in the case. As it is presented, it appears somewhat contradictory ; yet trusting exclusively to this, no one can hesitate where

\* Adv. Haer. 5, 30. The interpretation referring the verb in this passage, *ᾧ ἐλάθη*, was seen, for its subject to the name of the Emperor supposed to be alluded to in the prophecy which Irenæus is here elucidating, and that referring it to John, are ably and conclusively refuted by Hug in his Introduction, P. II. § 190, and by Dr. Woodhouse, in his *Apocalypse Vindicated*, c. 2.

† Euseb. 3, 23.

‡ In Matth. Opp. 3, 720. Ed. de la Rue.

|| Chron. I. 38.



to place the probability. All the earliest testimony,—all, indeed, of any moment, goes to fix the date of the Apocalypse near the end of the reign of Domitian, about A. D. 96.

II. The *internal* evidence may be distributed into three divisions, as it is found,

1. In the dialect:

2. In the historical allusions: and,

3. In the prophetic representations of the Apocalypse.

1. All reasonings from the dialect are based on the notion, that the Apostle John is the common author of the gospel and epistles bearing his name, and of the Apocalypse. But this itself, is, as much a matter of dispute as the time of the composition. The argument, too, admitting that John the apostle was the author is very inconclusive. Perhaps nothing can evince this better than the fact, that different critics of great name have, from the same premises, arrived at directly opposite conclusions.\*

2. The evidence from the historical allusions in the Apocalypse is found in the direct and positive assertions and clear implications relating to time, which it contains.

It is expressly stated, that the author, whether the apostle or some other John, was in Patmos. *Εγὼ Ἰωάννης—εγενόμην ἐν τῇ νησὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ.* c. 1. "I, John, was in the island which is called Patmos."

It can hardly be supposed, that this, which so much resembles honest statement of fact, is after all, mere poetic fiction. Certainly if it be an attempt at poetic ornament, it is a most unhappy failure, and, therefore, the suggestion comes with a very ill grace from those who see so much poetic beauty in the Apocalypse. If, then, it be a simple statement of fact, no mysticism nor poetic fiction, we may lawfully conclude, that at the time of writing, the abode of the author in Patmos, was a past event; that he had already left the Island.

But when and why was he on Patmos? He only tells us, that as a partaker with the saints of that time in the common sufferings he was in the island called Patmos, "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." Why should the zealous and devoted apostle John be in Patmos, that small, barren, desolate island, "for the word of God?" Not surely to preach it, not again to receive communications from God. For, if so, when his mind was turned upon the design of his being there, he would, doubtless have stated the simple fact.

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\* See for illustration the reasonings of Guericke and Locke, on this point.

If as a companion in tribulation with the persecuted disciples of Christ, and also for the word of God, we must suppose it was as an unwilling exile, torn away by the strong hand of violence from the scene of his labors for Christ, and by stern, relentless persecution, consigned to solitude and hopeless labors on a desolate island. We should never have dreamed of any other influence being possible, had not critics of a respectable name gravely and dogmatically pronounced, that whether John was in Patmos of free-will or of force, is a matter of entire uncertainty.\*

Here then is a historical allusion to scenes of persecution. When did these occur? History replies, under Nero and Domitian. But the Neronian persecution does not appear to have spread into the provinces to any extent. The only account we have of this persecution is from Tacitus, who ascribes it to a merely local cause, the burning of Rome, falsely imputed to christians, from which we should infer, that the persecution itself was very limited, and from Tertullian, who says, that Nero was the first of the emperors who "drew the sword" against the christians.†

Our readers will at once observe, that all this falls in exactly with the predominant external evidence already presented. Indeed so exact is the agreement, that some critics have on this very basis, alone rested the hypothesis, that the ancient fathers derived all their knowledge of the matter, exclusively from the Apocalypse itself, and hence have argued that their testimony is without weight, except so far as they were skillful critics; and in this respect they are to rank far below modern commentators, since exegesis has assumed a more perfect form since their time and is more to be relied on in its conclusions.

We might add in confirmation of the supposition, that persecution was the cause of John's being in Patmos, the further historical allusions in the Apocalypse to the prevailing persecutions at the time. The epistles to the churches imply a state of bitter hostility towards all of the christian name, which was manifested in severe and cruel persecutions. These persecutions would seem to have been of a type which answers only to the persecutions under Domitian. This, it will be remarked, not only confirms our belief, that John was exiled to Patmos, but also strengthens the proof of the Domitian age of the Apocalypse.

\* Lucke, Einleit. c. 5, § 44.

† Vide Murdock's note to his translation of Mosheim, vol 1. pp. 168, 169.

It appears, moreover, from the epistles to the seven churches, that christianity had existed for a considerable period in that region. If we suppose that Paul's visit to Ephesus, recorded in Acts xix., was the epoch of the first establishment of the gospel in that part of Asia Minor, and that this took place in the year 58, then to the death of Nero, or the reign of Galba, A. D. 68, would be a period of ten years, and to the death of Domitian, A. D. 96, thirty two years. If now, we suppose, that the Apocalypse was written at one or the other of these periods, then the changes which are represented to have taken place in the state of religion in these churches, must have transpired within these intervals—in ten years, on the supposition, that it was written under Galba, or in thirty-two years, if written about the time of Domitian's death. In that time, the church of Ephesus had left its first love, Rev. 2: 4; had experienced the rise among them, of a sect of heretics, literally or symbolically represented under the name of the Nicolaitans, Rev. 2: 6, a sect which had also arisen to molest and mar the Pergamite church, Rev. 2: 14, 15; this church at Pergamos had suffered a bloody persecution in which Antipas a real or typical character had suffered martyrdom, Rev. 2: 13; the church of Thyatira had also suffered from heretics, represented under the name of Jezebel, Rev. 2: 30; the church at Sardis had declined into a state of spiritual death, Rev. 3: 1; the Philadelphian church had proved their steadfastness and christian patience under severe and sufficiently protracted trials, Rev. 3: 10; the Laodicean church had degenerated into a state of indifference and stupidity through the influence of great worldly prosperity, Rev. 3: 15—17; and all these churches had become finally established and well organized, under pastors or bishops. Now a period of ten years would hardly suffer for all these changes. A third of a century might barely answer.

The opinion of Epiphanius, who dates back the Apocalypse to the time of Claudius, A. D. 54, is utterly irreconcilable with these representations.

Moreover, we are told by Tacitus, "that in the same year," the year of Nero's fourth consulship with Cornelius Cossus, or A. D. 61, "Laodicea, having been overthrown by an earthquake, restored itself by its own resources with no help from us," i. e. from Rome.\* It is not supposable, that this could have taken place, and the Laodicean christians, over and above, acquired so great riches in the short space of seven years, which

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\* Ann. 14, 27.

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 book, (p. 35,) although,  
 the author would rather  
 individual himself.

*Independency* seems to  
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is the interval between the time of this earthquake and the death of Nero ; neither can we suppose, that such heavy judgments of God if so recent would not have been alluded to in the epistle to that church. This consideration bears against both hypotheses referring the Apocalypse, the one to the reign of Nero, and the other to that of Galba.

This is the proper place to notice one other supposed source of evidence in the case. It is the representations in the Apocalypse of the near approach of the fulfillment of these prophecies ; in other words, of the second coming of Christ, and of the judgment, c. 1. 13: 22. 6. seq. As to the force of this it may be observed, that it is sufficient for the fair interpretation of the passages cited, to say, that they merely represent the incipient, not the consummated fulfillment as at hand. To make them bear on the point in question as intended, it is necessary to assume, that these passages refer to the destruction of Jerusalem. Now this is mere assumption. It is an assumption too, which contradicts all reasonable interpretation of the Apocalypse. For it confines the whole series of visions within the bounds of that small interval of time, from the date of the Apocalypse, till the destruction of Jerusalem. According, to this view, and it is pertinent to remark that it is directly at war with other views of the critics who advance it, there is no allusion in the whole book of Revelation to any event posterior in point of time to the sacking of the holy city by Titus. And yet this element, in the opinion of one learned critic,\* decisively limits the time of writing the Apocalypse, so that it cannot be later than the time of Vespasian.

3. We come next to the chronological references in the more strictly apocalyptic part of the book. And here we feel we are treading on uncertain ground. Here every conclusion not confirmed by other evidence, must be regarded with extreme jealousy and distrust. Yet it is just here whence has arisen all the diversity of opinions about the date of the Apocalypse. The support of some theory of interpretation in regard to this part of the book, has given birth to all, or nearly all, the disputes on this point. Critics have formed their theory of explanation and application, and to that have afterwards striven to bend all other more trustworthy evidence ; exactly reversing the safe and just order of proceeding.

The data here, are,

(1.) The so thought pre-supposed persecutions under Nero, in c. 6. v. 9 ; 17: 6 ; 18: 20. But it is assumed here, that these

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\* Lucke, Einleitung, c. V. § 44, ad fin.

passages have reference to the past, whereas every principle of interpretation requires us to refer them to the future. This is most unquestionably true of the two last; and the first may apply as well to the first or second Jewish, as to any Roman persecution.

(2.) It is maintained, that chapters 11 and 12 imply the continued existence of Jerusalem. Our limits forbid our going into an extended exegesis of this, and indeed of the other passages concerned in the question. We can only say of this interpretation, therefore, that it interrupts the series of events thus to refer the prophecy to existing circumstances; and makes the prophetic element of time in the passage, the forty-two months, void of meaning, or contradictory to known facts.

(3.) The passage in chapter 17, is supposed to fix definitely the time of the composition. The part most relied upon, although not independently of the connection, is that contained in verses 9—13. "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings; five are fallen, and one is and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast." The mode of applying this as evidence on the point in question is as follows: The woman on the beast represents Rome. The seven hills, which are seven kings, and the ten horns, which are also ten kings, cannot both refer to the same thing, i. e. to the number of sovereigns in Rome. Suppose that the latter symbol, the horns, does; and the circumstance of the hills being called kings, is merely to characterize the hills. That is, they are kingly, princely hills. Now the description of these horns implies, that their authority was assumed; that they hate the woman; that is, disregard the interests of the city, merely consulting their own; that they make her desolate and naked; they eat her flesh and burn her with fire, or put to death her citizens; plunder her coffers, and, at last, as did Nero, burn her with fire. That five of her seven kings, which are so many magnificent hills, according to this view, are fallen, and one is and the other is not yet come; and that the eighth is the beast that was and is not. All this merely pictures the condition of Rome, as not yet having reached its acme in external greatness, but nevertheless wasting away in

its internal strength. So, according to this view, there had been ten Cæsars when the revelation was seen, the last of whom was Titus. Policy, or christian principle, it is surmised, forbade the prophet from speaking any thing of Domitian, for he could say nothing truly but evil; and, therefore, it is concluded, the visions were seen under Domitian, and the book written soon after, say by the first year of Nerva\*. This is one method of applying the passage.

Another, perhaps equally specious, takes the tenth verse for its clue to the interpretation of the whole. "There are seven kings; five are fallen and one is, and the other has not yet come." This view makes five emperors to have reigned at the time of seeing the revelations, the last of whom was Nero. Of course Galba was the reigning emperor at the time; "the king that is." Or perhaps the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were so short, and they themselves were so unsettled in their imperial authority, that they are passed over in the enumeration, and so "the king that is," will be Vespasian. Titus would then be the seventh, "who is not yet come," and "the beast" would be Domitian; the justification of which uncourtly appellative, as applied to him, may be found in his savage barbarities and cruel persecutions against the christians; his low vices and brutal disposition.†

Now what renders this, as indeed all the supposed evidence under this class, entirely indecisive as to the point in question, is, that the point of time at which the events are supposed to be witnessed by the seer, may be either anterior or posterior to their occurrence, or even contemporaneous with them. The very nature of the work authorizes and requires a representation of past and future events as present realities. The time of view has no reference whatever in the strictly apocalyptic part of the book, to the time of the occurrences revealed. The only use of any designations of time in the account itself, is to determine the chronological order and relations of the events that are revealed, considered in respect to themselves. In other words, the temporal designations, in the strict Apocalypse, which are confined to the apocalyptic events themselves, cannot serve at all to connect these events with the time of seeing the revelations. They constitute a link between those events; none at all between those and the chronological position of John. So that all attempts to deduce from the chronological allusions, in the strictly apocalyptic part of the book, any conclusions as

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\* Hug, Int. p. ii. §190.

† Lücke, ubi sup.



to the time of the composition, are necessarily futile. It seems hardly necessary to say here, for the prevention of misunderstanding, that these observations are not intended to preclude any effort to ascertain the time of John from the events he has represented in the Apocalypse, *after* the order and time of these events is fairly settled on correct principles of interpretation. Doubtless some very general notions may be formed of the time of the author from the character of the descriptions, but nothing specific enough to touch the present question; and even this only from the relation of the events themselves, and not from the designations of time in the language which represents them. No one will suppose, either, that in these remarks we mean to deny all historical references in any part of the Apocalypse. Our observations are confined to the strictly apocalyptic part.

But even admitting the propriety of referring the tenses in the apocalyptic representations, directly to the circumstances of the writer, or of supposing, that when he uses the present tense, he means to speak of realities existing at the moment he was in the vision, or was composing; still, until more harmony is attained in the interpretation of the book, little reliance can be placed on any reasonings from this source, as settling the time of the composition.

These we believe to be the principal data relied on for fixing the date of the Apocalypse. We trust, that we do but utter the thoughts of our readers, while we give the following as the results of our investigations:—

The theory of Epiphanius, which assigns the Apocalypse to the time of Claudius, rests on no historical basis, is opposed by the historical facts, that there has been no persecutions such as are implied in the apocalyptic epistles, and that the churches had been established for a length of time sufficient to allow of the changes implied in those epistles.

The theory which refers the time of the Apocalypse to the reign of Nero, has no external evidence to rest upon, but the subscription to the Syriac version of the sixth century, and the opinion of some comparatively late writers, as Theophylact, and Hippolytus. It is opposed by all the internal evidence in the case.

That which dates it at the time of Galba, has nothing but the weakness of internal evidence to rest upon, and is obnoxious to the objections which attend the preceding theories.

The only remaining opinion which has gained any prevalence, is that which dates the Apocalypse about the time of Do-

mitian's death. This opinion is supported by all the historical evidence of weight, which is by no means small, and in most cases would be deemed perfectly conclusive,—is sustained also by all the internal evidence, and is opposed by none worthy of regard.

We fix the date of the Apocalypse, then, in the year A. D. 96 or 97.

#### ART. V.—THE JOURNEYINGS OF PAUL.

IN perusing the Acts of the Apostles, or investigating the order of the Pauline Epistles, it is convenient and useful to have before one a table of the journeyings of Paul. This circumstance has led to the formation of the following table, which exhibits the outlines of the life of this apostle. When it is considered, that the ease with which each epistle finds its exact place in the life of the apostle, is the principal evidence of their genuineness as a whole, the understanding of the chronological order of these events becomes very important.

##### I. *Early History of Paul.*

1. Born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. Acts 21 : 39 ; 22 : 3.
2. Educated at Jerusalem, under Gamaliel. Acts 22 : 3.
3. Present at Jerusalem at the death of Stephen. Acts 7 : 58.
4. Christ appears to him, on his way to Damascus. Acts 9 : 3, 27. Gal. 1 : 12. Acts 26 : 13.
5. At Damascus he receives his sight, through Ananias. Acts 9 : 17, 18.
6. Goes into Arabia. Gal. 1 : 17.
7. Returns again to Damascus. Gal. 1 : 17.
8. Escaping from Damascus, he comes to Jerusalem. (The first visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 9 : 26. Gal. 1 : 18. 2 Cor. 11 : 32, 33.

##### II. *Tour of Paul into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, mentioned Gal. 1 : 21.*

9. Comes to Cesarea Philippi. Acts 9 : 30.
10. Comes to Tarsus. Acts 9 : 30.
11. Comes to Antioch of Syria. Acts 11 : 25.
12. Comes to Jerusalem. (The second visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 11 : 30 ; 12 : 25. (Comp. Gal. 2 : 1.)

##### III. *The first tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his tour into Asia Minor simply.*

13. Returns to Antioch of Syria. Acts 12 : 25.
14. Comes to Seleucia. Acts 13 : 4.
15. Comes to Salamis, in the island of Cyprus. Acts 13 : 5.
16. Comes to Paphos, in the same island. Acts 13 : 6.
17. Comes to Perga in Pamphylia. Acts 13 : 13.
18. Comes to Antioch in Pisidia. Acts 13 : 14.
19. Comes to Iconium in Lycaonia. Acts 13 : 51.
20. Comes to Lystra in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 6.
21. Comes to Derbe in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 6, 20.
22. Returns to Lystra in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 21.
23. Returns to Iconium in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 21.
24. Returns to Antioch in Pisidia. Acts 14 : 21.
25. Returns to Perga in Pamphylia. Acts 14 : 25.
26. Comes to Attalia in Pamphylia. Acts 14 : 25.
27. Comes to Antioch in Syria. Acts 14 : 26.
28. Passes through Phenicia and Samaria. Acts 15 : 3.
29. Comes to Jerusalem. (The third visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 15 : 4.

*IV. The second tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his first tour into Asia Minor and Europe.*

30. Returns to Antioch of Syria. Acts 15 : 30.
31. Passes through Syria and Cilicia. Acts 15 : 41.
32. Comes to Derbe. Acts 16 : 1.
33. Comes to Lystra. Acts 16 : 1.
34. Passes through Phrygia and Galatia. Acts 16 : 6.
35. Comes to Mysia. Acts 16 : 7.
36. Comes to Troas. Acts 16 : 8.
37. Comes to Samothracia. Acts 16 : 11.
38. Comes to Neapolis in Macedonia. Acts 16 : 11.
39. Comes to Philippi. Acts 16 : 12.
40. Comes to Amphipolis. Acts 17 : 1.
41. Comes to Apollonia. Acts 17 : 1.
42. Comes to Thessalonica. Acts 17 : 1.
43. Comes to Berea. Acts 17 : 10.
44. Comes to Athens. Acts 17 : 15.
45. Comes to Corinth. (Writes the two Epistles to the Thesalonians.) Acts 18 : 1.
46. Comes to Cenchrea. Acts 18 : 18.
47. Comes to Ephesus. Acts 18 : 19.
48. Comes to Cesarea Palestinæ. Acts 18 : 22.
49. Comes to Antioch. Acts 18 : 22.
50. Comes to Jerusalem. (The fourth visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 18 : 22.

**V. *The third tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his second tour into Asia Minor and Europe.***

51. Passes through Galatia and Phrygia. Acts 18 : 23.
52. Comes to Ephesus. (Writes the Epistle to the Galatians, and the first to the Corinthians.) Acts 19 : 1.
53. Passes through Macedonia, (whence he writes the second Epistle to the Corinthians;) and Greece, (whence he writes the Epistle to the Romans.) Acts 20 : 2, 3.
54. Comes to Philippi. Acts 20 : 6.
55. Comes to Troas. Acts 20 : 6.
56. Comes to Assos. Acts 20 : 14.
57. Comes to Mitylene. Acts 20 : 14.
58. Comes to Chios. Acts 20 : 15.
59. Comes to Samos. Acts 20 : 15.
60. Comes to Trogyllium. Acts 20 : 15.
61. Comes to Miletus. Acts 20 : 15.
62. Comes to Coos. Acts 21 : 1.
63. Comes to Rhodes. Acts 21 : 1.
64. Comes to Patara. Acts 21 : 1.
65. Comes in sight of Cyprus. Acts 21 : 3.
66. Comes to Tyre. Acts 21 : 3.
67. Comes to Ptolemais. Acts 21 : 7.
68. Comes to Cesarea Palestinæ. Acts 21 : 8.
69. Comes to Jerusalem. (The fifth visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 21 : 15.
- VI. *The voyage of Paul to Rome as a prisoner.***
70. Comes to Antipatris. Acts 23 : 31.
71. Comes to Cesarea Palestinæ. Acts 23 : 33.
72. Comes to Sidon. Acts 27 : 3.
73. Over against Cyprus. Acts 27 : 4.
74. Comes to Myra in Lycia. Acts 27 : 5.
75. Over against Cnidus. Acts 27 : 7.
76. Over against Salmone. Acts 27 : 7.
77. Comes to the Fair Havens in Crete, near Lasea. Acts 27 : 8.
78. Driven up and down in the Adriatic Sea. Acts 27 : 27.
79. Shipwrecked at Melita. Acts 28 : 1.
80. Comes to Syracuse. Acts 28 : 12.
81. Comes to Rhegium. Acts 28 : 13.
82. Comes to Puteoli. Acts 28 : 13.
83. Comes to Appii Forum. Acts 28 : 15.
84. Comes to the Three Taverns. Acts 28 : 15.
85. Comes to Rome. (Writes the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon.) Acts 28 : 16.

**NOTE.**—It is inferred from the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and confirmed also by ecclesiastical tradition, that Paul was liberated from the confinement mentioned by Luke, and traveling in company with Timothy and Titus, left the former at Ephesus, while he went into Macedonia, (1 Tim. 1 : 3,) and left the other in Crete, while he went to Nicopolis. (Tit. 1 : 5. 3 : 12.)

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#### ART. VI.—CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

Among the duties which the apostles urged upon the churches of their day, a prominent place is given to those which belong to civil relations. For this there was special occasion. Civil power was every where in pagan hands, and the institutions of government were intimately connected with pagan rites. The existing government was also oppressive, and was particularly hostile to christianity. In these circumstances, it became an interesting question among christians, how far they owed subjection to the civil power. In certain cases, it was well understood, they were bound to resist; and, pained as they were with abominations to which they could give no countenance, and goaded by wrongs for which they could procure no redress, they were in danger of resisting when they ought not; and so of dishonoring christianity, and needlessly exciting the jealousy of government towards those who bore the christian name. It was in this state of things, that the apostles laid down the principles and injunctions which so frequently occur in their writings. The following are a specimen. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou not then be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually on this very thing." "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man,

for the Lord's sake ; whether it be to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Our condition happily differs from that of the early christians ; but the great principles which are here asserted, and the duties resulting from those principles which are here inculcated, deserve a regard which few are disposed to give them. These we therefore wish to explain and establish, in contrast with certain maxims and consequent habits, on this subject, which characterize our times.

Among the *principles* here asserted, one is, that *civil government is the appointment of God*. He, as the Author of the world, is its Supreme Ruler. He, of course, is the fountain of all subordinate authority. The power to govern, the right of coercion, the authority to make laws and enforce obedience, belong originally to him alone. We have no authority, individually, so much as to enforce respect to our own personal rights ; and much less, to enforce respect to the rights of others : and as we do not possess this authority originally in our individual capacity, we cannot acquire it by any social compact. To this purpose the apostle Paul introduces the passage which we have quoted from him, with the injunction, "Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." If vengeance, that is, the punishment of wrong, is God's, it cannot, except by delegation from him, be ours ; and accordingly the apostle proceeds directly to say, "There is no power but of God : the powers that be, are ordained of God." This we would understand in its greatest extent. We would say, that, originally, no parent has the power, the authority, the right, to punish his child ; as well as no other individual of the human family, to punish his fellow. It is not the will of God, however, that sin should act unrestrained, and the preventive which he has ordained, is government,—parental government, and a regular administration of law in civil society. Do any ask how his will, on this subject, is indicated ? We answer : First, it is indicated by his providence. The social nature which he has given us, indicates his will, that we live together in society. Our mutual dependence, also, for all the important ends of our being, pertaining both to the present world and to the future, shows the same thing. We were not made to live every one alone, but in the blended interests and intercourse, first of the family, and then of civil society. But society without subordination and authority ; society where the strong may trample at pleasure on

the weak, and the wrathful scatter fire-brands, arrows and death among the innocent ; society without law, or, in a depraved world, without the arm of government to enforce subjection to law, is impossible. Secondly, this is more explicitly declared in the scriptures. "The powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." "He beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Here, it is to be remarked, the vengeance, which, in the preceding verses, is declared not to belong to men in their individual character, is attributed to the magistrate, as delegated to him from God. "He is the revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. He is *the minister or vicegerent of God* for this purpose. As such, he is to proceed to the last extremity, when milder ways are ineffectual ; to wear the sword, and to wear it not in vain ; that is, to punish offenders with death, when the ends of government can not otherwise be attained. It is, then, the will and appointment of God, as declared both in his providence and in his word, that there be civil government, for the protection of the good, and for the restraint of the bad.

Another principle asserted is, that no *particular form of government is of universal obligation* ; but, in all ordinary cases, the form already established in any country, is, for the time being, to those who live under it of divine authority. We say, in all ordinary cases ; for the case of an oppressed people, throwing off the yoke, is at this day admitted, and with manifest reason, to form an exception. When a system of tyranny so entirely fails of accomplishing the ends of government, and the minds of the people are so rife for attempting a change, and the providence of God so favors it, that the good in prospect manifestly overbalances the evil, we dare not say, that a revolution, violent and bloody though it may be, is not just and laudable : for why is it the will of God in ordinary cases, that men should submit to the government which is established over them, tyrannical in many respects though it may be ? Certainly, not because he approves of tyranny, but only because such a government is better than none ; and in all ordinary cases, to attempt a change would promise evil only. The law of benevolence, the cause of human happiness, and a spirit of submission to God require a cheerful acquiescence. But when in his providence, a door is opened for throwing off oppression, and by means which promise a result, the good of which shall greatly overbalance the evil, then the same principles which in the

former case would require submission, would justify revolution. Nor do we believe that the scriptures above quoted ought to be so interpreted as to forbid, in such a case, the attempt. For such was not the case of those to whom they were addressed. Whatever may have been the wrongs which they suffered from government, there was no relief. It was established over them : and the attempt to effect a change would have resulted in evil only. The will of God, in their case, as indicated by his providence, clearly was, that they should submit to the existing government ; thankful for what protection it afforded them, and resigned under the evils that were incident to it. But, that the same submission is required of those to whom the providence of God gives the opportunity of removing the evils of a civil nature under which they have groaned, and whom a regard to the public good, would unite in the attempt, it would be unreasonable to suppose. The exception to the general rule is however, rare. In all ordinary cases, the injunction of the apostle is doubtless binding, according to its literal and absolute import, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers : for the powers that be, are ordained of God : whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God : " and the literal meaning of this is, that the existing government in any country—whether despotic or free, whether monarchical or republican, and whether it may have originated in usurpation, or in the voice of the people—is binding by divine authority upon its subjects.

Another principle asserted, is, that *the individual men who are exalted to the administration of government over any people are to be acknowledged by them as invested with authority from God for that purpose.* This is implied in the principle just explained ; "the powers that be," involving the men who administer the government, as well as the government itself. There may be much that is exceptionable in the former as well as in the latter. They may be corrupt men, they may have obtained their office by corrupt means ; and they may abuse it by corrupt measures. All this was true of the Roman emperors. Some of them, at least, were among the vilest of men, and they both came to the throne by usurpation, and polluted it when there by iniquity and blood, yet on the question of submission to their authority, as ministers of God, the christians to whom Paul wrote, were permitted to make no inquiries. Whether they were the lawful heirs to the throne are not ; whether they were good men or bad ; and whether their laws were right or wrong, it was not necessary to decide. This was evident, that



they were "the powers which be," that is, they were in fact, established in their authority ; and this single fact the apostle would have his brethren take as sufficient evidence, that, for the time being it was the will of God they be obeyed. This indeed does not forbid, that under an elective government, like that in this country, men should avail themselves of constitutional means to remove from office those who are unworthy of it, nor, that they should claim the protection of law against the oppressive acts of those in power ; nor even, that, in the case before stated, they should unite to remove a tyrant from the throne. Neither of these was the case of those to whom the apostle wrote, and therefore there was no occasion for the exception. It would not be difficult, we think, to justify the exception, from approved scriptural examples, as well as the great principles of moral obligation ; but in the case of the early christians, there was no alternative, except either submission or rebellion ; and rebellion would only have brought mischief upon themselves and upon the cause to which they were devoted. The will of God was therefore plain, that they should submit themselves to the authorities established over them. So in all other cases, the men actually in power, by what means soever they have come to the possession of it, are to be acknowledged, until lawfully displaced, as invested with power by the appointment of God, and as clothed with his authority.

In this manner, christianity, without directly intermeddling with government in any form, accommodates herself to it in every form under which her lot is cast. Herself free, and the parent of true freedom, she yet submits herself, if so is the will of God, to the worst of tyrannies ; and designed as she is, in the counsels of God, to spread and prevail, and to rear up a kingdom in the highest sense free and universal, she is yet so far from impugning the kingdoms of this world, that she takes them as she finds them, and adds the sanction of her own authority, to enforce their enactments, so far as these do not directly contravene the commands of her King, or the consciences of her subjects. Thus, while her motto is, "Glory to God in the highest," it is in connection with "peace on earth, goodwill to men."

These principles, in their application to the conduct of men as citizens, inculcate obedience to the laws, in all things consistent with a good conscience. The exception of whatever infringes a good conscience, though not expressed, is fairly implied in the apostolic injunction. "We must needs be subject," he says, "*for conscience sake.*" But the idea of a person's

being subject for conscience sake, to what his conscience forbids, is absurd. When the commands of men plainly contravene the law of God, that we must obey God, rather than men, there can be no question. On this point, every person must be his own judge. He is bound, no doubt, to judge with candor and care, not mistaking the dictates of passion or prejudice for the will of God ; still, his own sense of the divine law must prevail. But, with this single exception, we are as much bound to submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, as on this point we are bound to dissent. To say, as many do, that we are bound to obey only the *equitable* laws of government, is a position which tends to the subversion of government. For as every person must be his own judge respecting the wisdom and equity of the laws, so by this supposition, he is to decide for himself, which of the laws shall be obligatory upon him. If he thinks any of them to be unreasonable or unjust, (and the selfish desires and passions of men are enough to convince a multitude, that whatever restraints are laid upon their cupidity are unreasonable and unjust,) he is, of course, released from all obligation to obey them. This is, indeed, to invert the order of things, to elevate the inferior relations over the heads of the superior. It is to send those whom God has ordained to be a terror to evil-doers, to inquire of those whom they are to govern, which of the laws they consider it just and proper for them to obey, before they convict them of crime in transgression. What parent could govern his household in this manner ? Indeed, the assumption, that those who are the subjects of law are to be decided in their conduct by their own views of the reasonableness of the laws, is inconsistent with the very nature of government. When the laws are unjust, those who, like ourselves, live under an elective government, have a remedy. They have their share of constitutional power for the repeal of such laws. But until repealed, the most unjust and oppressive laws, provided only, that they require nothing inconsistent with a good conscience, are no less obligatory, and to be no less exactly obeyed by us, than the most wise and salutary.

If it be so, how wrong must be all combinations of men to sustain each other in violation of law. This is not only to impugn the particular law violated, but it is an attempt to overawe the power on which depends the efficacy of all law, and to lay open society to the unrestrained will of the licentious. The physical strength of a community is always on the side of the people. The rulers are few and weak in the comparison. How then is the authority of law sustained ? Why do not the mul-

itude rise in their might, to burn and kill at their pleasure, notwithstanding the laws? Some are prevented by moral principle, but the greater part are restrained by a reverence for authority, growing out of the custom of submission and the established influence of law in the community, together with a fear of the personal consequences of resistance. Let this restraining power be taken off from the minds of men; let that acquiescence in law, which grows out of the general custom of submission, cease; and that fear of consequences, which a sense of individual weakness inspires, be dispelled; let the discontented learn to question whether or not they shall submit to offensive laws, and presume on their power, by combining together to overawe the authorities of the state; and there is an end of all order, security, or subordination, in the community: just as in a family, successful resistance of parental authority in a few instances, is the destruction of government there. The consequences cannot terminate in the prevention of an odious measure, nor in the putting down of an offensive individual, which, perhaps, may be all that was at first intended. The government itself is destroyed or weakened, and all the interests which it was ordained to protect, are proportionably exposed to the will of the depraved. The protection of law is every man's birth-right. None can innocently deprive him of it. It is the very essence of civil liberty. Is that tyranny, which subjects our lives, our peace, our personal freedom, to the will of a despot? And is not that a worse tyranny, which puts all things into the hands of an infuriated multitude; which, often as we displease those who are around us, exposes our persons, our families, and our property, to their assaults, with no remedy? Be it so, that we have not suitably respected their wishes; that we have done wrong; that we deserve punishment: still, we have a claim to the adjudication of law; trial by jury, a hearing of our accusers face to face, an opportunity for our defense and an impartial decision in the established course of justice, are our inalienable right; and the power which wrests it from us, leaves the best man in the community, in the best acts of his life, no security. It is to prevent this, that government is ordained of God; and whoever resists, even by individual acts of intentional transgression, and much more by joining in combinations for the express purpose of overpowering the law, resists the ordinance of God.

From the same principles it obviously results, that we are conscientiously bound to pay the full amount of taxes required of us for the support of government. "For this cause," ("for

conscience sake,") "pay ye tribute also." Rome exacted of her provinces an annual tribute. The payment of this, involving as it did an acknowledgment of subjection, was particularly offensive to the Jews. The question of its lawfulness agitated the nation, as we know from the proposal of it on one occasion to our Savior; and doubtless it afterwards occasioned scruples in the minds of Jewish christians. But the apostle, with no hesitation, enjoined on them the duties of paying both tribute and custom, as required by the laws. He insisted on their doing this as an act of obedience to God. He considered them as being "dues"—a debt which in strict justice they owed for the protection which the government extended over them, and which, therefore, they ought to pay as cheerfully and conscientiously as any other debt. With what force, then, does this obligation lie on those of whom are required no tribute or custom to a conquering power, but only the taxes incurred in supporting the government, and maintaining the privileges under which they live. No debt can be more strictly due, as a matter of common honesty, than this; and all evasion in the payment of it, whether by keeping back from the list what the law requires to be entered, or by making such a disposition of property as to avoid a due proportion of the assessment to be made, or in any other way, common as it may be among men who bear the christian name, cannot be reconciled with christian probity. It is disingenuous—it often involves prevarication—and it always throws on those who are too conscientious or high-minded to submit to such artifices, a disproportionate burden. Government must have the requisite amount; and consequently, he who withholds a part of his quota, obliges his conscientious neighbor to pay it for him. However unjust, excessive, or partial a tax legally imposed may be, we are not authorized on that account to refuse or evade the payment of it. To assert, that we may, is to assume, that every individual has the right to judge, in his own case, over the law, and not until he has pronounced it just and equal, is he under obligation to obey; an assumption, manifestly, subversive of government. Doubtless legal methods of relief from partial and unjust requisitions may be adopted; but however unjust they may be, no relief which is not strictly legal, will a good conscience permit any one to attempt. There was tribute money demanded of Christ for the service of the temple, which he, as the Son of him to whom the temple belonged, ought not to have been required to pay; yet to avoid the scandal of not bearing his share of public burdens, poor as he was, he performed a miracle to comply

with the demand. So, for the credit of the gospel, as well as out of regard to law and justice, should his followers be exact and cheerful in this particular.

It is also our duty to honor our rulers. The command to honor the king, is as express and absolute as the command to honor father and mother. It even stands in connection with the command to fear God; and, indeed, the civil magistrate of whatever name, or grade, is to be revered by us as standing, for the purposes of civil government, in the place of God—his vicergerent—clothed with his authority, and hence honored by the Spirit of inspiration with his name. "I have said ye are gods," we read in one of the Psalms, "and all of you children of the Most High." On this account it is, that those false pretenders to the christian name in the primitive churches, who proudly reviled the magistracy of their day, are marked with terms of such decided reprobation. As in the second epistle of Peter: "But chiefly them that walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government; presumptuous are they, self-willed; they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities. Whereas the angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not against them a railing accusation." And in the epistle to Jude: "Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities: yet Michael, the arch-angel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, 'the Lord rebuke thee.' But these speak evil of those things which they know not. Wo unto them!" If such rebukes were due to those who despised government, and spoke evil of dignities, when rulers were notoriously vile and oppressive, and the church was groaning under a cruel persecution by their hands, how inexcusable must such conduct be under a government fraught with such blessings to those who are under it as our own. We, indeed, are not required to renounce the exercise of a sober judgment, in respect both to the characters and the measures of our rulers; and in an elective government like ours, where the people are so directly concerned in the knowledge of these, it is often proper for us to express our judgment; but this should always be done in a manner, and with a spirit, consistent with the respect due to their authority as the ministers of God. The obloquy, derision, and invective, so common in our country, for the purpose of holding up the characters and authority of rulers to reproach, certainly cannot be reconciled with the respect and deference which God requires to be rendered to them; and are suited only to destroy the efficacy of

the laws, and dissever the bonds of society. When, as it was in Israel, the child behaves himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable, we may be certain, that the social edifice stands trembling on its foundations.

Moreover, we are required to pray for our rulers. As the captive Jews were to pray for Babylon, that in the peace of the city they might have peace, so christians were required by the apostles to pray for kings, and all in authority—heathen, tyrants, and persecutors, as they were—that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. They were to do this as an expression of their good will towards them, before him who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, and in the expectation, that he who is higher than the highest, would influence them to the adoption of salutary measures, or over-rule their bad designs for the best ends. That for such reasons, as well as on account of its direct influence upon our hearts, the duty rests on us with full weight, there can be no question; and were it more frequently and heartily performed, while there would be less disposition, there would also be less occasion, for virulent invective and bitter complaint.

By these observations we are led to point out certain false and dangerous principles, that are abroad in the community.

Among these is, The maxim, that the people are the source of power.—The people in this country, and in all free governments are, indeed, the medium of civil power. They form the constitution of this our government, and elect their own rulers. Still, it is the doctrine of Paul, and it will be found equally the dictate of sound reason and common sense, that the power to govern, is not originally in them; but, that all power is of God, and “the powers that be are ordained of God;” and hence results the vitally important conclusion, that rulers are accountable for the exercise of their power, not so much to the people, as to God.

Much has been said about a *social compact*, as the source of civil power. Mankind have been supposed to have agreed together, that they would individually relinquish certain personal rights, in consideration of their receiving certain social privileges. According to this theory, they consent to be governed by the majority, agreeably to certain constitutional rules, and to pay their due proportion to the support of government, in consideration of the protection and other advantages to be derived from society as thus constituted. Hence it is said, come all the powers of rulers, and all the obligations of the people.

But it does not appear in fact, that any civil state, or nation, and much less all civil states, have in fact been thus constituted. States and nations have indeed formed their own constitutions of government ; but so far from having derived their power in this way, it has, from the necessity of the case, been in the exercise of civil power as already possessed, that their constitutions themselves, have been formed, adopted, and made binding, by the will of the majority, upon the community ; nor is it easy to conceive how they could have the force of law in any other way. And were it true in fact, it would be dangerous in principle. For if it is by virtue of a compact, that the subject owes obedience to civil government ; then he is bound to the form of government, which is already established, be it ever so absurd, despotic, or unjust. He is bound by his bargain. " It is a universal law of contracts, that a man is not at liberty to retreat from his engagement, merely because he finds the performance disadvantageous, or because he has the opportunity of entering into a better." It is essential to the nature and design of contracts, that they cannot be dissolved except by consent of the parties. To call the relation between the ruler and subjects a contract, is therefore to say, that the most despotic prince on earth, is only holding his subjects to their agreement, from which it is not possible, that they should ever be released, except by his consent. Hence we further remark, that according to this doctrine, every violation of the compact on the part of the ruler, releases the subject from allegiance, and dissolves the government. In all conditional contracts a violation of the condition by one of the parties, vacates the obligation of the other :—a principle which it is easy to see, if applied to civil obligations, would destroy the stability of every political fabric in the world. It is not then to the intervention of compact, but to the appointment of God, that we are to assign our civil obligations. It is the appointment of God, written in our social nature and the circumstances of man in the present world, as well as in the volume of inspiration ; that there be civil societies, and civil government, as the indispensable bond of society ; that the laws of society, and those who administer them, be clothed with authority, for that purpose ; and, that both rulers and subjects be held amenable at his bar, for a due discharge of the obligations thus respectively devolved upon them.

Another false principle growing out of the former, is, that rulers are the *servants* of the people.

Very different is the title which the bible gives them. This assigns to them not the relation of a servant to his master, but of

God to his subjects. "I have said, ye are gods, and all of you, children of the Most High." In this as in other wrong principles, there is truth enough to give it currency, while it is essentially and practically false. Rulers under an elective government, are chosen by the people, and for the benefit of the people; and when their term of office expires, they are continued or not, at the will of the people; and are not as in despotic governments, a privileged order, elevated by prescriptive assumption, above the rest of the community, for their own benefit alone. So far, there is truth in the maxim. Still the business of a ruler is not to *serve* but to *govern*. He is clothed with office, not to do the will of the people, as a servant is to do the will of his master, but to govern them. The people may, indeed, and they will, if they please, remove him from office; but while he holds it, he is not their *servant* but their *ruler*. He is, or *ought* to be chosen from the people, for his superior wisdom, integrity, and firmness; he is not to be directed as to his own conduct, but to prescribe theirs—"to *govern* them, in the integrity of his heart and with the skillfulness of his hands." In a word, he is not *their* servant—but the servant of *God*, for their benefit—or in the exactly corresponding language of Paul, "the *ministers of God to them for good*."

A third false principle, flowing from the preceding is, that rulers are bound to follow the will of the people. This is only carrying out the maxim, that rulers are the servants of the people, for unquestionably a servant is bound to do the will of his master:—and then it follows, as is sometimes avowed, that the people can do no wrong—whatever is the people's will, is politically right—the voice of the people is the voice of God—a maxim which puts darkness for light, and light for darkness, at a fearful rate. "Upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration to them. And the people gave a shout, saying, 'It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.'" Therefore, his voice *was* the voice of a god and not of a man. "Pilate said to the multitude, 'What shall I do then with Jesus, which is called Christ?' they all say unto him, 'let him be crucified.'" Therefore it was *right*, that he should be crucified; and Pilate did right, when he saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, in giving the sanction of his authority to the deed at which nature trembled, and the heavens gathered blackness. But only take the sentiment of Paul on this subject; "The powers that be are ordained of God." "Rulers are God's ministers," and it follows, that they like other men, are to be governed, "not by the lusts



of men, but by the will of God ;" and in their official conduct especially, as being clothed with authority, according to his appointment, and by his over-ruling providence, " to attend continually on this very thing ;" and then too the oath will have meaning, in which they solemnly swear, that, whether it be the people's will or not, they will maintain the constitution of their country and so discharge the duties of their office as in their judgment will best conduce to the good of the same.

The office of the civil magistrate is in this respect analogous to that of ministers of the gospel. They in a certain sense are servants of the people. The word, "ministers," means servants: and "the chiefest of the apostles," said in the name of them all, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your *servants*, for Jesus' sake." So ministers of the gospel generally, are to be employed for the good of the people, "attending continually," as it is said of the civil magistrate, "upon this very thing." But are they as servants of the people, bound to obey their will, as to what they shall preach? If they are servants of the *people*, they are in a higher sense, servants of *God*, to whom alone they are accountable; as the magistrate also is the minister or servant of God: and Paul with obvious truth said, as every minister of God, ecclesiastical or civil, may with equal truth and propriety say, "*If I please men I should not be the servant of God.*"

A fourth principle, equally false and dangerous with the preceding, and naturally connected with them is, that there ought to be no connexion between religion and civil government. Government being founded on the social compact, it is said, is entirely a matter between men; and has nothing to do with God or religion, either in its theory or practice. This maxim too has a color of truth. Religion and civil government are, and ought to be distinct in respect to their departments; the one contemplates the interests of eternity, and the other the rights of civil society. These for ages were united; and it has cost a struggle of ages to separate them. In all pagan countries, the civil ruler has claimed the right to control matters of religion. Church and State have been one. This was attempted under christianity. Rulers still claimed the right to decide for their people, whether or not they should receive the new religion; and attempted to enforce its claims by prohibiting the propagation and avowal of it. Christianity resisted the claim—a conflict ensued—the blood of christians flowed like water; thousands and tens of thousands went to the stake, until at last, christianity triumphed, and became the established religion of

the empire. But even then and for ages afterwards, the civil magistrates claimed the right of correcting errors in religion, while the ministers of religion on the other hand, too often assumed the right of dictating to the magistrates, what should be the measures of government. It is a matter of devout thanksgiving, that the subject is now better understood ; and that in our own land there is so happy an illustration of the true principle. The Church and State move on in their own proper spheres, united only in the purpose of making men happy and good. The civil ruler yields the rights of conscience to the subject, and the subject for conscience sake obeys. In this manner, religion, and civil government, while they are distinct in their appropriate departments, are subservient to each other. Sent forth together as angels of mercy, from the throne of God, to redeem and save a lost world, though the one cannot do the office of the other, yet neither can the one be separated from the other, consistently with the common errand on which they are commissioned. Government spreads her broad shield over the sabbaths, and sanctuaries, and private walks, and social acts of religion, that so we may lead peaceable and quiet lives, in all godliness and honesty. And religion comes up to the chair of State, and in the name of Him who is exalted as Head over all demands, that rulers over men be just, and ruling in the fear of God. She goes to the hall of judgment and gives her charge to the judges and jurors, "Ye shall not respect persons in judgment. Defend the poor and the fatherless, do justice to the afflicted and needy. Rid them out of the hand of the wicked." She goes out into the streets of the city, and over the breadth of the land and proclaims ; "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." "They are God's ministers to you for good ; wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." "Fear God, honor the king." "I exhort also, that supplication, prayer, intercession, and giving of thanks be made for kings, and for all that are in authority." It is not true then, that there is no legitimate or important connexion between religion and government. Are any other interests that claim the protection of government to be compared with those of religion ; or is there any other influence so indispensable to the establishment and administration of government, as the influence and sanctions of religion ?

A fifth maxim refuted by this subject, as being false and dangerous, is, that human life is inviolable. You may not take the life of man, it is said, for any cause. Were civil government founded on a social compact, we see not how this could be dis-

puted. For clearly no man has power over his own life. How then can he by any agreement or on any conditions delegate to another power over it? God as the author, is also the disposer of human life; and God has said, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man." Hence we infer the right, and not the right only, but the duty of the civil magistrate, as God's minister, to put the murderer to death. The injunction is absolute. *By man shall his blood be shed*: and it is remarkable that the reason assigned for the injunction is not so much the injury done to man as the dishonor done to God: "for in the image of God," &c. Hence God deems himself bound in honor to his own name, to avenge on guilty nations all the righteous blood which they have shed, by giving them blood to drink; and not only so, but he holds them answerable for all the blood which is shed within their limits, and which they themselves neglect to avenge according to his ordinance. We know it is sometimes said, that this ordinance was peculiar to the ancient dispensation. But on what authority is this said? The command was given immediately after the flood. It was given to the whole human race, in the person of its common ancestor; and it has never been revoked. On the contrary, the same principle is recognized in the new testament on this subject, which runs through the old. Thus in the last command of God to man, in the book of the Revelation of John, it is said, "They have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy." This is clearly recognized in the words, "If thou do that which is evil be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain;" since for what purpose beareth he the sword, but for the infliction of death? or how is it not in vain, if it is never to be used? or why on account of his bearing the sword, should any one be afraid, if it may not lawfully be employed for its appropriate end? It is not to be denied, that according to this passage the civil magistrate is authorized and delegated by the appointment of God, in certain cases, to take away human life, to prosecute unto death, not the murderer only, but every other rebel who cannot by other means be brought into subjection to the government. It is indeed a fearful extremity to be obliged to take away the life of any probationer for eternity, and especially of one whose unrepented crimes expose him to an eternity of woe—but it is also a fearful thing, by sparing the life of the guilty to expose that of the innocent, or to put it in the power of the rebellious to set at defiance the laws of society; and we see not what should pre-

vent any ruffian, once knowing, that his life could in no case be taken, from setting at defiance all attempts to coerce his submission.

Another principle which we cannot view as being other than false and dangerous, is derived from the preceding error, that all war is sinful. Wars, as they have been ordinarily conducted, have been the work of him who was a murderer from the beginning. The spirit of war is the spirit of pride, of selfishness, of boundless cupidity, and fell revenge. But war is not necessarily of this character. War, strictly defensive—that is, war as the last resort, when all other means fail to protect the essential institutions and rights of society—is authorized by the commission of the sword to the magistrate, to be borne by him not in vain. For is it his duty to put to death the single-handed rebel, who cannot otherwise be reduced to subjection? Must he not then put to death the armed band of rebels, who can by no means be persuaded to lay down their arms? And if he must call out his forces in battle array, against the band of home-born citizens, excited to rebellion, must he not do the same against the band of foreign invaders, embodied to subvert the government, and lay waste all that government is ordained of God to protect? It cannot, we think, be denied, that he may and ought to do this, and therefore ought to be prepared to do it, whenever the emergency occurs, unless the principle be true, that human life is in all cases inviolable; and hence this principle we consider not only as contrary to the language of the bible, but dangerous to the interests of society. Under the aspect of humanity, it is in reality the greatest cruelty; leaving us no protection against the cupidity and malignity of sin. And when we read: “The Lord is strong and mighty—the Lord is *mighty in battle*,” and, “He was clothed with a *vesture dipped in blood*,” and, “the *armies* which were in heaven followed,” and “out of his mouth goeth a *sharp sword*, that with it he should smite the nations,” and, “He hath on his vesture and on his thighs a name written, King of Kings and Lord of Lords,” we can not but think, that if war were in itself sinful, such epithets would never have been applied by the Spirit of inspiration to him to whose nature and government sin is infinitely abhorrent. He is thus described in the act of subduing rebellious subjects of his own proper dominion—and he is not dishonored when those whom he has ordained to be his vicegerents on earth, in the same act, bear not the sword in vain.

We would now advert to some disastrous and threatening consequences of the false principles which we have stated.

One consequence is, the irreligious character of our government. We do not mean to assert, that our rulers are irreligious men, but that the course of things in the conduct of our government is such. Our rulers are considered the mere creatures and servants of the *people*: bound by the will of the *people*, and amenable only to them. Whether there be a God or not; whether either our rulers or the people have any belief in his being, or any regard to the sanction of his law; whether as a nation we are his sincere worshipers, or mere atheists, seems to be considered by a vast multitude, so far as government is concerned, altogether unimportant. There is scarcely another government on earth in which there is so little recognition of God as our own.

Another consequence is the elevation of unprincipled men to civil office. Here also we wish it to be understood, that we do not refer particularly to the men now in office. We refer to the general disregard of religious principle in the selection of candidates for civil offices, a disregard which clearly appears among all parties throughout the land. No matter whether the candidate be an atheist or a christian; whether he honor the sabbath or desecrate it; whether he reverence the sanctuary or despise it; whether he be a man of conscience, or a mere man of honor; on these subjects no questions are asked, but, Is he a man of the people—will he be obedient to their wills—will he be subservient to their ends, or in plain terms, will he be the tool of his party? He is not to be a minister of God, to do the will of God, or the public good—and much less is he to be an avenger to execute the will of God without respect to persons who do evil—he is not chosen with any such intent—but to be the mere instrument of a party, for the accomplishment of its exclusive designs. How degraded and ruinous such a perversion of God's ordinances!

Hence results, as a third consequence, *disrespect* of rulers and their office. Such disrespect, all over the land, is notorious and fearful. It is a common sin. High and low, all ages, and almost all classes, are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, to bring against them a railing accusation, to load their characters, their measures, their talents, with contempt, reproach, and ridicule. This, too, is a natural consequence of the principles which have been mentioned. It is not to be expected of masters, that they will treat their servants with marked deference, and more especially, those who demean themselves like servants, instead of

exercising authority as men whom the God of heaven has clothed with power, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them who do well.

Hence come, also, the sedition and riot, that are so prevalent. When rulers are no longer revered, it is not wonderful if the laws are no longer obeyed. An infuriated multitude may be expected, at their will, to ride over the heads of those whom they have constituted only their servants, and regarded as such, and, when the latter suit not their wishes, to take the administration of affairs directly into their own hands; and when this shall come to be the general course of things, when we shall no longer be governed by the laws, but by the irresponsible will of a mob; when civil authorities shall stand silent by, while the abandoned are wreaking their vengeance on such as have offended them; then, indeed, our liberty is gone,—we are under the worst of tyrannies,—we are suffering the worst of persecutions. The faction, that can do this for *one cause*, will most certainly, if not put down by law, not stop there. The same men who, in defiance of law, put down a lecturer on slavery; will put down a lecturer on any subject of the gospel, that may happen equally to offend them; or for any other cause that can be named; and then what interest have we on earth, that would not lie in jeopardy?

In the eleventh chapter of the Revelation, we read of God's two witnesses, that, "when they shall have finished their testimony," or, as the phrase is now generally understood, "when they shall *be about to finish* their testimony, the beast, that ascended out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them, and their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which, spiritually, is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because those two prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth." Something not unlike this is realized in this fair land; and should it be suffered to proceed, and to suppress all that truth which offends the ungodly, and prevail wherever that truth is published; then will it be fully realized, according to the terms of the prophecy. That the time is at hand, respectable expositors believe. If it be so, may a gracious God prepare us for the hour of temptation, that shall come upon the world, to try them who dwell upon the earth!

As the only proper remedy for these evils, let us, in conclusion, suggest the necessity of our treating the laws, and those who administer them, with reverence. For conscience sake, let us show our submission to the one, and every due token of respect to the other. The law of the land may be satisfied with a careless external respect. Religion looks at the motive. Then only is our civil homage strictly done to God, when it is rendered from respect to his will; and then, also, will it be cheerful and constant. Let us also train up our children to habits of due reverence and submission. God has said, "Honor thy father and thy mother:" and it is by the habit of obedience to this command, that mankind, in their successive generations, are prepared, easily, naturally, and without constraint, as their instinctive principle, to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and render unto all their dues, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor. But let them be accustomed, from their early years, in the unsubdued pride and stubbornness of a fallen nature, to make light of father and mother, and at the same time, see the father and mother an example of insubjection and disrespect to civil authorities, and it would be a miracle, if they were not to be despisers of government, presumptuous, self-willed, not afraid to speak evil of dignities, and prepared for the work of anarchy and misrule. In every government, and more especially in a free government, like our own, the tendency of which is to cherish the pride and self-will of our nation, the true conservative principle is the habit of subordination induced by the fear of God, in the families of the people. And, finally, let us "sanctify the Lord of hosts in our hearts; and let him be our fear, and let him be our dread. Let a principle of true religion pervade the minds of our rulers and the leaders of the people; then indeed shall it be said of us, "Happy is the people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord." Though it pervade not the minds of the nation, let it rule our own minds; then will the Lord of hosts be our sanctuary; whatever troubles may befall us, we shall be delivered from the fluctuating hopes and fears of those who have no secure resort in times of public calamity; and so with our hearts fixed, trusting in Him whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and whose dominion endureth unto all generations, we shall show to all around us, that those only are happy, whose hope is in the Lord our God.

## ART. VII.—EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

*Emancipation in the West Indies: A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837.* By JAMES A. THOME and J. HORACE KIMBALL. New York: published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. 1838.

*Letters from the West Indies, relating especially to the Danish Island St. Croix, and to the British Islands Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica.* By SYLVESTER HOVEY, late Prof. of Math. and Nat. Phil. Amherst College. New York: Gould & Newman. 1838.

No one can contemplate the experiment now making in the West Indies, without feeling, that its bearings are most important, and deserving a faithful examination. For years, the attention of philanthropists in Great Britain have been directed to the condition of these islands; and notwithstanding the opposition they have met with, they have steadily gone forward, headed by the honored name of Wilberforce, urging the claims of humanity and reason, till their mighty efforts have been crowned with a signal triumph. Wilberforce, indeed, has not lived to see this last victory, for which his preceding advocacy has prepared; but numerous friends, who stood with him, shoulder to shoulder, like the immortal phalanx, and bore the brunt of the battle, now hear the shouts of rejoicing which burst from thousands rescued from bondage, and put upon the path of intellectual and moral improvement. The history of such a triumph of benevolence over cupidity, will form an interesting chapter in the annals of our age; and every book which throws light upon the conditions of the place where, and the people among whom such a change has taken and is taking place, is a desirable acquisition to our literature. We have before us two volumes, emanating from widely different sources, yet either is entitled to careful perusal. Thome and Kimball's Journal is both the earlier and larger book, and probably is the best known, owing to its extensive dissemination by the Anti-Slavery Society, under whose auspices they went out to the West Indies. It is also more a book of details and collected testimony, and in this respect is very important. Prof. Hovey's Letters, though smaller in size, and though not aiming so much at furnishing details, nor an equal variety of documentary testimony, is drawn up with great care, and evinces (what we



know him to possess an uncommonly sound judgment and discriminating mind. Both works are written with apparent candor; and we think, that, subject to deductions such as must always, more or less, be made, for the imperfection of man, they are entitled to unquestioned credit. If any one should wish a lucid view of the operation of the free or the apprenticeship system in the West Indies, drawn up with reference both to its advantages and disadvantages, and after a thorough examination by a matured mind and a kind heart, unprejudiced, and not decidedly pledged to any theory, we would commend him to Prof. Hovey. If he further wishes to listen to the oral and written testimony of the inhabitants there, white, colored, and blacks, as communicated to men, ardent in the cause of freedom, and anxious for its success, yet honestly meaning to give a true description of things as they saw them, we would point them to the volume of Messrs. Thome and Kimball. Nor, in making this distinction, do we mean to impair the credit of either. We believe, that all these gentlemen meant to give us a true picture of the West Indies as it was, so far as they had the means, and their means too were more ample than ordinary; but knowing as we do, the different circumstances under which they went out, we make only those allowances which are demanded by any one who is desirous of gaining as accurate knowledge as lies in his power. Prof. Hovey's deductions, we think, evince the greater discrimination; and from the fact, that his main conclusions were arrived at without any previous bias in their favor, they seem to have greater weight. Messrs. Thome and Kimball went out with the hope, which they gratified, of gathering a mass of testimony in favor of the entire emancipation of the slave. They were already committed as advocates of a theory which had enlisted their hearts, and called forth their urgency of appeal, both from the pulpit and through the press. It was impossible they should be entirely free from the influence of their pre-conceived opinions; they must desire to find evidence of their own theory; and every thing *couleur de rose* in this respect was most acceptable. Still, they were aware, too, that whatever might be brought to bear upon the subject, from those who had been opposed, was immensely important; and this led them to apply to such persons for their testimony. We see no reason to doubt the authenticity of that which they have produced. It has never been denied; and these declarations correspond, so far as they go to the same points, with the results of Prof. Hovey's observations.

Here, then, are two independent witnesses, and their united testimony is certainly entitled to great weight. Nothing that the Anti-Slavery Society has published, is so well calculated to make a proper impression on the mind of the slaveholder, and were it not, that their means of access are hindered by some rash spirits among them, whose intemperate language almost precludes any voice of theirs from a hearing, we should have great hopes, that this volume would produce a very considerable impression among the class of men at the South whom it is most desirable to reach. Indeed, we do trust, that, as it is, it will have effect. In this respect, Prof. Hovey's book is more favorably situated. And here we would call to the recollection of some, prominent in conducting the Anti-Slavery press, the ridicule with which the exposition as to the design of the American Union, to collect information from both sides, was met. We bear them no grudge, surely, for having in this respect become wiser, and we are thankful, that we have on our table two volumes, from two so widely differing associations, who have followed the dictates of propriety and common sense in seeking to profit by so capital a field of observation. The events which have transpired in Barbadoes and Jamaica, since the visits of these gentlemen, and since their accounts were published, give increasing interest to their remarks. Before these pages reach our readers, Slavery will have ceased in those islands, and the 1st of August, 1838, will be remembered as a great epoch in the history of the world's advancement. The other islands subject to Great Britain will probably soon follow the example, and through the influence of that nation, France and other nations on the continent, will adopt the plan, and emancipation will be proclaimed throughout all the West Indies. A few years will determine the consequences—but we have no fear of the result, nor does it require the ken of prophecy to predict, that from this period of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, a new face of things will be seen in those fertile plantations. The demonstration will be given on a far more extensive scale than before, that free labor is of greater profit than slave labor on any system can be. Property will rise, and many whose eyes are thus first opened to the truth, will look back on their former opposition to the call for emancipation with surprise and regret, and will feel, that had they been willing to listen to the voice of reason, they would long ago have reaped the benefit of security and increased prosperity. Already, since the Act has passed, and before it has gone into effect, their papers are filled with plans which open to them, but

of which before they could not avail themselves. Among these are a removal of the restrictions on the trade to Hayti. So long as slavery existed, such a measure was impracticable, but the probability now seems to be, that the home government may repeal the existing regulations, and Jamaica, with the other British Isles may enjoy the benefits of this commercial intercourse.

We would not be understood to hold, that by such an act of emancipation, the slaves of Jamaica and Barbadoes, will be placed in all respects, on a footing with those who have always been free. It will take years indeed to effect this. Even when no other obstacles exist, a race of men who have worn the chain for more than a century, who have been shut out from the privileges and blessings of education, cannot at once enter into all the enjoyments which crown others who have never been in bondage. The force of habit is powerful—the reformation of morals is comparatively slow. They must be for a length of time ignorant, and conscience, that feeling which has but just begun, as it were, to utter its response in their bosom, weak. But when the great blow has been struck, when no such peculiar difficulties stand in the way of their elevation, as might be in some other situations, we may believe, that those who once were their masters will put forth no common efforts and their exertions will be attended by no common success. Forming as they do the mass of the population, blending by almost imperceptible gradations with the European race, within a tropical climate, and accustomed to the closest intercourse, though in different relations, the final assimilation and incorporation of all these constituent bodies will take place. The same laws which govern now, with these exceptions, will govern hereafter as to the principles of regulating society. Talent, wealth and (alas, that it should be too often the last on the scale) moral worth will be the basis of intercourse. He who can attain to the portal will find the way open before him—he who cannot, must be excluded, though he may cast many a wishful glance thither, and curse the customs which hinder his approach. Motives of powerful weight, will therefore call forth exertion, and notwithstanding all the disadvantages in their path we should not be surprised, if the progress of the late enslaved should be comparatively rapid. Difficulties no doubt may exist in carrying out the results, and these will be eagerly laid hold of, and exaggerated by such as are unfriendly to the change. The emancipated slaves, however much they have been treated like beasts, are men, and have the passions and infirmities of

mon to human nature. They will have their preferences; they will feel the promptings of pride and avarice; they will be often blind to their own true interests, and obstinately bent on self-indulgence; they will need the discipline of law and government; they may often make no nice moral discriminations; some may be idle and vagrant; some of the former masters may suffer, may be obliged to contract their expenses and curb their tempers—disputes may now and then rise, and evils of various kinds may be felt. All these we say, are to be expected—they occur in every free community—they are the universal lot of society. But they cannot impair the grand demonstration making, as to the utility of emancipation in the West Indies.

Thus far we have looked at the subject in its present relations to the West Indies. It is important to notice the moral and religious situation of the islands. This will essentially aid us in forming a proper estimate of the preparation which there existed, for the great event which has now become a part of history.

The system of slavery in the West Indies, in its operation, had all the varieties which characterize any condition of society among men. Some there are in whom there is a greater share of the milk of human kindness than resides in the bosoms of others; and of course the administration of unrestrained power by such, will be different than in the case of the latter. There are some men too, less indolent than others, who are accustomed to superintend their own affairs, and who, acting merely on the principle of regard to their temporal interests, will bestow more care and attention on those on the profit of whose labors they live. Some there are too, though we fear a less numerous class, who feel a higher claim of religion, requiring them to remember, that souls, in the providence of God, are placed under their charge, for whose spiritual condition they must render an account. There are other proprietors, at a distance, into whose ear the cry and groaning of the enslaved never enters, and who know not or care not for the misery and anguish which accompanies the incessant toils and hardships by which is derived the means to support their own luxury or profligacy; and others still, who though witnessing all, have no heart to relieve or minister a word of comfort to the sorrow-stricken being, who wails in hopeless bondage, and smarting under the lash of cruel overseers. All these phases of condition must be found, according to the peculiarities which enter into the relation of master and slave. Such was the case in the West Indies, on the same island. But there are also causes which have operated to pro-

duce a difference in the different islands. The island of Antigua, was in advance of all the others, in the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves. A course of labor by missionaries has been in operation for more than seventy years—and though it has proceeded in the midst of opposition and discouragements, yet it has never been without some perceptible effect on the slaves themselves; and at present, if we may judge from the works before us, the people are as well supplied with religious teachers as almost any part of the United States. Thus Professor Hovey says:

‘The United Brethren commenced their labors in Antigua in 1756; and have been gradually increasing, in numbers and influence, till the present time. They have five establishments in different parts of the island, and twenty-two missionaries; of whom eleven are ordained to preach the Gospel. More than one third of the emancipated people belong to their denomination, and regularly attend public worship. Their number of communicants is 5,113, giving an average to each church of more than a thousand members. They have Sabbath schools, in which about 900 children receive instruction. The Moravian congregations are divided for the purpose of receiving instruction into three classes,—candidates for baptism—candidates for communion—and communicants. Each class is put on a prescribed course of instruction, and is met by the pastor once a week to receive explanations of the lesson, and to be examined. On the Sabbath the whole congregation meet together. The entire course of instruction is simple; and is exceedingly well adapted to the capacities and circumstances of the people.’ \* \* \* \* \*

‘I am unable to say precisely when the Wesleyan Methodists established their mission in Antigua. It was, however, more than forty years ago. They have five ordained ministers, besides several local preachers, and seven regular places of public worship. More than 8,000 people are under their charge. Their Sabbath schools are full and flourishing. They divide their congregation and instruct them in classes, in nearly the same way as the Moravians. Over each class is appointed a leader, whose duty it is to meet the class every week, and inquire into the spiritual condition of the members. It is very manifest that their system, as well as that of the Moravians, while it requires great effort on their part, is extremely efficacious in its results.

Thus it appears, that for the accommodation and religious instruction of about 37,000 souls, there are twenty-six ordained ministers, and eighteen regular houses for public worship, besides several other places where occasional preaching is enjoyed. This is as good a supply as is generally found even in the northern parts of the United States. I am happy to say, that the most perfect harmony and good feeling prevail among the three denominations; and that the clergy are encouraged in the faithful discharge of their duties by witnessing gratifying results of their labors.’ *Letters*, pp. 81, 82, 83.

The testimony of Messrs. Thome and Kimball goes to establish the same conclusion :

There are three denominations of christians in Antigua: the Established Church, the Moravians, and Wesleyans. The Moravians number fifteen thousand—almost exclusively negroes. The Wesleyans embrace three thousand members, and about as many more attendants. Of the three thousand members, says a Wesleyan missionary, "not fifty are white—a larger number are colored; but the greater part black." "The attendance of the negro population at the churches and chapels," (of the established order,) says the Rector of St. John's, "amounts to four thousand six hundred and thirty-six." The whole number of blacks receiving religious instruction from these christian bodies, making allowance for the proportion of white and colored included in the three thousand Wesleyans, is about twenty-two thousand—leaving a population of eight thousand negroes in Antigua who are unsupplied with religious instruction.

The Established Church has six parish churches, as many "chapels of ease," and nine clergymen. The Moravians have five settlements and thirteen missionaries. The Wesleyans have seven chapels, with as many more small preaching places on estates, and twelve ministers; half of whom are itinerant missionaries, and the other half, local preachers, employed as planters, or in mercantile, and other pursuits, and preaching only occasionally. From the limited number of chapels and missionaries, it may be inferred that only a portion of the twenty-two thousand can enjoy stated weekly instruction. The superintendent of the Moravian mission, stated that their chapels could not accommodate more than *one-third* of their members.

There has been a perceptible increase in the attendance at the several places of worship since the abolition of slavery—especially in the rural districts; and in consequence, additional chapels and missionaries are greatly needed. Each of the denominations complains of the lack of men and houses. The Wesleyans are now building a large chapel in St. John's, on land granted for that purpose by the legislature. It will accommodate two thousand persons. "Besides free sittings, there will be nearly two hundred pews, every one of which is now in demand." pp. 94, 95.

As to *education*, there does not seem to have been an equal diffusion as in religious privileges. Slavery must almost necessarily debar from the opportunity of learning to read; and, accordingly, wherever it has existed, we find scarcely any who possess such a capacity. Prof. H. and Messrs. Thome and Kimball do not as fully coincide in the degree of preparation in these respects existing in Antigua. We will leave both to speak for themselves, though we regret we cannot quote at full length :

'Thus it appears that all the schools, belonging to the different religious denominations, give instruction to 5,168 scholars. In addition to these, there are many private schools on the estates, which are supported either by the proprietor, or by the parents of the children.

I was informed that the schools are so distributed as to be accessible to every family; and that there is not a child on the island, who may not, if he chooses, enjoy their advantages. In point of fact, though no compulsion is used, most of those who are of a suitable age attend. I was happy to learn that there was an increasing desire on the part of parents to educate their children; and that they often made commendable sacrifices to accomplish the object. And what, perhaps, affords still more encouragement, is that the adults themselves frequently manifest a strong desire for knowledge. In such cases, they improve their leisure moments during the day, in learning to read, and are often seen in the highway and fields with a book in their hands. I must however add, that in many instances there is a want of interest on the subject; and that numbers of children, through the prejudice or neglect of their parents, live in idleness, who should be compelled to attend school.' *Letters*, pp. 86, 87.

Among the particulars of the preparation which was in Antigua, he specifies the following :

'In the first place, a great relaxation of sentiment in regard to slavery had taken place in the minds of the planters. This is in truth the first step towards any form of emancipation; and is quite as necessary a preparation for the master, as are instruction and moral principle for the slave. When the slave becomes free, he is elevated to higher ground and acts on higher principles. He is no longer to be governed like the brute, entirely by fear; other principles of his nature now begin to operate. To meet this change in his character and condition, a corresponding change is necessary in the treatment of him. He cannot be controlled by coercion as he once was; but must be approached and addressed as a man, possessing all the instincts, and passions, and endowments of our common nature. This power is not at once acquired by a person who has known no other method of enforcing his commands, than the whip. Such an one cannot instantly change the deportment of an absolute and tyrannical master, into that of a kind and conciliating employer. He cannot, at once, dismiss the feeling of his superiority, and treat his slave, I will not say as an equal, but as a laborer, whose service he cannot compel, but must conciliate with kindness, and purchase at a stipulated price. This is a capacity in which he has not been accustomed to act; and if the change from slavery to freedom should be instantaneous, he would, in all probability, be found as little prepared for it as the slave.

But in Antigua, the way has been preparing many years for the transition. A person, who had long resided there, informed me, that the efforts of Wilberforce and his coadjutors perceptibly modified the views which were entertained of slavery in that island. From that

time, the slaves have been treated with greater lenity and kindness—their character and comfort have been more regarded—and their wants better supplied. Long before emancipation, solitary confinement had been substituted, to a very great extent, for corporeal punishment; and when this was inflicted, it was not common to give more than six or eight lashes. Masters were in the habit of referring cases to magistrates, which they had power to decide and punish themselves, and such as were guilty of undue severity were presented at the Court of Sessions. A gentleman told me, that on the estate where he resides, and which has 274 negroes, no driver has been allowed to carry a whip for fifteen years, and such was the general practice on the island. This relaxation of sentiment and conduct on the part of the masters, had produced a corresponding change in the feelings of the slave; so that instead of the fear and jealousy which usually exist between them, and forever keeps them at variance, mutual acts of kindness had produced a mutual confidence and good will; and when the bands of slavery were destroyed, there were other and better ties to hold them together. This circumstance, in some measure, accounts for the fact, that when slavery was abolished, so few left their former masters; as it will be recollected, that on four or five plantations, where a different policy had been pursued, the slaves at once abandoned their places and sought better employers. This may be considered a specimen of what would have been general, if a similar state of feeling had existed all over the island.

In the second place, much had been done to prepare the slaves for freedom by the inculcation of moral and religious principles, and by the establishment of schools. As I have already remarked, the Moravians commenced their mission in the island about eighty years ago, and have persevered, with their characteristic energy and benevolence, "through good report and evil report." The Wesleyans have long been efficient fellow-laborers in the same enterprise; and for the last twelve or fifteen years the established church has espoused the cause with a very commendable zeal. From these dates, it appears that the efforts for the religious instruction of the slaves commenced long anterior to emancipation; and, in point of fact, they have not been very materially increased since that event.

As to their agency in accomplishing it, I need say nothing in addition to the remarks already made. It was the uniform testimony of the people in Antigua, that religion had been the most efficient cause in preparing the way for freedom—that it had taught the slaves a respect for the laws both of God and man; and had thrown over them the restraints, which are of vital importance in their present condition. So that emancipation, instead of introducing religious instruction, has itself entered upon the highway, which religion had prepared.

For a long time the missionaries met with great opposition. If they were not persecuted, they were treated with neglect and often contempt. At last, however, they gained over public sentiment to their favor, and, for many years, have not only been allowed to pursue their labors without molestation, but have had the sanction and encouragement of the planters.



According to the best information I could obtain, the credit of introducing Sabbath schools into Antigua belongs to the Methodists. They were commenced in 1813, and soon led the way to the establishment of other schools. From that time the Methodists have labored in the cause of education with indefatigable industry and increasing success. As we have already seen, the other denominations have lent their aid, and are now but little if any less distinguished for their zeal. Thus religion found in education a powerful auxiliary; and they labored hand in hand for many years, in preparing the slaves for the immense blessing which they have since received. My object in these remarks is not to make the impression, that the entire work of education and religious instruction was finished previous to emancipation; but that it was begun and in successful operation long before that event; not that an equal amount of improvement elsewhere is indispensable to immediate emancipation. On this last point I intend at present to express no opinion; but it is desirable that the facts in the case of Antigua should be perfectly understood.

In the third place, the manner in which the slaves received their allowances and disposed of them, had taught them how to manage their own concerns, and to provide for their wants in a state of freedom. They rarely consumed all the provisions which their masters allowed them; but carried a part to market and bartered them for others. They did the same with their cloth. Many of the vegetables also which they raised, they sold; and with the little sums of money procured in this way and in others, they purchased a variety of things for their comfort and enjoyment. Thus they became acquainted with the prices of different articles of food and clothing, and acquired no little skill in disposing of their commodities. This knowledge is now of the utmost importance to them, as they receive their wages in money, with which they go to town and purchase their clothing and the necessaries of life. It is said, that no people better understand the value of what they have to sell or wish to buy, or manifest more shrewdness in making a bargain, than the negroes. This characteristic, however, is not peculiar to the negroes of Antigua. It exists, perhaps, in an equal degree throughout all the West India islands.

In the last place, the success of immediate emancipation in Antigua, is to be ascribed, in no small degree, to the fact, that it was a voluntary measure on the part of the planters. It was not a thing which was forced upon them; but a plan of their own. They, therefore, felt a concern in its success, not only as it involved their interest, but as being a scheme of their own devising. They had ventured to decline the system recommended by Parliament, and to propose another, which they thought preferable. With them, therefore, solely rested the responsibility of its success. This secured a unanimity of feeling and a co-operation in action, which could scarcely have been expected under other circumstances; and which contributed greatly to the success of the experiment. In addition to this, the slaves saw their indebtedness to the planters for even a greater boon than Parliament had proposed. This awakened their gratitude and inspired them with confidence in

the kind intentions of the planters, and prepared both parties for reciprocal good will and fidelity, when the shackles of slavery were unloosed.

I may add, in conclusion, that the enterprise has been under the guidance of wise and humane counsellors. Among these, I am bound to mention in particular, Dr. Thomas Nugent, a gentleman, to whom I have several times alluded, and who was Speaker of the House at the time the Emancipation Bill passed. He is equally distinguished as a philosopher, a philanthropist, and a statesman. I am greatly indebted to him not only for ample and matured information which he gave me, but for his personal kindness and hospitality. He is universally respected in the island; and is the man to whom I was referred by all parties, as not only having had the greatest influence in accomplishing safely the work of emancipation, but as being most able to furnish accurate and satisfactory information on the subject. It gives me the greatest pleasure to bear this testimony, because he has conferred the same favor on others, who have visited the island upon a similar errand.' *Letters*, pp. 87—93.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball, are not so full in alluding to these particulars. They say :

'That education was by no means extensive, previous to emancipation. The testimony of one planter was, that not a *tenth part* of the present adult population knew the letters of the alphabet. Other planters, and some missionaries, thought the proportion might be somewhat larger; but all agreed that it was very small. The testimony of the venerable Mr. Newby, the oldest Moravian missionary in the island, was, that such was the opposition among the planters, it was impossible to teach the slaves, excepting by night, secretly. Mr. Thwaites informed us, that the children were not allowed to attend day school after they were six years old. All the instruction they obtained after that age, was got at night—a very unsuitable time to study, for those who worked all day under an exhausting sun. It is manifest that the instruction received under six years of age, would soon be effaced by the incessant toil of subsequent life. The account given in a former connection of the adult school under the charge of Mr. Morrish, at Newfield, shows most clearly the past inattention to education. And yet Mr. M. stated that his school was a *fair specimen of the intelligence of the negroes generally*. One more evidence in point is the acknowledged ignorance of Mr. Thwaites' teachers. After ransacking the whole freed population for a dozen suitable teachers of children, Mr. T. could not find even that number who could *read well*. Many children in the schools of six years old read better than their teachers.

We must not be understood to intimate that up to the period of the Emancipation, the planters utterly prohibited the education of their slaves. Public sentiment had undergone some change previous to that event. When the public opinion of England began to be awakened against slavery, the planters were induced, for peace sake, to *tolerate*

education to some extent; though they cannot be said to have *encouraged* it until after emancipation. This is the substance of the statements made to us. Hence it appears, that when the active opposition of the planters to education ceased, it was succeeded by a general indifference, but little less discouraging. We of course speak of the planters as a body; there were some honorable exceptions.' \* \* \*

'We were grieved to find that most of the teachers employed in the instruction of the children, were exceedingly unfit for the work. They are very ignorant themselves, and have but little skill in the management of children. This however is a necessary evil. We were very happy to learn, that the emancipated negroes feel a great anxiety for the education of their children. They encourage them to go to school, and they labor to support them, while they have strong temptations to detain them at home to work. They also pay a small sum every week for the maintenance of the schools.' pp. 126, 127, 131.

In order that our readers may understand the situation, politically, of the emancipated slaves of Antigua, we subjoin from Messrs. Thome and Kimball, the following summary, in answer to the inquiry, "What is the amount of freedom in Antigua, as regulated by law?" They reply:

'1st. The people are entirely free from the whip, and from all compulsory control of the master.

2d. They can change employers whenever they become dissatisfied with their situation, by previously giving a month's notice.

3d. They have the right of trial by jury in all cases of a serious nature, while for small offences, the magistrate's court is open. They may have legal redress for any wrong or violence inflicted by their employers.

4th. Parents have the entire control of their children. The planter cannot punish them, compel them to work, separate them from their parents, prevent their attending school, or in any way interfere with them. At the same time, the parents have the whole charge of their support.

5th. By an express provision of the legislature, it was made obligatory upon every planter to support all the superannuated, infirm, or diseased on the estate, *who were such at the time of emancipation*. Those who have become so since 1834, fall upon the hands of their relatives for maintenance, unless the planter voluntarily takes the charge of them.

6th. The amount of wages is not determined by law. By a general understanding among the planters, the rate is at present fixed at a shilling per day, or a little more than fifty cents per week, counting five working days. This matter is wisely left to be regulated by the character of the seasons, and the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. As the island is suffering rather from a paucity of laborers, than otherwise, labor must in good seasons command good wages. The present rate of wages is extremely low, though it is made barely tolerable by

the additional perquisites which the people enjoy. They have their houses rent free, and in connection with them small premises forty feet square, suitable for gardens, and for raising poultry and pigs, &c. ; for which they always find a ready market. Moreover, they are burthened with no taxes whatever ; and added to this, they are supplied with medical attendance at the expense of the estates.

7th. The master is authorized in case of neglect of work, or turning out late in the morning, or entire absence from labor, to reduce the wages or withhold them for a time, not exceeding a week.

8th. The agricultural laborers may leave the field whenever they choose, (provided they give a month's previous notice,) and engage in any other business ; or they may purchase land, and become cultivators themselves, though in either case they are of course liable to forfeit their houses on the estates.

9th. They may leave the island, if they choose, and seek their fortunes in any other part of the world, by making provision for their near relatives left behind. This privilege has been lately tested by the emigration of some of the negroes to Demerara. The authorities of the island became alarmed lest they should lose too many of the laboring population, and the question was under discussion, at the time we were in Antigua, whether it would not be lawful to prohibit the emigration. It was settled, however, that such a measure would be illegal, and the planters were left to the alternative of either being abandoned by their negroes, or of securing their continuance by adding to their comforts and treating them kindly.

10th. The right of suffrage and eligibility to office are subject to no restrictions, save the single one of property, which is the same with all colors. The property qualification, however, is so great, as effectually to exclude the whole agricultural negro population for many years.

11th. *The main constabulary force is composed of emancipated negroes, living on the estates.* One or two trust-worthy men on each estate are empowered with the authority of constables in relation to the people on the same estate, and much reliance is placed upon these men, to preserve order, and to bring offenders to trial.

12th. A body of police has been established, whose duty it is to arrest all disorderly or riotous persons, to repair to the estates in case of trouble, and co-operate with the constables, in arraigning all persons charged with the violation of law.

13th. The punishment for slight offences, such as stealing sugar-canes from the field, is confinement in the house of correction, or being sentenced to the tread-mill, for any period from three days to three months. The punishment for burglary, and other high offences, is solitary confinement in chains, or transportation for life to Botany Bay.

Such are the main features in the statutes, regulating the freedom of the emancipated people of Antigua. It will be seen that there is no enactment which materially modifies, or unduly restrains, the liberty of the subjects. There are no secret reservations or postscript provisos, which nullify the boon of freedom. Not only is slavery utterly abolished, but all its appendages are scattered to the winds ; and a system

of impartial laws secures justice to all, of every color and condition.' pp. 131—134.

Prof. Hovey's views on the same subject are expressed in the following terms :

' But, though immediate emancipation was proclaimed to the slaves in Antigua, let it not be supposed, that they were raised at once to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of enlightened citizens. As soon as the assembly had resolved on immediate emancipation, it proceeded to pass enactments, designed expressly for the protection and government of the liberated people. The object was not indeed to curtail their substantial freedom, but rather to prevent the abuse of it—to hedge them about with such restraints and checks, as would not only preserve them from wanton outrages, but which should confine them to steady industry and economy, in those subordinate situations which they must for a long time occupy.

It was perfectly obvious, that they could not soon, if ever, reasonably aspire to be any thing more than the peasantry of the country ; and it was therefore wise policy to encourage them to remain in their present places, rather than rush into employments for which they were not qualified, and in which they must certainly fail. I do not mean to insinuate, that they are excluded by law from the highest places in society. In this respect they stand on the same level as all the other members of the community. But they cannot rise to such places without qualifications, which they do not at present possess ; but which, in the course of time, they may acquire.

A judgment may be formed of the enactments, to which I have alluded, from the following abridged specimens.

In the first place, it was provided that the slaves should remain one year after their emancipation in the places which they then occupied—that the use of their houses and little patches of ground should be continued to them ; and that they should work for their masters as they had done ; but that instead of receiving food and clothing, they should be paid for their labor in money. They were also exempted from all coercion except that of law. At the end of this year they were at liberty to seek other situations and go into other employments ; but it was provided, that when an engagement of service had been made, the laborer was not allowed to leave the place nor the employer to dismiss him, without having given a month's notice. The object of this regulation was to prevent such changes as might arise from momentary passion.

As it might be expected that the negroes, from their aversion to field labor, would prefer the employment of porters, hucksters, pedlars, etc., it was provided that all persons, who act in these capacities, should receive a regular license from the government. Of course it is in the power of government to exclude them from these situations, so far as it may be thought expedient.

Idleness and vagrancy are prohibited by an act punishing with confinement in the house of correction, and hard labor, all such as are

found to live without regular employment, and have no visible means of subsistence.

The new people are excluded from bearing arms, by a regulation which raises the military forces from those ranks and employments in society, from which their situation in life excludes them.

Laws were also made to meet all those complaints and differences, which might be expected to arise between the employer and the laborer; and also for the speedy punishment of those petty frauds, thefts, and misdemeanors, which it was supposed would be the consequence of at once setting so large a number of slaves free.

These laws, which might at first be thought minute and vexatious, are easily and promptly executed by means of a numerous and vigilant police. Justices of the peace, constables, and subordinate officers, were appointed in large numbers, and stationed in every part of the island. Indeed two or three of the most respectable negroes were appointed constables on every estate. Most of the difficulties are settled without a formal trial before a court of justice, and with but very little trouble. The more serious complaints, however, all go before a higher tribunal. About thirty officers of police have a regular salary from the government; the others receive a small fee from the parties who require their services. This arrangement is found amply sufficient to preserve the peace and good order of the island.' *Letters*, pp. 54—57.

As to the reasons which led to the adoption of the system of immediate abolition in Antigua, rather than the apprenticeship system, Prof. Hovey gives us a summary of those which are contained in the report of the joint committee of both houses of the assembly. Thus he says:

'1. A desire to have the subject settled at once, and thus prevent future agitation.

2. An apprehension that the apprenticeship system would take away the authority of the master over the slave, without supplying in its place adequate means of controlling him.

3. Dislike to the system of stipendiary magistrates, who were to be introduced from abroad, and must, from the nature of the case, be unacquainted with the state of things in the colonies.

4. Objection to the distinction made by the abolition act between the praedial and non-praedial classes, as being founded in injustice and bad policy.

5. The peculiar preparation on the part of both planters and the slaves for immediate emancipation.

6. The comparatively high degree of intelligence and moral principle which existed among the slaves.

7. The circumstance that the lands on the island were nearly all cultivated and occupied; so that the negroes would be obliged to continue their present habits of labor, in order to procure a livelihood.

These reasons may all be comprised in two. In the first place, inherent objections to the apprenticeship system; and in the second, a

belief that the slaves at Antigua were, at that time, as well prepared for freedom, as those on most of the other islands would be in 1840, when the act provided for their entire emancipation.' *Letters*, pp. 53, 54.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball sum up their conclusions with a variety of propositions, which they support by a mass of documentary testimony from planters, missionaries, magistrates, and others. We can give merely an abstract of these propositions.

The first of these is, that "the transition from slavery to freedom is represented as a great revolution, by which a prodigious change was effected in *the condition of the negroes*." Here they quote, among others, from the Hon. Nicholas Nugent, speaker of the house of assembly, and proprietor, who says:—"There never was so sudden a transition from one state to another by so large a body of people. When the clock began to strike the hour of twelve, on the last night of July, 1834, the negroes of Antigua were *slaves*—when it ceased, they were all *freemen*! It was a stupendous change," he said, "and it was one of the sublimest spectacles ever witnessed, to see the subjects of the change engaged, at the very moment it occurred, in worshipping God."

Secondly, that the act of emancipation was the result of political and pecuniary considerations merely. At a meeting previous to the abolition of slavery, to oppose the measure, one of the chief pro-slavery men astounded his friends by proclaiming an entire change in his views. He said, "I have been making calculations with regard to the probable results of emancipation, and *I have ascertained, beyond a doubt, that I can cultivate my estate at least one third cheaper by free labor, than by slave labor.*"

Numerous testimonies are given, in which it is declared, that emancipation was chosen as the easiest plan, "as the *safest and most economic* measure," as best calculated to bind the negroes to them by the tie of gratitude. The event too passed peaceably. This is Messrs. T. and K.'s *third* proposition. We cannot here resist the wish to quote more at length. The spectacle, as it has been before said, was a most sublime one.

'For some time previous to the first of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery and "turned loose on the community!" and this was to be done "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering

pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves, should toll the death knell of the masters.\*

The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipation, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

To convey to the reader some idea of the manner in which the great crisis passed, we here give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island, by those who witnessed them.

The Wesleyans kept "watch-night" in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy, and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamations of thanksgiving and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly as the loud bell tolled its first note, the crowded assembly prostrated themselves on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering half-stifled breath, of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords, and weary heart strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and his trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, "Glory," "alleluia;" they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.' pp. 144, 145.

Similar is the account by Prof. Hovey. He says:

'On the arrival of the first of August—that day so fraught with hope and bright anticipation on one hand, and fear and anxious foreboding on the other—the mighty transition from slavery to freedom was made in a manner most becoming so serious and important a transaction, and

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\* We are informed by a merchant of St. John's, that several American (!) vessels which had lain for weeks in the harbor, weighed anchor on the 31st of July, and made their escape, through actual fear, that the island would be destroyed on the following day. Ere they set sail they earnestly besought our informant to escape from the island, as he valued his life.



most auspicious to the future well-being of the island. When the shackles of slavery were to be unlocked, and the immense boon of freedom was to be received by one part of the population, and the hearts of the other were trembling with feverish anxiety at the result, nothing could be more fitting, than that the attention of all should be directed to that great Being, who rules the stormy tempest, and "stills the tumult of the people, and turns all hearts as the rivers of water are turned." Accordingly, as has been already intimated, the first of August was set apart by public authority, to be observed throughout the island, as a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the signal blessings which he had bestowed, and of devout supplication for his special protection and guidance in the great enterprise which then filled all minds and all hearts. When the day arrived, the churches of all the different denominations in the island were opened, and were thronged by immense crowds of all ranks and colors, who came gratefully to acknowledge to God the blessings which they had received, and humbly to implore his continued favor.

The day thus auspiciously commenced, terminated in a manner most gratifying to the friends of freedom. The emancipated people, instead of becoming frantic with joy, in the possession of their new rights and privileges, and rioting in the ebullitions of ungoverned passion, as might naturally have been expected, retired from the places of public devotion to their little tenements, without the commission of a single outrage or the least disorderly conduct. The day was characterized by the stillness and solemnity of the Sabbath, rather than by the noise, and tumult, and intoxication, which usually, on such occasions, disgrace more intelligent and civilized communities.' *Letters*, pp. 60, 61.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball proceed: "Fourth, there has been, since emancipation, not only *no rebellion in fact*, but *no FEAR OF IT*." And fifth, "There has been no fear of house-breaking, highway robbery, &c., since emancipation." As proof of this, they adduce the fact, that, contrary to the former practice, the militia was not called out during the holidays, and the uniform declarations of planters and others. The Hon. Mr. Nugent says: "There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity: quite the contrary. Property is more secure, *for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever*."

Prof. Hovey is equally explicit on this point. Thus he says:

'With the exception of two or three estates, where the negroes refused for a day or two to work, on account of an alledged insufficiency of wages, the most perfect order and tranquillity had prevailed down to the time when I visited the island. I hazard nothing in saying, that the people of Antigua are as free from any apprehensions of riot or insurrection, as is the most peaceable village in New England. The militia, which was frequently on duty during slavery, and especially on the Christmas holidays, has not been called out for the purpose of preserv-

ing the public peace, since the day of emancipation. This single fact would indicate to a West Indian, a feeling of security, which was little known in the time of slavery.' *Letters*, p. 62.

In the next proposition, they assert, that "emancipation is regarded by all classes as a great blessing." One says, "Emancipation is working admirably, especially for the planters." Another, "Our planters find that freedom answers a far better purpose than slavery ever did." This is the more remarkable, especially when the untoward circumstances of a desolating hurricane in 1835,—the first year of the new state of things,—and that the years 1836 and 1837 were years of great drought, are considered.

Seventhly, "*Free labor* is decidedly LESS EXPENSIVE than slave labor." The testimony to this point is very ample, as also to the next: "The negroes work *more cheerfully* and *do their work better*, than they did during slavery;" and this, in the language of the U. S. consul, "for the obvious reason, that they are *working for themselves*." "The negroes, too, are more easily managed as freemen, than they were when slaves." "The negroes are more *trust-worthy*, and *take a deeper interest in their employers' affairs*, since emancipation." These last propositions are also sustained by the declarations of planters of the highest respectability. One says, "We are freed from a world of trouble and perplexity." Another, "We do not have the trouble to get the people to work, or to keep them in order." "My laborers manifest an increasing attachment to the estate." There is also manifested an increasing subordination to the law. Crimes have actually diminished. The negroes also have not grown insolent with their new freedom. "Said Dr. Nugent, 'Emancipation has not produced insolence among the negroes.'" On the contrary, they are grateful, and evince an ability to take care of themselves. The low wages of the laborers; the fact, that even with these they manage to buy small parcels of land; the existence of a large number of Friendly Societies, and the sums of money contributed in them; as also the weekly and monthly contributions to their churches and schools; the increasing attention paid to the cultivation of provision-grounds; the fact, that parents husband the wages of their children, and, that the negroes are able to support their aged parents:—all these facts are considered as decisive in proof of their ability of self-support. They are also said to have visibly improved in character.

The testimony of Prof. Hovey on the preceding points is less explicit. We quote it, however, as we find it :

'It was a point of considerable difficulty and of great importance, to establish, at first, a proper rate of wages. It was desirable to adopt one, which should be permanent, or one, at least, which it should not be found necessary to lower, as such a change would no doubt create discontent. As no estate had been cultivated by free labor, and as the expenses of such cultivation were not known; and as the incomes of the estates, in consequence of the difference in the seasons, vary in no small degree in successive years, it was not easy to determine what rate the average returns of the estates would allow. It was also important, in order to prevent the temptation to change from one place to another, to which it was supposed the negroes would be greatly inclined, that the wages should be uniform on all the plantations. Accordingly a consultation was held by the planters, and a price of labor, which it was thought would be equitable to both parties, was established, not by law, but by general consent. The effect of this measure, in promoting the contentment and regular industry of the laboring classes, has been exceedingly happy. There was at first, as I before intimated, a little dissatisfaction on the part of the negroes with their compensation; but they soon perceived that their demands would be unavailing, and they went quietly to their work.

The adult laborers on the estates receive in the currency of the island 10d. per day, which is, in our currency, about 11 cents—the weeding laborers, comprising the youth from 10 to 18 years of age, have 9d. or about ten cents. The children, when they work, obtain a little compensation in provisions or something of the kind. The first rate domestics receive four dollars a month; and good mechanics a little more. \* \* \* But the most effectual stimulus to industry is job-work, a method by which the laborers often more than double their wages. This plan is also for the interest of the planter; inasmuch as he gets his work done in a shorter time and with less expense. I was told that the negroes, when they labor in this way, often evince an energy of character and a power of effort, of which it had been supposed they were utterly incapable.

\* \* \* There has also been a perceptible improvement in the domestic habits of the emancipated people. The Moravian missionaries early attempted to extirpate the degrading custom of concubinage. They admitted none to their communion who upheld it by their example. \* \* \* In 1811 or 1812, the Methodist Conference in England passed an order directing their missionaries to exclude from their communion all persons who were living in a state of concubinage. The Episcopal clergy seconded these efforts; and the result was a great improvement in the state of society. \* \* \*

There is in all the West India islands, a large class of colored females, who are considered as having no character to gain or to lose; and who, consequently, became the ready instruments of vice. As soon as the practice of concubinage became disreputable, they were obliged to abandon their former habits and seek more respectable connexions. Through them, the white population felt the change; and

the sentiments of the whole community have been greatly purified and elevated, at least compared with what they were, and with what they still are on most of the islands. \* \* \*

It will appear from the above statements, that the amount of crime on the island, considering the population and the circumstances of the case, is trivial, and that the punishments are not severe.' *Letters*, pp. 62—71.

We have dwelt so long on the condition of things in Antigua, that we have comparatively a small space left us for a view of the situation of Barbadoes and Jamaica, where the apprenticeship system was in operation at the time that Prof. Hovey and Messrs. Thome and Kimball visited those islands. Our readers are aware, that its operation was far better at Barbadoes than in Jamaica. The reason is this, that more severity had been always manifested at Jamaica, and the slaves were in a more degraded condition, and a greater effort at the moral and religious improvement of the negroes had been made at Barbadoes. In both of these islands, however, according to all the testimony, the opposition to the act of parliament, had been a strong one; and it certainly evinces a very great advance, that the determination should have been taken, to follow the example of Antigua. The books before us afford us a great variety of information respecting these islands; and show us too, that notwithstanding all which has been done, much more yet remains to be done, in order that the evils of slavery should be eradicated. The first great step taken, we trust it will be followed up with corresponding endeavors to elevate the long-degraded population.

The great practical question which deserves our consideration, is,—supposing it successful, as we fully believe it will be,—How far will the experiment in the West Indies affect the subject of slavery in the United States? There are a number of considerations with regard to the West Indies, which deserve notice in this point of view.

Among these we may mention, their insular situation. This is certainly much in their favor. The inducements to undertake to escape, were they inclined to it, are lessened by the difficulty which must exist in the ocean to be traversed without a knowledge of navigation by the negroes. The southern States in our country are differently situated—an imaginary line once crossed, the slave may pass into a free State. How far therefore we can apply the case of the West Indies to the case of the southern States, admits some question—at least there must be some exceptions, till the experiment is made. We believe how-

ever that no very serious evils would result on this account. Still it must be allowed, that in this respect the West Indies were most likely to carry through the experiment without difficulty.

Again, They are under the power of the British government at home. This does not give them greater facility as to the actual operation of the Act of emancipation among themselves—but the fact of their dependence, probably had no slight influence in rendering them willing to do what they have done. The whole force of the British army or navy, could be employed to coerce their obedience; the staff in their hands was broken; the Act was passed, and in a few years every slave was to be free; they could only make a virtue of their necessity, and anticipate it by their own prudence. It seems to be the testimony of all, that from the time the question began to be seriously agitated in England, the feeling was gaining ground, that sooner or later, the end of the system of Slavery must come. We can scarcely doubt, that a similar feeling, with respect to the discussion of the subject, already pervades the bosoms of many in the South, and as more light is diffused, it must increase. It is in this point of view, the agitation of the question will be productive of good, although we cannot in every respect approve of the methods employed. Information and argument, and manly appeal must eventually have some effect.

Great numbers too of the proprietors of the estates in the West Indies resided in the mother country, and of course must have been more than usually affected by the opinions and operations at home. They could see for themselves the steadfast progress of the cause, and probably some for the first time learned by the information diffused, the evils of the system. A most respectable committee of the House of Commons had been appointed, to inquire into the system of West India Slavery, and their report, gathered from a great variety of witnesses, disclosed evils of such magnitude, that the community were roused. Men too, high in station, members of Parliament—men of the first talents and rank—former governors in the islands, were at the head of and concerned in promoting the movement. It was next to impossible, that the system could long hold out under such an influence.

The appropriation of £20,000,000 compensation money was a striking feature in the course of proceedings. This did not probably give each planter the full value of his property, as he had been accustomed to estimate it, but it was better than nothing to him; and must have tended to decrease the resistance to the measure. The form too, in which the work of eman-

cipation came before them—we mean the apprenticeship system, in securing to them their slaves for a time—deserves likewise to be taken into consideration, in contemplating the state of affairs in those islands. It is true, that this system has worked altogether different from what was anticipated, and it might have been better, had all the islands done as Antigua did—declared for immediate emancipation. Individuals among them, were desirous of such a measure, but they were over-ruled. The experiment now however has fully satisfied its former advocates, that it was an unwise course for them to adopt, and they are ready to enter heart and soul into an imitation of Antigua. Perhaps the trial of the intermediate system in the end, may be of no disadvantage, since they will have had the full conviction of its impracticability.

Another circumstance deserving notice in these islands, is the fact, that there are persons there, both colored and negroes, men of large property, and whose character stands high in the estimation of the community. They have not, indeed, been admitted to all the social privileges which are enjoyed by the whites; but their situation is very much beyond that enjoyed by persons of color in this country. It is true, that most of the colored females are degraded by the licentiousness of the whites, and the marriage tie is comparatively little known. But persons of color are found in their assembly, on the seats of justice, and in the various offices and departments of business, which they fill with equal credit with the whites. Here is a circumstance which shows a different feeling, in some respects, from what prevails in our own country. The possibility of a final entire equality of the colored class with the whites, seems to be no strange idea to the inhabitants, nor in that tropical climate is it viewed with the same disgust as in a different region. Indeed, in England the same feeling does not find place, and in this country it is, probably, mainly to be attributed to the past degradation of the colored class, which has almost blinded the view from any occasional exceptions. As to the idea of the incapacity of the negro by nature, these volumes of Messrs. Thorne and Kimball and Prof. Hovey effectually refute it. We will quote here a scene or two of the higher domestic life, both of the colored and the negro:

‘By invitation we took breakfast with Mr. Joseph Thorne, whom we met at Mr. Harris’s. Mr. T. resides in Bridgetown. In the parlor, we met two colored gentlemen—the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, a local Wesleyan preacher, and Mr. Cummins, a merchant of Bridgetown, mentioned in a previous chapter. We were struck with the scientific ap-

pearance of Mr. Thorne's parlor. On one side was a large library of religious, historical, and literary works, the selection of which displayed no small taste and judgment. On the opposite side of the room was a fine cabinet of minerals and shells. In one corner stood a number of curious relics of the aboriginal Caribs, such as bows and arrows, etc., together with interesting fossil remains, partly gathered from the island, and partly from Demerara. On the tops of the book cases and mineral stand, were a number of birds of rare species, procured from the South American continent. The centre table was also ornamented with shells, specimens of petrifications, and elegantly bound books. The remainder of the furniture of the room was costly and elegant. Before breakfast, two of Mr. Thorne's children, little boys of six and four, stepped in to salute the company. They were of a bright yellow, with slightly curled hair. When they had shaken hands with each of the company, they withdrew from the parlor and were seen no more. Their manners and demeanor indicated the teachings of an admirable mother, and we were not a little curious to see the lady of whose taste and delicate sense of propriety we had witnessed so attractive a specimen in her children. At the breakfast table we were introduced to Mrs. Thorne, and we soon discovered, from her dignified air, from the chaste and elevated style of her conversation, from her intelligence, modesty and refinement, that we were in the presence of a highly accomplished lady. The conversation was chiefly on subjects connected with our missions.'

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'Mr. Joseph Thorne is a gentleman of forty five, of a dark mulatto complexion, with the negro features and hair. *He was born a slave*, and remained in that condition until about twenty years of age. This fact we learned from the manager of the Belle estate, on which Mr. T. was born and raised a slave. It was an interesting coincidence, that on the occasion of our visit to the Belle estate, we were indebted to Mr. Thorne, the former *property* of that estate, for his horse and chaise, which he politely proffered to us. Mr. T. employs much of his time in laboring among the colored people in town, and also among the apprentices on the estates, in the capacity of *lay-preacher*. In this way he renders himself very useful. Being very competent, both by piety and talents, for the work, and possessing more perhaps than any missionary, the confidence of the planters, he is admitted to many estates, to lecture the apprentices on religious and moral duties. Mr. T. is a member of the Episcopal church.' pp. 298—301.

'After what has been said in this chapter to try the patience and irritate the nerves of the prejudiced, if there should be such among our readers, they will doubtless deem it quite intolerable to be introduced, not as hitherto to a family in whose faces the lineaments and the complexion of the white man are discernible, relieving the ebon hue, but to a household of genuine unadulterated negroes. Having had a previous introduction to Mr. London Bourne, through our friend and countryman, Mr. H., we cordially accepted an invitation to breakfast with him. If the reader's horror of amalgamation does not allow him to join us at the table, perhaps he will consent to retire to the parlor,

and seat himself on the elegant sofa, whence, without fear of contamination, he may safely view us through the folding doors, and note down our several positions around the board. At the head of the table presides, with much dignity, Mrs. Bourne: at the end opposite, sits Mr. Bourne—both of the glossiest jet; the thick matted hair of Mr. B. slightly frosted with age. He has an affable, open countenance, in which the radiance of an amiable spirit, and the lustre of a sprightly intellect happily commingle, and illuminate the sable covering. On either hand of Mr. B. *we* sit, occupying the posts of honor. On the right and left of Mrs. B., and at the opposite corners from us, sit two other guests, one a colored merchant and the other a young son-in-law of Mr. B., whose face is the very double extract of blackness; for which his intelligence, the splendor of his dress, and the elegance of his manners can make to be sure but slight atonement! The middle seats are filled on the one side by an unmarried daughter of Mr. B., and on the other side by a promising son of eleven, who is to start on the morrow for Edinburgh, where he is to remain until he has received the honors of Scotland's far-famed university.' \* \* \*

'We were highly gratified with their views of the proper way for the colored people to act in respect to prejudice. They said they were persuaded that their policy was to wait patiently for the operation of those influences which were now at work for the removal of prejudice. "*Social intercourse*," they said, "was not a thing to be gained by *pushing*." "They could not go to it, but it would come to them." It was for them, however, to maintain an upright, dignified course, to be uniformly courteous, to seek the cultivation of their minds, and strive zealously for substantial worth, and by such means, and such alone, they could aid in overcoming prejudice.' \* \* \*

'Mr. Bourne was a slave until he was twenty three years old. He was purchased by his father, a free negro, who gave five hundred dollars for him. His mother and four brothers were bought at the same time for the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars. It was thought by the public that the master was exceedingly liberal to sell at so *low* a price. He spoke very kindly of his former master. Since Mr. B. obtained his freedom, he has been striving to make himself and his family respectable and comfortable. By industry, honesty, and close attention to business, he has now become a wealthy merchant. He owns three stores in Bridgetown, lives in very genteel style in his own house, and is worth from twenty to thirty thousand dollars. One of his stores is on the wharf, in a public, business part of the city, amid the stores of the white merchants. He is highly respected by the merchants of Bridgetown for his integrity and business talent. By what means Mr. B. has acquired so much general information we are at a loss to conjecture. Although we did not ourselves need the evidence of Mr. B.'s possessing extraordinary talents, industry, and perseverance, yet we are happy to present our readers with such tangible proofs—proofs which are read in every language, and which pass current in every nation.'



'One of the wealthiest merchants in Bridgetown is a colored gentleman. He has his mercantile agents in England, English clerks under his employ, a branch of the establishment in the city, and superintends the concerns of an extensive and complicated business with distinguished ability and success. A large portion, if not a majority of the merchants of Bridgetown are colored. Some of the most popular instructors are colored men and ladies, and one of these ranks high as a teacher of the ancient and modern languages. The most efficient and enterprising mechanics of the city, are colored and black men. There is scarcely any line of business which is not either shared or engrossed by colored persons, if we except that of *barber*. *The only barber in Bridgetown is a white man.*' pp. 304—308.

The account given of Edward Jordan, Esq., editor of the Jamaica Watchman, is also interesting; but we must for it refer our readers to the book itself.

Prof. Hovey's remarks on this subject are also deserving attention. After alluding to the common opinion of the intellectual inferiority of the negro race, and the causes which have led to it, he goes on to say :

'It may, however, appear, when the wrongs of this deeply injured nation come to be redressed, that the people, who, in the opinion of Herodotus, "surpassed all the men of his time, in longevity, stature, and personal beauty;" who gave arts to Greece and instructed her philosophers in wisdom, who have left behind them, in the temples, pyramids, and mausoleums of Egypt, monuments of skill and power which have scarcely been surpassed in the improvements of succeeding ages; and who, in modern times, can boast of such men as Peyanga and Touissaint, are not the very pigmies in intellect and moral endowments, which their oppressors seem to believe. It may be, when their shackles are broken off and their minds have opportunity to expand, a deep and searching intelligence will break forth from this ill-fated people, as unexpected to their calumniators, as the physical energy which some of them in the West Indies now evince, under the impulse of their newly acquired freedom. \* \* \*

What I saw in the West Indies in favor of the natural equality of the negroes, did not consist in any remarkable coruscations of genius; but in their rising to the level of character and attainment, when obstacles were removed, which I should expect other people, in similar circumstances, to attain; and in occasional exhibitions of native strength and force of mind, altogether superior to that of their fellows. These remarks may be illustrated, both in regard to the slaves or newly emancipated people, and the free colored and black population. \* \* \*

If from these, we turn to the free colored and black population, we shall find still stronger evidence of a natural equality. It consists in an advancement in knowledge and mental development, corresponding with the advancement in privileges. As a class, they are by no means so respectable as the whites. Some of them are more degraded even

than the slaves; but they can number many highly esteemed and valuable citizens. It speaks much in their favor, considering the prejudices of the planters, that, in nearly every colony, they were admitted before emancipation to all the civil rights and privileges of the highest classes. They are found in the stations of mechanics, merchants, and magistrates—also as members of the Assemblies and in all the professions. Some of them are men of wealth; though they are generally employed in the lower occupations of life, where they obtain a mere competency. There are, however, fewer poor people, who depend on charity, among them, than among the whites, by three to one. They are able to carry on a profitable trade, in the various departments of industry, and successfully to compete, either in price or skill, with white people who are engaged in the same business. Some of the most respectable mechanics in Bridgetown and Kingston are negroes, who own large establishments and employ only workmen of their own color.

In addition to these facts, I may remark, that in the schools where children of all complexions met on equal terms, no difference of capacity can be perceived. I was constantly in the habit of asking the teachers whether the negro children manifested as much aptitude for learning as the others, and they invariably replied that they saw no difference. Nor do I recollect to have conversed with an intelligent man in the West Indies, who maintained that the negroes are naturally inferior to the whites; though I do not doubt that such might be found. *Letters*, pp. 200—206.

In the great question of emancipation in this country, much will depend on the demonstration of the comparative superiority of free labor to slave labor. This has indeed been given in the two States of Ohio and Kentucky, lying side by side. But in the case of the West Indies, the same thing will be evinced on the very soil once tilled by the same men as free, who were the former cultivators as slaves. We have not a doubt as to the final result. The introduction of new inventions for the tillage of the soil, and the preparations of it for use, cannot go on in any great degree, where the only laborers are slaves. Consequently, the proprietors must be deprived of all the advantages which they might derive from such a source of additional profit. But let the cultivators be instructed, and taught to understand the use of machinery, and labor will be lightened; double the amount may often be realized at the same expense. The discussion of these topics, and the diffusion of information, must exert some influence; and the time is hastening, we hope not far distant, when more than one chief man at the South will be eager to learn the best means of ridding the whole community of that evil system, which now hangs its leaden weight around their means of improvement. It is impossible, and they will soon learn it, to suppress thought, or speech, or discussion, on

the subject, at the North ; an influence will insensibly pervade the whole of the free States, and the more so, in proportion to the violence aiming to check it, which will bring out the expression of opinion, and it will be felt. We hope that it may ever be confined to all lawful methods, and we would be among the last to be guilty of taking any other course ; but it is a well-established maxim, that any cause which cannot bear the light must eventually sink before the power of truth. Nor can any thing betray so clearly the weakness of one's defense, as the effort to suppress an examination into its defects. It is impossible, that any such effort should finally be successful, for the world is moving on, and the whole tendency of its revolutions is to break down the barriers by which the freedom of man has been hedged in, and to elevate his condition in intellectual and moral supremacy. It is evident, that emancipation, in order to be effectual, must be with the consent of the masters, and that as much need exists of preparation on their part as on that of the slaves. Care ought therefore to be taken not wilfully to irritate their feelings, but, on the contrary, every thing should be done to open their eyes both to the injustice and the impolicy of continuing a system which deprives man, born in the image of God, of the high privilege for which he was designed, of preparing for an eternal world of bliss. The time is coming, when the page of history, as it is read by generations now unborn, will seem almost too strange to be credited, and not the least among those marvels will be the fact, that the serious attempt should have been made to justify by the word of God, as though it were a real blessing, the system of American slavery. The voice of a mighty people has been uttered, proclaiming the jubilee for their enslaved ones, and the echoes of that decree shall be heard returning from beyond the ocean, from our own land, and the loud acclaims of other nations shall swell high in the triumph of Britain's exultation, that the bands of African slavery are forever broken. May no prejudice ever debar us from the preparation of heart thus to mingle our gratitude with that of myriads ; may no unholy feeling ever prompt us to retard that hastening hour—but may the tendency of our pages always be to convince every mind, and urge to just views and righteous action !

## ART. VIII.—DR. HUMPHREY'S FOREIGN TOUR.

*Great Britain, France, and Belgium : a Short Tour in 1835.*

By HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D., President of Amherst College.

In two volumes. Amherst : J. S. &amp; C. Adams. 1838.

WRITERS of travels may be distributed into two classes. The one is the journalist, who gives off the impressions which are made on his own mind in their original shape and order. He makes himself the focus of interest ; the medium of observation and feeling to the reader. You wait on his motions ; tread in his steps ; see through his eyes ; hear with his ears ; think and feel only in sympathy with him. He is the mirror from which, reflected, you see the various objects which come under his notice. His prominent, ostensible aim, is gratification. If he instruct, inform, it is only subordinate ; or, at least, it is but the covert aim. Hence the only limits which bound this species of writing, are those on the outside of which lie fatigue and disgust. He may be pathetic or didactic, descriptive or argumentative. He may be sober or merry, playful or earnest. He may indulge in fancy or in sentiment, play the poet or the philosopher, the politician or the moralist, and "all by turns," if "neither long." His method is the strict order of events. His book is but the transcribed record of his own thoughts and feelings, referred always to the place and time of their occurrence. He, consequently, can be no "traveler at home." He must have been personally on the spot ; must have had opportunities for seeing, observing, noting, and have improved them. He may, indeed, revise his note-book. He may, in his library, correct, within certain limits, his first impressions, or throw around them newly gathered historic interest. But his book must be, in the main, a transcript of actual impressions, or it loses its character.

The other class are of a very different stamp. They are the cold generalizers of facts ; the careful adjusters of results. They deal only with the abstract. There is no living bond of connection between you and the objects which they describe. In studying them, you lay the observer out of view. You have no chance to sympathize with him. He is, indeed, to all intents and purposes, as if he were not. These writers have for their object instruction. Interest is merely subordinate. Their method must be the strictly philosophical method, which the subject naturally indicates. They take no note of time or

place. As their books are but balance-sheets of results, designed to set forth facts in a clear and compendious view, they must first carefully analyze and classify; then draw their lines both of general and particular division; and finally refer each separate topic to its proper page and column. Hence, after making their personal observations, they may plant themselves in their libraries, spread out around them their stores of collected mementoes—whether in the shape of antiquities, specimens in natural history, or of views, costumes, and products of art—gather about them all the manifold sources of information, and with the hints and guides furnished by their own observations, proceed to their work of arranging and expressing on paper.

The theoretical distinction between these classes is obvious. They may, indeed, possess some common features. The two species of writing may run into each other. Different writers may exhibit more or less of the peculiar characteristics which distinguish them. Yet to disregard the distinction, to write now in one character and then in the other, is to confound and perplex. The reader will have no clue readily guiding him from one part to another of the book; and will lose all the aid and pleasure of association, as well in originally apprehending as in subsequently recollecting. If the work be not a mere jumble of attached essays, of unconnected fragments; if there be in it that connection which a book presupposes, then the law of connection must be one of the two we have specified.

The work before us originally appeared in the form of letters, addressed to the editors of the *New York Observer*, and published in that paper, at successive intervals, from January, 1836, to March, 1838. Preparatory to the present publication, it underwent a hasty revision by the author, in which the weekly letters of the newspaper were transformed into the chapters of a book—not so perfectly, however, as to leave all traces of their original form.

It is the result, or, shall we better say, the consequence of a tour in Great Britain, France, and Belgium, in the summer of 1835. The author left New York on the 24th of March, arrived at Liverpool on the 18th of April, and sailed from that port, on his return home, on the 8th of September, having spent nearly five months on foreign shores. Of this, all but about three weeks, seem to have been passed in Great Britain.

Dr. Humphrey possesses some of the most important desiderata in a traveler who does not intend to keep to himself his ideas and pleasures. You see every where on his pages the marks of guileless simplicity and candor. The most striking

exhibitions of his perfect artlessness are in the frequent expressions of surprise at finding himself in such strange scenes; of doubts whether it be not all delusion—a dream. “Is that St. Paul’s cathedral?” he exclaims in London; “and am I actually here, on Black Friar’s Bridge, to gaze at it?” Vol. i. p. 115. “And is it a dream, a vision of the night?” is his exclamation again on waking in Paris, “or am I really in that great city?” Vol. ii. p. 300. The same unaffected simplicity shows itself, also, in his mode of observing. He wants to look and look again—from this side and that side—to satisfy himself, that it is not all a fairy trance.

Conjoined with this, is the most thorough accuracy. What he sees he sees. He does not content himself with half a sight. He waits in the posture of attention till the full impression is made. He suffers also the true impression to be freely made, without interposing previous opinion, prejudice, self-conceit, or other disturbing emotions. Not that he is positively and absolutely perfect in this respect. We think he has sometimes shown the effect of previous expectations, in too much heightening or too much depressing his views of objects. For a single instance, in his description of the wild pass of the Tro-sachs, in the Scottish highlands, (vol. i. pp. 120—123,) it seems to us, that he has either mistaken imagination for memory, or has seen with the eyes of poetry, or of romance, and not with those of truth. According to our estimate of natural sublimity and beauty, many a scene in his own native state corresponds much more nearly with the extravagant terms of his high-wrought description. We cannot but believe, that he was at the time under the potent sway of Sir Walter Scott’s magic pen, which has raised every trifling object in this region into importance, and made every rock, tree and hill, a monument.

The same admirable traits, not less indicative of moral than intellectual excellence, show themselves when he transcribes on paper his impressions. There is nothing strained, nothing overdrawn, nothing given as observed which is merely imagined. So that you are led to put the most implicit confidence in his statements and his descriptions. In this respect, so unlike some that have followed him, you suffer him to take your hand and lead you at his will, over the scenes of his travels, listening to every word he utters as oracular.

Dr. H. excels in painting natural scenery, and in observing and noting moral features. He shows little taste for the arts. Architectural beauties, the wondrous creations of the pencil and the chisel, so profusely scattered in the old world, engage little

of his attention. The following description of his visit to Ben Lomond, is graphic in the highest degree :

'The distance to the highest point was between five and six miles. We advanced from height to height, under a clear sky—but there lay a cloud on the summit above us, like the smoke of a vast furnace. Half a mile below the summit, we entered the skirt of the cloud, and so fast did its density increase as we advanced, that when our guide shouted to us from the stick-staff, though scarcely fifty feet in advance, we could not see him.

And now for the reward of all our toil. Though actually between three and four thousand feet above the lake, we might just about as well have been in a dungeon. We stood shivering in the very center of the damp and impenetrable darkness. How long must we wait for the cloud to move? We sheltered ourselves, as well as we could, from the piercing wind, under the lee of the rocks, till hope was almost gone, and we began to think of bending our steps again towards the world below, when for an instant, a corner of the great curtain was rent, and we caught a glimpse of the precipice, said to be *two thousand feet high*, on the brink of which we stood! It was but a glimpse, and we were again enveloped in darkness. In a moment or two, another fitful opening, like a brilliant flash of lightning, revealed to us the outline of the mountains, beyond Loch Katrine, with all the intervening valleys and waters. And now, we were all on the tiptoe of mute and breathless expectation. There was another flash of sunlight, and another, and still another—now on the right hand, now on the left—at one moment on Loch Lomond, and the next upon Benledi. These momentary gleams and flashes, so inexpressibly beautiful, were soon succeeded by wider views, still more brilliant and glorious. New objects caught and ravished the eye every instant, till the whole cloud, broken into illuminated masses, sailed away across Loch Lomond, and being attracted by the opposite mountains, hung for a while upon their summits, like the smoke of so many volcanoes, and then vanished like the mist of the morning.

The effect was overpowering. It was enchantment—it was magic—it was more. It was a new creation springing into existence before our ravished eyes. And such a creation, too, extending almost from the Irish Sea to the German Ocean. Loch Katrine, Loch Venachar, [Venachar?] Loch Auchray, [Achray?] Benledi, Benann and Benvenue, all were there. Loch Lomond, with its thirty beautiful islands, lay at our feet; and stretching away to the west and north, there was a stormy sea of mountains, not lying in long ranges, and wooded, as in this country, but conical and bald; each resting upon its own independent base, as if it were the very battle-field of the angels.' Vol. ii. pp. 126—128.

The work is replete with moral reflections, as just, for the most part, as suitable and pleasing. Indeed, the true spirit of the enlightened christian shines pre-eminent throughout. The moral and religious effect must be universally happy.

There is, also, interspersed, particularly in the more strictly narrative part, a sufficiency of sprightliness and humor, and occasionally we hit upon some broad strokes of wit.

The style is in other respects simple, plain, and perspicuous. Imagery, bold and rich, is not wanting, however. For the most part, for a hasty composition, it is used with great propriety and effect. We are occasionally lost, as when we read of "the shifting hues of emerald waters, as they sparkle beneath the purest frost-work!" Vol. i. p. 11.

We cannot but regret the introduction of so many quotations from the scriptures; and that on every occasion, no matter what the subject, no matter what the train of thought, whether of a purely religious, moral, political, or literary bearing, whether speaking of the majesty of the ocean or the pauperism of Ireland, of the schools of Scotland or the hospitals of Paris, the literary merits of Walter Scott or the military renown of Napoleon, of the royal palaces of Edinburgh or the gardens of the king of France, the language of the scriptures is foisted in, often, it would seem, only to "turn a phrase" or "round a period." Such an excessive use of scriptural language, and on ordinary, nay, light occasions, lowers the dignity of the bible. We may allow much, in the present case, to professional habits. But the farmer, when he mounts Pegasus, must leave his plow behind. The fault is a fault by whomsoever committed; and therefore the proper subject of censure. We feel ourselves constrained to protest against this turning of the bible into a common classic—to be resorted to on any occasion for striking figures or pithy expressions, merely for ornament or force. Aside from this, the so frequent allusion to the bible, on all occasions, in the work under notice, considered in a merely literary point of view, is in bad taste.

In the general arrangement of the work we find still more to censure. It observes neither of the laws specified in our introductory observations, and is attended with all the defects there intimated. You have just enough of the journalizing traveler, recording the actual impressions made upon his mind by present scenes and objects, to excite the desire and raise the expectations of more, which remain ungratified and disappointed, and just enough to spoil all relish for the long, tedious chapters of general observations and statistical summaries. True, a man can see but little in five months' time, that is new and interesting, especially in scenes so familiar, so frequently described. Perhaps he may find it difficult to gather materials for a work of six or seven hundred pages, if he is not permitted to call to



his aid guide-books and travels, geographies and histories, reports and reviews. What then? Sacrifice interest and fill your volumes? Or diminish your sheets and get the hearty thanks of your readers? The letters were well enough in this respect, while confined to a weekly newspaper. Appearing at such intervals, the reader does not care for a very great degree of unity or closeness of connection between the different letters. They may take the form of disconnected essays, in which unity and method are not so indispensable. But we look for something more in a book. A volume suggests the idea of permanence—how mocked, indeed, in these days of ephemeral authorship; and for permanence are needed care, labor, pains. We justly demand, therefore, plan, order, method. In a newspaper, made only to be taken up, glanced over, and laid aside, the author might properly appear this week as a traveler and the next as a moralist; in this number speak as a present eye-witness and the next as a secluded philosopher, speculating gravely on topics furnished by other hands. Not so in a volume. Here we require consistency. We cannot either always bear in mind, that Dr. H. wrote originally for a periodical, and probably without any intention of giving permanence and body to his weekly effusions. We experience the positive evils of this defect in reading the volumes in course. We put ourselves under the conduct of our author, and travel on, letting our eye rest on object after object as he points them out to our view. We proceed thus very understandingly and pleasantly for a while, but all at once we are bidden to leap over mountains and rivers, provinces and almost whole kingdoms, and take a view here and then again there; and from this we shrink. We can not find our way; we know not where we are; we are lost. Now in a book of travels we want to follow the author. We want to know how he gets from place to place; the time and distance and bearing. Here lies the charm of a book of travels in a country with which we are made somewhat familiar by the accounts of frequent travelers; for it is only in the common incidents, the little details, that we can find novelty or variety. He must, therefore, observe times and places; in short, assume the forms of sensible life, or we lose sight of him. He becomes a cold, dead abstraction, and we take no more interest than we do in reading in course a gazetteer or a geography. It is only in this way, that the chain of association is preserved whole. This chain, much to our annoyance, is continually broken in the work before us. We meet our author, for instance, at Glasgow. We gather from him, that he spends a day

or two in sight-seeing here, and sets out for the Highlands; and rest content with this. But ere long we find he has given us the slip, and in an almost incredibly short space of time has crossed the Irish channel, attended a meeting of the British Association at Dublin, explored that city, visited the north-eastern part of the Emerald Isle, made a tour to the Giant's Causeway, and is back at Glasgow, and all at some time between the 12th and 26th of the same month. How all this may be we certainly should be much gratified to know, and feel disappointed in not being informed. Well, we pocket this disappointment and proceed to Stirling; and, by the way, we wonder where the power of association lay asleep, when the heights of Stirling castle-hill—where the eye rests on those almost sacred spots, sacred indeed to liberty; where Wallace encamped with his little army, on Abbey Craig, awaiting Surrey's formidable assault, where the Forth drank in proud Cressingham's troops, where Bruce, too, fought at Bannockburn, and where Scot and Southron so often, in so many different yet neighboring scenes, strove for mastery and freedom—stirred up no noble fervor, no generous enthusiasm. We accompany our author through the Trosachs, across Lochs Katrine and Lomond, and to the summit of Ben Lomond; but we have hardly had time to enjoy with him the lovely, ravishing scenery spread out around him there, when we are violently thrust upon the falls of the Clyde, some fifty or sixty miles distant. And why this violent leap? Has Loch Lomond no charms for his eye? Has he no fancy for her lovely islets, covered with beauty, so prodigally dropped on her placid bosom? Have none of the rich associations that cluster around her shores attractions for him? Did he, in fact, soar away from Lomond's top on those bright clouds that from it took their morning flight, and alight on the bank of the Clyde just where the river makes its mighty leaps down precipitous rocks; or did he take the less poetic course of toiling down the mountain's weary side, and then in steamer, coach, and steamer again, passing down the lake to Balloch, along the Leven to Dumbarton, and thence up the Clyde back to Glasgow? We suspect the latter; and if he had left sufficient traces of his course, we would most gladly have followed him to New Lanark, or to Liverpool. But as it is we lose him, and we lay down the book till we need a reference to a gazetteer. We give these as illustrations of the character of the work in this respect. The writer drops his reader; and of consequence the latter loses his interest in the writer.

This effect of wearisomeness is produced in a still greater degree by the insertion of long chapters of general observations on character, habits, &c., &c. That a great mass of interesting, valuable facts, is collected in these volumes, is true. We object not to the facts; but to the place into which they are collected, and the method of arrangement. With the exception of a very little, perhaps, which might properly find a place in an appendix, all that is valuable in these facts might very naturally be interwoven into the narrative. The reader would then take them as the results properly incidental to a tour of intelligent observation. The interest of the narrative would be extended into them, and all would be read with increased pleasure and profit. But to take up more than half the work with such abstract matter, unavoidably produces fatigue and wearisomeness. It generates the suspicion, whether well-founded or not, that these chapters are labored in to patch out a volume. The mind can hardly resist the impression, that they are the product of domestic study and not the result of foreign observation; and a book of travels, got up at home by the aid of itineraries, periodicals, and histories, will be a drug in the market. It would be like an Apollo pieced out of fragments of many different statues. For a newspaper the letters answer very well. For a volume they need re-arranging and re-writing, to be caught up among the first from the multitude of *Tours and Travels in Europe*, that now lie on the booksellers' shelves.

We should be glad to quote some of the many just and important observations made by the author on subjects brought to his notice in the course of his travels. The love of the useful, we use the term in no contracted sense, predominates in the author's character. His heart is set on the good of his species. Hence his observations, characterized as they are by sound sense and penetrating sagacity, are worthy of attentive regard. We can only particularize those which relate to the laying out of towns and villages, the ornamenting of dwellings and yards, the management of farms, and the regulation of health.

The reader will find in the work much interesting information on some particular topics. He must not expect the interest of a continued and well-sustained narrative. He will, on the other hand, be constantly regretting, that one who possesses in so high a degree the qualities needful for producing such a work, as sound sense, lively sensibilities, accuracy of observation, a clear and simple style, and moreover, a highly cultivated religious sentiment, should not have confined himself more to

the narrative. He must not expect, on the other hand, a full, perfect, methodical view of the physical, political, social, moral and religious condition of Great Britain, much less of France and Belgium. Some features in such a general view he will find well delineated.

We cannot close without expressing our severe reprobation of the typographical character of the work. You can hardly open its leaves without having your eye rest on some flagrant error in orthography or punctuation. Quotation marks are half omitted, hyphens left out, sentences distorted and mangled by misplaced stops, syllables are split at the ends of lines, and to the mis-spellings there is no end. These errors are often so great as to affect the sense, and shake your confidence in the accuracy of the statement, especially where figures are introduced. Names of places are so disfigured, that you are at a loss to recognize them. We are obliged to stop and ponder long, for instance, whether Corisbroke is our familiar Carisbrook; and through defective punctuation and false orthography, even a Parisian might stumble on *Mont Matre Pere La Chaise*. He knows his own Montmartre, and his Père Lachaise, but what does this barbarous phrase denote? And how shall the chimist recognize the well-known Daubeny in the uncouth Danberry? Surely we have a right to expect better things of a press in the literary atmosphere of Amherst.

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#### ART. IX.—THE PROGRESS OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE SINCE THE REFORMATION.

WE are not without apprehension, that the language in which this subject is announced, will, however without any fault of its own, convey to some minds an idea altogether different from what we intend to express. It would seem, indeed, that no one could doubt the possibility of such a thing as progress in theological science; or consider it as trenching on the borders of unwarrantable assumption, to intimate, that within a given period, this science has actually made some advances—yet we are continually reminded, not to presume too much in this matter. The suspicion is frequently excited, when we speak of improvements in theology, that we contemplate some improvement in truth *itself*. We are gravely told, that we can not make a new bible—that God will not alter his revelations

to accommodate man ; and in the same breath, as if the proposition were identical with the former, that there can absolutely be no advances in theology, that Augustine and the Reformers settled every thing, and it is folly to think of the least improvement on any of their views. We wish, therefore, to be indulged with a brief definition of terms, in order that we may go on to treat somewhat of the subject above indicated, without liability to the strange charge of supposing, that new truth can be made, or old truth unmade—neither of which, notwithstanding our extreme simplicity, do we happen to believe.

Theology is often used in the same sense as the phrase *divine truth*. As thus used, it designates the truth itself, objectively considered. In this sense we say, of course, that no advance can be made in theology. Essential truth—that which the bible calls, by way of unapproachable pre-eminence, *the truth*, ἡ ἀλήθεια—is necessarily fixed beyond the possibility of change. Like God himself, its author and revealer, it is the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever—incapable of increase or diminution. Human invention can not add to it ; human spoliation can not make it less. It would be the same if every created intelligence in the universe were blind to its glories. New divine truth there cannot be. It is as old as eternity. From everlasting it has stood, in its living forms, before the infinite mind. It is as unchangeable as the throne of heaven. We might as well speak of a short eternity—weak omnipotence—as of new truth, or of new theology, if by theology be meant divine *truth* itself. Taking the word theology in this sense, it were as proper and as christian-like to tell us, as if out of bowels of compassion for our blind temerity, that we can not make a new sun, or a new Jehovah, as that we can not make any advances in theology. Is it seriously supposed, that we deem ourselves, or any human being, endowed with the power, to change, to add to, to diminish, aught of the truth of God ?

But the word theology may be, and is most commonly used to mean *human views* and *statements* respecting divine truth. It is of course in this sense, and this only, that we hold theology to be susceptible of improvement. To assert, that no advance can be made in theology, meaning by the term men's apprehensions and statements concerning the truth of God itself, is ascribing perfection of knowledge, not to God, but to man. It is not exalting the revelation—it is not placing the bible far away beyond all reach and possibility of improvement. It is exalting imperfect and erring man's views and explanations of it. To deny that theology, in this sense, can be im-

proved, is to rob ourselves, and our age, and all following ages, and God himself, of the supreme glory of his wisdom, in order to enrich the men of generations gone by, who were as much dust and ashes as we are. It is glorifying the creature, not the Creator—yea, glorifying the creature at the Creator's expense—exalting, as the case may be, Augustine and the Reformers, not the omniscient God. It is not asserting, that no man can manufacture truth, which none but the most perverted understanding can for a moment dream to be possible—but that none can know more of it than certain who have gone before us. It is ascribing inspiration, not to Paul and David and Isaiah, but to men who themselves, if good, would have thought it sacrilege to lay the slightest claim to the hallowing touch of the Spirit. It is a scheme which makes the truth and perfection of an opinion out of its antiquity—which will have it that the only idea of progress possible to man, is that of an effort to return to what has been. In the sense of the term theology now explained, we do suppose that advances may be made in theology—that one generation may know more of it than another, or may state it better.

If progress may be made in men's views and modes of stating divine truth, much more may it be made in theological science, properly so called, in distinction from theology. In the sense just unfolded, theology is a human statement respecting the fundamental doctrines of God's word. Theological science respects the *rationale* or philosophy of those doctrines. Its aim is to explain the *why* and *wherefore* of those great revealed facts, which constitute essential truth. That there are objects to occupy such a science, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. The distinction between the grand revealed facts, or fundamental doctrines of the bible, and any and every explanation of them, is perfectly plain. No distinction can be plainer. Take an instance: The doctrine of the saints' perseverance is a cardinal doctrine of the gospel. It is a grand revealed fact, that all who are ever converted will finally be saved—will persevere to the end, and enter the realms of glory. This is one thing; and every attempt to explain the reason why the fact is thus, is altogether another. The doctrine is held alike by all orthodox christians; but they may give different reasons for it. One ascribes the saints' perseverance to something in the nature of moral principle, either sinful or holy, which tends to secure the perpetuity of that principle. Another ascribes it to the supposed fact, that God has pledged himself to create the exercises of a new heart in all that were ever re-

newed, unto the end, and that there is no tendency in moral action, or principle, to perpetuate itself. It is obvious, that these and all attempts to explain the philosophy of the saints' perseverance, are totally distinct from the doctrine itself. Not that the true philosophy of that doctrine is of no consequence to its standing or falling. Far from it. The doctrine could not stand without a foundation. But it is entirely distinct from any and every foundation that man has invented, or will invent, for its support. It has a true foundation. God sees it. Man may not have seen it. It is not indispensable, that man should see it, in order that the doctrine should do its intended work upon him. It is only necessary, that christians should know simply the fact. They need not know even the true philosophy of it—at least, not indispensably. They may hold the head, on this part of divine truth, and yet hold a wrong philosophy of it. Let us at once illustrate this point, and the distinction just attempted to be drawn between revealed doctrines of the bible and any or all modes of accounting for them:—The sun is the source of light. Here is a fact. Light comes from the sun by *undulation*. Here is a *theory* to account for the fact, entirely distinct from the fact itself. Heat and moisture sustain vegetable life. Any and every attempt to explain the process by which heat and moisture contribute to the support of vegetable life, is entirely distinct from the fact itself. Thus the facts of natural philosophy—its principal and obvious phenomena—are of one kind; its theories, or modes of explaining these facts, are entirely of another; and a philosopher may hold the right doctrine respecting the origin or source of light, who gives the wrong account of its propagation to us. He may even give a theory of its propagation to us, which, if true, would subvert the great fact itself, and yet believe the fact as firmly as any. Just so, in our view, is the mass of revealed truths—those which constitute the essence of revelation—distinct from the mass of theories devised to account for them—distinct even from the true philosophy, without which they could not stand; so distinct, that there may be a correct theology with a wrong philosophy. This mass of theories constitutes what we call, if they are correct, a theological science, in distinction from theology. It is the philosophy of theology. It is of man; while theology, in the sense first explained, is of God. It is in the philosophy of theology, or theological science, as now interpreted, that we suppose the proper field for effort to advance the cause of theological truth to lie. It is true there may be improvement in the modes of stating the cardinal doctrines of the

gospel, in theology understood in the last explained sense of the term. But it is mainly, beyond all question, in the philosophy of theology, that the proper field of theological improvement lies. Here, and not in any vain attempts or thought of making a new bible, do we place it.

Under some, but a limited diversity of statement, there has ever been agreement among the pious of earth respecting the fundamental doctrines of the gospel and of the bible,—that practical theology which, so far as truth is concerned, is the foundation, the ground-work, of piety and holiness, is the same every where, in all good men, let them belong to what church or denomination they may. It could not be otherwise. By those doctrines, by the word of God, they are all alike begotten again to a lively hope; and by those same doctrines, their new and spiritual life, hid with Christ in God, is alike preserved and maintained. Such effects could not be produced by the truths of the gospel, unless understood. Such similarity of effects, through all the ranks of the renewed on earth, could not be without a similarity in their understanding of these truths. We can hardly bring ourselves to believe, that a real christian was ever left habitually to reject or doubt any essential truth of the bible. We are slow to think, that a christian at heart can be a heretic in his understanding. That is misplaced and perverted charity, in our view, which has compassion and good will, and christian regard for heresy itself, but pours its indignation and wrath, without mixture, on every tendency to it—which holds it to be better directly to subvert or deny the acknowledged foundations of the gospel, than to hold opinions whose real but unsuspected tendency is to undermine them—which would fellowship Voltaire rather than Origen, and Socinus rather than Arminius. There can not be a christian who is not grounded in that which the bible calls *the* truth—who does not know, and knowing, love and obey it. Similar is the testimony of observation. Wherever you meet a pious heart, there you meet an understanding which receives and feeds upon the distinctive doctrines of God's word. No where do you see a consistent, genuine christianity, beyond the limits of a pure, practical theology. You find no mixture of piety, warm from the heart, and active in the life, with radical error. When you meet a man whose soul is instant in prayer, fixed, stereotyped in the act of supplication, whose mind dwells in the midst of things unseen and eternal, whose active powers are given to the cause of men's salvation and the glory of the Lord, then you find one who does not believe, that all are to be



saved—who does not think, that any will repent without the influences of that Spirit whose descent he invokes—who feels, that to himself and others there is no ray of hope beaming from any quarter on his prospects for the favor of God in time and eternity, save from the cross of Christ. Just as religion is the same in all places of God's dominion—in the angel that bows before the throne, and in the saint that worships on the footstool—just as one principle unites all the holy, every where, dwell they on earth, or in heaven, so must the *faith* of all be essentially the same. The objective matters of belief must coincide. The truths, which contemplated by angel-eyes, produce joy and love and swift obedience there, are substantially the same with those that produce similar effects in their brethren here below.

But while there is this uniformity in what we may call the ground-work of holiness every where ; while there is one faith, essentially, to all the holy throughout the universe ; yet there may be, and is, an infinite diversity of philosophical views. Not one of the cardinal doctrines of the bible but has experienced a variety of fortune, in regard to the manner in which it has been stated and defended. The field which we term the *philosophy of theology*, is such, that men's opinions will vary interminably, while knowledge in part continues to be a law of their condition. It is a field, properly, of human, not of divine, knowledge. God has not seen fit to pour the same clear and full light of certainty on it, as he has poured on the domains of strict theology. He has left men to their common sense ; and is to be vindicated from any blame for the injurious errors, that may have incidentally flowed from his having done so, in the same manner as from the blame of any erroneous system of natural philosophy, or moral, or political science. God may as well be faulted for the follies and mistakes of men, in these latter departments of knowledge, as for their follies and mistakes in the philosophy of theology ; and it might as well have been expected, that a revelation from him would be a perfect encyclopedia of all knowledge possible to man, the statements of which would be clear beyond all possibility of misconception, as that it could be perfect and full on the philosophy of theology. The truth is, that the principles of theological science are every where pre-supposed in the bible. The spirit of inspiration passes them over as themes on which revelation is unnecessary—but unnecessary not because men will not err, but because, err as they may here, if they err not elsewhere, it will not be fatal to their souls, and because it were beneath the dignity of reve-

lation to be occupied with theories so simple as these. It does not admit of a doubt, that much error in theological science, though injurious in one or another degree, to him who holds it, and to others, is yet consistent with a right heart and a sound practical theology. A person may reject, as we have remarked, the true theory of a natural phenomenon, as that of light, and substitute a false one in its place, without in the least doubting that the sun is the original source of light; and a great diversity of opinion among philosophers, as to the mode of its transmission from the sun, is consistent with entire agreement as to the main fact. Diversity of opinion does prevail on that point, in entire consistency with agreement in the main fact. So in multitudes of instances does extensive disagreement among philosophers, in respect to *theories*, prevail, yet consistently with entire accordance as to the *facts* which those theories are brought forward to explain. So, too, may immense error and diversity of opinion prevail among theologians and christians, respecting *theories*, by which the fundamental doctrines are attempted to be explained, and all this consistently with perfect accordance in these *doctrines* themselves. No diversity of opinion, in regard to philosophical theories, should divide christians from one another. No errors here should bring any one under an anathema. Provided the great revealed facts be held fast, the ground of fellowship and christian confidence remains. No "doubtful disputation" should embarrass him who thus holds the head from which flows the life and soul of essential christianity. He is the infidel, the heretic, who rejects the revealed facts. He who rejects a given philosophy of any of those facts which man has invented, does but assert the right to think for himself, where the supreme authority of clear revelation has not decided. It is preposterous to exclude from cordial fellowship any, simply because they reject a particular philosophy of the doctrines of the bible, as it is no less so to extend such fellowship to those who reject any of these doctrines themselves. If agreement in *theories* were the test of soundness in the faith, and the rule of christian fellowship, there would be no end of the process of challenging. The church would be broken up into small parties, as numerous as its theologians of any note. No longer would there be one faith; no longer one community. Torn into factions, whose watch-word would be the motto of their philosophical schemes, the church would have no more of harmony than the world. Its history would thenceforth be a statement, who was of Paul, who of Apollos, and who was of Cephas; ending with the melancholy annunciation, that none were of Christ.

It is, then, mainly in theological *science*, that we suppose there is room for difference of opinion among those who are alike christians; room for the existence of error without its implying want of soundness in the faith, or of vital piety; room for improvement, therefore, till that which is in part shall be done away. Reasoning analogically from the progress of knowledge in general, we should be prepared to expect, that in this field likewise some fruit had been gathered. One science never advances alone. It is not the habit of the human mind to push its advances in one of its fields of knowledge, and not, at the same time, in all the rest. A communion and co-partnership binds the sciences together; their gains are the gains of all—their losses are the losses of all. Their gains may not be equal, yet will all truly gain. Shed light on one of the proper domains of the mind, and that, reflected, illumines portions of the rest. At the Reformation, knowledge was beginning to be greatly increased. It was the period for a general advance of the human mind—of a general impulse, which has been propagated from age to age, down to this day. Now, would it not be reasonable to suppose, that just as theological science partook of the benefits of the first revival of knowledge—shared to the full the movements of that great impulse—so it has still advanced continually, keeping pace with sister sciences, enlarging its borders as they enlarged theirs, correcting its bearings and distances as they corrected theirs? From the *commune vinculum* of the sciences can we infer less than this? Out of blind deference for the Reformers, shall we insist on believing, that they placed the *science* of theology, properly so called, beyond all reach of improvement? The *doctrines* of the Reformation stand from everlasting to everlasting. But shall we impose on ourselves so much as to believe, that the *philosophy* of the Reformers, too, so far as they had any, which was not far, in like manner stands and is to stand, forever; that God, in complaisance to them, has incorporated their speculations into his eternal truth, and made it alike unchangeable and unimprovable? Such a supposition does no honor to them. It adds no stability to that—the stability of which needs and permits no addition—the *theology of the Reformation*.

But if analogy will not suffice on this point, let us call in the faith of history. Its unquestioned and unquestionable testimony is, that the scholastic philosophy, though scathed, was not killed at the Reformation. In the onset of Luther and Calvin upon the powers that were, it was stunned, and seemed for a while to be dead. Calvin had little, Luther no friendship for

it ; they left it for dead, cast out, rejected, on the field of battle. In this they did wisely ; as wisely as some of their helpers and successors did foolishly. The scholastic philosophy was revived by the very men whose fathers supposed they had given it its death-wound. It was brought in from the field, and such breath of life as could be was breathed in among the dry bones ; it was made to stand on its feet, and though dead the scepter of dominion over all living things was put again into its hands, and it was called upon to lead the war against the beast and his prophets. As if that dead, eyeless, soulless, senseless, unmoving skeleton, of pagan Aristotle, could help along the ark of the living God, in its return to his holy temple ! As if that philosophy which had, beyond all manner of question, wrought out and brought in Popery, and made her empress of nations' consciences, would, after its proper and natural death, assist mightily the sacramental host of God's elect in their conflict, and work out and bring in for them, in like manner, complete success against that mother of abominations. Yet all this, most preposterous as it was, was expected. If history is to be trusted in aught of its testimony, it is to be trusted on these points : that the scholastic philosophy, whatever may be said of its modifications, as age after age of its unexampled career rolled away, was mainly built upon the heathen Aristotle ; that, though it furnished a sort of *palaestra* for the mind, it was nevertheless, as a whole, useless, a blind guide, a perverse disputer, a dreamer of empty dreams ; that, while it lived its proper life, it was the devoted, humble servant and most prompt and efficient supporter of the church of Rome ; that this church has never yet discarded her favorite ally. A philosophy of this character was called into the service of the reformed theology, by the successors of Luther and Calvin, and the office of explaining and defending that theology was committed to its trust. As full and plain is the testimony of history to the fact, that this philosophy exerted a most corrupting influence on theology, rendering its statements, instead of scriptural, dry and technical, and putting theories of man's invention in the place of the truths of the bible. Now this philosophy, in its distinct form, has, in the progress of theological science, been universally given up by Protestants. Will it be questioned whether this is real gain ? Will it be said, that the restoration of this philosophy to its influence on theology, would be advantageous to the latter ? None will say it. Here, then, is an undeniable instance of the actual progress of theological science. A great part, indeed, of all

that has been gained to this science, has been by the expulsion of the so-called Aristotelian philosophy from its throne of dominion over men's opinions.

But it is not all, that this philosophy is extinct. In its place a new and correct mode of philosophizing has been introduced, the influence of which has been felt over the whole circle of human knowledge. Bacon has the chief praise, certainly, of having taught men better than they knew before, how to discover truth. His *method* has a practical, common-sense character, which could not limit its influence to men's investigations in natural science. He who was led by the new Baconian philosophy, to begin at the beginning instead of the end, in natural science, and follow on the evidence of observed facts, would not and could not well avoid carrying the same habit of investigation into the field of the theological science. The same great principles could not but be observed to be equally applicable to both. The philosophy of Bacon is indeed universal in its application. Its spirit is essentially diffusive, penetrating. Its rise, therefore, and introduction to general use, is to be regarded as having been an era, as well in the history of theological as of almost all other sciences. One of the most fortunate consequences that flowed to theology from the philosophy in question, was the improvement of mental science, especially in its connection with moral and religious truth. From ignorance in this respect, arose no small part of all previous errors in theology and religion. It was not long after the time of Bacon, when his influence was felt in the creation of a science of the mind, almost new, which was the means of detecting and refuting those errors. No sooner had the foundations of a correct mental philosophy been laid, than the triumph of theological truth was ascertained. Nothing, then, could impede its onward progress. If, to the influence of the Baconian philosophy be added, that of an improved style of sacred interpretation—the fruit, in part no doubt, of that same philosophy—we shall have the sum of those causes to which it might have been confidently looked for advancement in theological science, and which, in our view, did contribute efficaciously to that end.

The Reformation was a struggle for great principles. It was more a struggle for a pure theology, and for the principles of civil and religious liberty, than for a correct philosophy. All that the Reformers did towards the latter was the setting aside of Aristotle. They simply rejected the guidance of the scholastic system, but did nothing to prevent its re-introduction, ex-

cept so far as their example and the character of their doctrines might incidentally have had that tendency. Their great aim was to bring the world surrounding them back to the simplicity of the gospel, both in doctrine and discipline, in religious and civil matters. They had too much to contend for, that was of real and immense magnitude, to take much interest in subjects of minor importance. It is true, indeed, that they sometimes suffered themselves to be betrayed into trifling controversies. The sacramentarian controversy was of that character. But this, painful as it was in its results, and unimportant in its nature as it was to the great interests of the church at that day, yet took place in close connection with the grand struggle for truth and liberty. It was while bringing back the doctrine concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the simplicity of the gospel, that the dispute arose how that doctrine should be stated, where it should be left; and the work of rescuing the doctrine itself from the perversion of Popery, was surely one of sufficient importance to command the energies of the Reformers. If they fell out by the way, it was in a strife for the redemption of a part of the essential gospel. And if in the controversy in question, there was a subtlety of reasoning resorted to, which savored of the scholastic philosophy more than of the plainness of the scriptures, it is to be attributed, not to the acknowledged authority of that system, as a system, but solely to its remaining influence, silent, unperceived by themselves, though not beyond the observation of others. In general, nothing that did not reach the vital interests of civil and religious liberty, and pure christianity, attracted the attention and commanded the efforts of the Reformers. They stood upon the gospel, and that alone, aiming to exclude all speculation that was not necessary, in their view, to vindicate and establish its doctrines and its principles.

The Reformation may be best and most significantly described, as a *revival of the study of the bible*. Before that period, for the space of a thousand years, the iron hand of papal despotism had suppressed every thing like the general study and self-thinking interpretation of the sacred oracles. The pillar of hope to that despotism, the talisman of its strength and perpetuity, was wide and far-reigning ignorance—and mainly ignorance of the bible. The entire effort of Popery was virtually concentrated in this, to keep the truth of God away from the people, and give them in its stead, as the divine message, whatever they thought fit. Its power was enlisted, to its whole extent, for the purpose of keeping the bible, and the

right of individual interpretation of its contents, out of the hands of the multitude. Thus were the inhabitants of papal Europe, century after century, kept chained under the most degrading of all despotisms. Conscience was enslaved, intellect benighted and benumbed, and the general mind, in all its powers and faculties, became and remained dead, twice dead. That millennial night of darkness and death would have lasted to these our days, if any means could have availed to keep the bible safe within the walls of the Vatican and the cells of the priests. Without the general and independent study of the bible, whatever else might have been gained, it would not have been the Reformation ; with it, no all-power nor all-presence of the beast and his false prophets could prevent it. The blow was struck, the deed was done, when Luther's indomitable spirit, stirred within him at the shameless traffic in indulgences, rose in its might and brought that infamous practice to trial at the bar of God's word. That was the movement which made sure the Reformation. It contained within itself the seeds of all other movements—all else of happy change—that was to be accomplished and enjoyed. Throughout Germany, and much of Europe, the foundations were already quaking underneath the existing papal institutions. It was only needed that some one should rise up and set the example of calling the mighty mother of abominations to a reckoning by the book of Jehovah's constitution and laws, and open that book to the general mind. In the providence of God, that office fell to Luther, and he fulfilled it. He might have continued to study Augustine and the fathers forever, and there would have been no Reformation by his instrumentality—not a particle. He would have lived and died, a good, regular Augustinian monk, in his cell at Würtemberg, and left the Reformation where it was, lingering and trembling, just on the point of bursting into life.

[We are unexpectedly compelled to break off in the midst of this article, and leave it thus incomplete. It is our intention, however, to resume the subject in one or more subsequent numbers.]

## ART. X—OLSHAUSEN ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*Proof of the Genuineness of the New Testament : for intelligent readers of all classes.* Translated from the German of DR. H. OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen, etc. With notes, by DAVID FOSDICK, Jr. Andover: 1838. pp. 216. 12mo.

THIS book, although designed for popular use, that is, for intelligent readers of all classes, in Germany, differs very considerably from treatises on the same subject current in our own country, and contains much information which is far from being familiar even to our theologians.

The subject is an interesting one to serious, inquiring minds. The author is well known to those conversant with German literature, as a commentator on the gospels. The translator is well qualified for his task, and deserves the gratitude of the community for this new product of his useful labors.

We propose to exhibit some of the views contained in this work, as giving the present state of the investigation concerning the genuineness of the New Testament.

The writings of the New Testament existed in the early centuries, not in a volume as we have them now, but in detached parcels, to which were given different names; as *the gospel*, embracing our four gospels; *the apostle*, embracing thirteen epistles of Paul, to which was afterwards added, after its Pauline origin was generally admitted, the epistle to the Hebrews; *the catholic epistles*, that is, epistles generally admitted, in contradistinction to various rejected writings. Besides these, there were the Acts of the Apostle and the Apocalypse of John.

A division of the New Testament writings by the early fathers into *homologoumena* or universally admitted writings, and *anti-legomena* or disputed writings, has served to instigate inquiry in modern times, and tended greatly to confirm the genuineness of the whole.

The gospel, (our four gospels,) the most important part of the New Testament, seems to have been received from the first without a dissentient voice. The coincidences and dissonances of the evangelists, which have been a subject of great interest to the German theologians, Dr. Olshausen ascribes partly to oral tradition and partly to other causes. The different exhibition of our Savior by John and by the other evangelists, he thinks, may be easily explained without detracting at all from their credibility.



The Pauline epistles, with the exception of the two to Timothy, the one to Titus, and the epistle to the Hebrews, are so intimately interwoven with the Acts of the Apostles, that no candid mind can entertain a doubt of the genuineness either of the historical narrative or of the epistolary correspondence.

The two epistles to Timothy and that to Titus, which critics comprehended under the title of *Pastoral Letters*, are not confirmed, like the other Pauline epistles, by comparing their historical allusions with the Acts of the Apostles. But they have ancient tradition wholly in favor of their genuineness; their historical allusions are too specific to have proceeded from an impostor; and the tradition of a *double* confinement of St. Paul at Rome supplies exactly the point in his life, at which we may suppose these epistles to have been written.

The difficulty as to the epistle to the Hebrews respects its Pauline origin, and not its canonical authority; questions which have no necessary connection. Dr. Olshausen maintains, that this epistle, although not penned by Paul, was perhaps written by Apollos, or some other under Paul's superintendence, and in any case has decisive historical evidence in its favor.

As to the catholic epistles, the first epistle of John and the first of Peter were universally received in christian antiquity; and the second and third of John have as much evidence in their favor as we should expect from compositions so brief and of so little general interest.

The second epistle of Peter, Dr. Olshausen considers destitute of decisive testimony either for or against its canonical authority. He believes that attempts to remove the doubts in regard to this epistle will probably always prove vain, from the want of historical accounts respecting the use and diffusion of it in primitive times.

Dr. Olshausen ascribes the epistle of James, not to James the apostle, son of Alphaeus, but to the brother of our Lord, mentioned Matt. 13: 55. Gal. 1: 19. Now as this James was in high esteem and a pillar of the church, the ascription of the epistle to him detracts nothing from its authority.

The epistle of Jude, Dr. O. supposes to have been written not by Jude the apostle, but by Jude, the brother of James, the author of the epistle. The canonical authority of the epistle he considers less certain.

In regard to the Apocalypse, Dr. O. is peculiar in maintaining the doctrine of Christ's kingdom on earth, which he thinks no one who receives the Apocalypse can reject, and in holding the opinion, that the Apocalypse was written long before the gospel

and epistles by the same author. He holds also, in unison with most other critics, that at the earliest period, both the friends and the opponents of the doctrine of the millenium received the Apocalypse as a work of John the apostle; and that it was not till the controversy on this subject raged high, that its apostolic origin was denied.

In a concluding chapter our author sums up the results at which he had arrived, and makes some important remarks as to the mode of reasoning in respect to the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament.

Our aim has been simply to exhibit a brief synopsis of the volume. We are not prepared to coincide with all the views which Dr. Olshausen has here advanced; nor do we propose at this time to enter upon a discussion of them. Readers of discrimination will easily see what is or what is not the truth on the subjects which are treated.

#### ART. XI.—BARNES ON THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAWS.

*The American National Preacher, Vol. XII., No. 8, Aug. 1838.*

THIS is a noble and timely vindication of the *supremacy* of the laws. We are rejoiced at its appearance in that truly valuable periodical, *The American National Preacher*, through which it will have an extensive circulation. It has been stereotyped for distribution, and we are sure no discourse better deserves it. Would that it might be read by every man who can read, and heard by every one who cannot, throughout our whole land. Scenes of violence and outrage have of late become fearfully frequent in every part of the nation, and unless vigorously checked they will inflict upon us the worst of all despotisms—the despotism of a lawless mob. The people should be taught to estimate aright the dangers they incur in abetting in any degree so vile a spirit as that which is thus exhibited. Intelligent patriotism ought at once to array its entire strength in a united and decided expression of abhorrence of whatever is lawlessly done, by whatever party or class of persons it may have been originated or is approved. No one can seriously reflect on the growth of popular violence within a few years past, without just feelings of alarm. A spirit of insubordination is gaining among us. It is manifested in almost every section of

our country, and nothing but the decided rebuke of law, sustained by a well regulated public sentiment, can effectually check its progress. The causes of this increasing spirit of misrule are numerous.

One may be found in the breaking up of permanent associations, the scattering of persons hither and thither over the whole country. A community who grow up on the soil, who are accustomed to see the same institutions from one generation to another, insensibly learn to reverence those institutions and customs, and shrink from doing any thing which may hinder the regular course of affairs. But as they scatter off, and are now here, now there, the charm is broken. They become more fickle and more liable to be swayed by impulse. The feeling of permanency and almost necessary continuance is gone. They have none of those attachments to the welfare of the community which were once felt, and its peace or prosperity is an object far less endeared to their hearts. Interests of persons, or classes of persons, seem to clash, and the need of mutual concession becomes greater. Thus is it with our country at present. The population of our cities, towns and villages, is more fluctuating—a class of people is found among us who having been restrained by sheer force, have come to this country feeling, that liberty means a full permission for every one to do what is right or desirable in his own eyes. Now this rupture of old associations, and this extension of the community is the necessary result of the world's progress. But for this reason a solemn determination to uphold the majesty of the law is the more needful, that the due balance may be preserved.

Again. Another cause is a relaxation of family discipline on the principles of parental authority. An unhappy notion of the self-government of children, has crept into the minds of many. The former practice, in some respects, may have been too stern and forceful, but the present one errs on the other extreme. Well-governed families will make well-governed communities and nations. Taught to respect the laws of home and the fire-side, they will expect to obey those of the city, state, or nation. That parent who suffers his child to be wayward at home, must expect that his boy, when become a man, will be lawless and rebellious to the state. The new methods of education, in which teachers, while they disclaim the exercises of the memory, aim mainly to cultivate the reflective powers, before the pupil can profitably be set to the task, in their zeal to make young sages, whose oracular sayings and opinions may be published, lose sight of the spirit of pert self-sufficiency and pride which they foster in the infant bosom.

What has been said of families is also true of school-government. Discipline is gradually ceasing to be exerted, and the opinion is gravely advanced, that a collection of children whose minds are not yet matured, whose passions and interests often clash, are adequate to decide how the school should be regulated. The young republican must have no curb of authority laid upon him—it will break down his spirit—no chastisement must touch him, but he must be reasoned with and convinced and won. Now we are sick of this foolish affectation of regard to the right reason of the child. The fact is, there is not one out of a hundred but who when he does wrong knows it, and the true way to bring him to such a sense of it as shall be of any avail, is to show him, without passion, yet decidedly, that you know and feel it too. Children are under law, the law of parental government, and this they should be made to acknowledge by wholesome discipline; they pass forth under the law of schools, colleges, and of those who instruct them in their several trades and occupations; they are in a community regulated by laws, citizens of a state and nation, which elects its legislators and executive officers for the purpose of sustaining law, and subjects of a God, all whose actions are guided by the unerring rules of justice and love.

Another cause of the feeling of insubordination is the violence of party strife. The progress of party feeling in this country has been marked by a growing disregard for the courtesies and civilities of life. Decorum and law have been outraged, and maxims of the most corrupting and even brutalizing character have been and are openly avowed and promulgated. It has been inculcated alike by one party and by another, that the main object should be to supplant its adversaries. For this purpose no means have been spared; private character has been attacked, and principles have been acted on the tendency of which is to destroy society and endanger the peace of any community. Bitterness of denunciation, ridicule, falsehood, have been chief weapons of attack on either side, and that press is most popular which can best call names and crush its opponents. This spirit, thus engendered and kept alive, has been diffused through the great mass. The manufacture of public opinion has become a regular employment. Articles written at some central point of influence, have been sent abroad to extreme parts of the country, and when there published in certain of the numerous newspapers, have been caught up at the place where they were first prepared, and paraded in the columns of some unscrupulous partisan paper as the expression of public opinion at

a distance. The whole process is well known, and perhaps at heart despised, but favoring as it does the interests of *the party*, it is passed over. Thus "conscience swings from its moorings," moral principle is destroyed, and all those feelings of party violence, which have become so habitual, are ready for their full play whenever any object shall be presented to call them forth. Scenes of strife and abuse, even in the hall of legislation, and private wrongs, real or fancied, avenged on the spot—when these are common, it is no difficult matter to excite a mob and let it spend its energies upon some hated object. In certain instances it may be deemed a good occasion to manifest the feeling of contempt for the magistrate elected by the other party, or by such an occurrence disgrace may be brought upon him which shall as well subserve party purposes.

But the grand cause, is the disregard which has been suffered to go on towards the laws and institutions of God. In a community where the Sabbath of God's appointment is disregarded, where the claims of religion are unacknowledged, there will be mobs and lawless outrages on property and life. In breaking down the power of moral feeling with regard to God's claims, in violating the obligation we are under to him, and throwing off as a nation the restraints which he imposes, we are preparing for ourselves a scourge by which we shall be taught, sooner or later, the misery of our infatuation. Scorpion like, we shall find its sting of self-destruction when surrounded by the fires of divine visitation. The unbridled passions, which have gathered strength by indulgence, will become mighty for evil, and their force will be spent in invasions of our own rights and welfare. Who does not know the history of the French revolution? Who does not know, that spirits as reckless and as daring, as infidel, as determined too in their hatred of law and religion, are abroad in our land. Should, then, any thing like sympathy be manifested towards lawless violence? Is it a time when the least palliation should be offered to justify outrages on the rights of any one. Yet who does not know, that only a timid rebuke, a ready excuse, or a virtual approbation, has found place in the columns of some of our most popular newspapers. Sometimes, too, we fear, that the press has not been wanting in direct instigations to such wicked occurrences. We have enough of combustible materials gathered in our cities, and liable to be enkindled, to cause a dreadful conflagration, without any one casting forth sparks to set it in flames. It is easier to prevent its kindling than to quench the fires when once begun. The responsibility of the

popular press is great indeed. The hand that is reached forth to unbar the floodgates, within which are pent the waters whose torrents let loose sweep over a fair land, is chargeable with the ruin which has been wrought, whether foreseen or not; and the man who promulgates opinions, the tendency of which is to stir up the evil passions of men to break out against each other, will have to account for the wretchedness he has caused, though like the madman dealing out firebrands, arrows and death, he may all the while say, "Am I not in sport?" We believe, that to the pernicious principles of Thomas Jefferson in boldly advancing the sentiment, that we have nothing to do with christianity as a nation, together with other kindred opinions for which his influence has gained a reception, we owe not a few of the evils of corrupted popular feeling which now characterizes our nation. The period will come sooner or later when nations will understand the great truth, that if christianity can do without their direct aid, yet they cannot prosper without christianity. The wisdom of statesmen will be folly, the laws a nullity, and justice a mere name, so soon as the force of moral obligation ceases to be felt; and this will be the case if the grand cardinal duty of obedience to God be wholly disregarded. Political profligacy will be the order of the day, the basest men will be exalted, and the fruits of anarchy and misrule be tasted in all their bitterness. He, then, deserves well of the nation, who makes his voice heard in timely warning and counsel, and who seeks to waken in every breast a strong feeling of determination to uphold at every hazard **THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAWS.**

This Mr. Barnes has done, and we most earnestly commend his forcible appeal to our readers. While it abounds with passages of superior eloquence, its chief merit is its manly and elevated views of duty, and its cogent demonstration of the authority of law, and the danger of disregarding its claims. It was evidently prepared with reference to the late atrocious outrage on the freedom of discussion,—the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, by a mob under the very eyes of numerous citizens in Philadelphia, a city once so famed for its quiet obedience to law. We rejoice, that from one pulpit there, and we presume more than one, the true ground in favor of free discussion has been taken, and that so able a defense of right, and rebuke of wrong has been fearlessly set forth.

Mr. Barnes in the outset, lays down several important principles. On these we shall not dwell, as our thoughts have in the main, been expressed in another article in the present number

of this work. The first of these is, "That government is instituted by God,"—and as such it is not to be regarded "as merely of human arrangement." The old doctrine of the *social compact*, which has been productive of so much evil, and which is so entirely unsupported by sound argumentation, is thus very properly exploded, and the authority of civil society, traced up to its proper source—God's will as the expressive announcement of what is right or most productive of general happiness. Every thing in the circumstances of our birth, and the need of protection and instruction in our early days—the very first elements of our social life, indicate most clearly, that we are designed to be amenable to the claims of law and under authority. As a consequence of this, "Submission to government and to law, is a duty to God." Our highest interest is God's aim in planning for us here—and bearing this in mind, the command of God is to be considered paramount to every other, in the mind of that man, who properly regards his situation as a free moral agent, accountable at the divine tribunal. Hence, "Resistance to the laws, except in matters of conscience, is resistance against God, and is a sin against him." God's claim is ever the highest; if we are required to blaspheme him or to do injustice, we have a right to resist such a command: no one can impose upon us an obligation to break the laws of God. Such an act in a government would be suicidal, for the Supreme Ruler must be obeyed, or there is a renunciation of all authority. The acts of a government may be such as so clearly to contravene all its original designs, that the destruction of this government for the purpose of establishing another, may be clearly a duty. But this is the case of a *revolution*, and even in such a case, Law in its general principles must not be violated. The recognition of the divine claim must be kept steadily in view. We must be morally certain, that the evils of the change will be greatly counterbalanced by the good results that shall flow from it. No rash and unreasonable measures must be resorted to. Even if the end be a legitimate one, it must be sought by the wisest means in our power. An obligation to refuse to perform the commanded act, has become more binding than the pretended claim for obedience, and supersedes that authority. As we were once under obligation as a duty to God, to obey the human government, we are in performance of the same obligation of duty now, to cease obedience to the human government. This is the christian doctrine carried out, "Whether therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

Mr. Barnes then goes on to state, that the great design of government is "to protect the innocent in the exercise of their rights," and "to punish the violaters of the laws." These ends are to be obtained by the legitimate exercise of their powers. The administration of equal justice is all-important. The magistrate and not mere individuals, courts of law and equity and not mobs or mere popular assemblies, are to determine the propriety and to administer the sentence of punishment. Commissioned authority is the organ by which the welfare of the community is to make itself known. The text on which the discourse is based, is from Rom. 13: 1—7: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," &c., and written as our author supposes it to have been during the reign of Claudius or Nero, the difficulty of the subject is obvious. Did Paul mean to inculcate subjection to the authority of such rulers as "the dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid, inhuman Domitian?" So it seemed, except where the duty of submission clashed with the paramount claims of heaven. The wrath of the emperor must not influence them to disobey God, to become idolaters, blasphemers, or vile, but till such an emergency arose as rendered rebellion an unavoidable duty, they must submit, leading "quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty." It was a wicked government, but the christians were not accountable for its acts; they could not effect any change, and they might not for the sake of their own individual comfort break in upon the operation of an ordinance of God. The situation, however, in which we are placed is a widely different one. The laws are what they should be; or if this is not the case, they can easily be so made. The proper reason for disregarding the laws, therefore, cannot exist. This leads our author to speak of the necessity of discussing the subject on account of the frequent outrages which have occurred in various parts of the country, and which evince a growing sentiment, that there are evils in the community which can only be met by the people taking the law into their own hands.

After dwelling a short time on the indication of this spirit even among respectable persons, Mr. Barnes proceeds to show the *necessity* and *importance* of the supremacy of the laws. Here he considers the three kinds of government among men, *despotism*, the will of a *mob*, and that of *law*. His remarks on all these points are very forcible, but we are mainly concerned at present with the last of the three. It matters not, as to the principle, how the laws are made. It is a government



of law. The importance and advantages of such a government are clearly stated in several particulars. First: "This alone can give security and prosperity to a people." All our rights of property, our personal protection depends upon this. It may often take a long course of years to accomplish any enterprise, and permanent protection is requisite. Education, religion, domestic enjoyments, must not be liable at any moment to be broken up and all their purposes scattered to the winds. Commerce, manufactures, improvements of every description, are in security no longer, nor will there be a disposition to engage in them, than while law continues to exert its influence. God's government, too, is a government of law, both in the natural and moral kingdom. "So important is the supremacy of the laws, that God requires us to submit to them even when better could be made, unless they violate the dictates of conscience." We shall not dwell upon this topic, as it has been already discussed in a previous article of the present number. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Barnes argues with his usual ability and moral power.

We proceed to the main point in view,—to oppose the doctrine of the right of an excited populace to take the execution of vengeance into their own hands. Sometimes this is done under the forms of law,—a mock trial, with professions of a great desire to have justice done. But as our author most urgently shows, the plea is utterly groundless. If there are evils in a community which the laws cannot reach, laws must be made to reach them, or they must be let go unpunished. It will never answer to do a worse evil, by breaking down the authority of law; nor, were it allowable, would the object be effected. That cause which requires outrages on law, and the justice which is due to every man, can never stand. The rough storms of persecution will only invigorate the cause it seeks to destroy. Public feeling will turn in favor of the outraged; for who can tell how soon the same spirit may be assailing his own rights, for some alledged misdemeanor? All mobs are not actuated by the same particular partialities or prejudices. The history of mobs in this country shows, that it is not against one specific evil, real or fancied, the tide of popular fury is turned. The Baltimore mob, the mob at Charlestown, at Vicksburgh, at St. Louis, at New York, at Alton, at Philadelphia, and we might enumerate many more, show, that a party press, a convent, a gambling establishment, a slave, a flour-store, an anti-slavery editor, a hall of free discussion, may alike be made the object of attack. Nor would it be difficult

to find instances of churches, banks, colleges, and agricultural and manufacturing improvements, which have called forth the same exhibitions of popular violence. Mr. Barnes quotes with great force from a melancholy example of the same spirit in ancient times :

‘ The world saw long since, a melancholy illustration of the tendency of the sentiment, that there are evils which cannot be restrained by law, and that summary justice must be taken into the hands of the people. There was one arraigned on a charge of blasphemy. The forms of law had been gone through with. With all power in hand, he had yet thrown himself on the protection of the laws of the land. “ I find no fault at all in this man,” was the deliberate sentence of the judge. The law was clearly in his favor, and the public officer declared his acquittal. But that law and its solemn decision were disregarded. “ Crucify him, crucify him,” was the cry of the excited and infuriated mob. He had offended the nation. He had advanced sentiments which they disapproved ; and though the law was clearly in his favor, and the sentence of acquittal unambiguous, yet the passions of a capricious and tumultuous people were excited, and nothing would appease them but his blood. God’s everlasting and holy Son, acquitted by law, under the permission and by the connivance of a magistrate too weak and flexible to maintain the stern interests of justice, expired under the guidance of an infuriated mob, on a cross!’ p. 121.

The next point to which our author directs his attention, is the inquiry, “ In what way may the supremacy of the laws be secured and maintained?” Here, among the things indispensable he places *first* of all, “ The influence and prevalence of the christian religion.” The aim of true christianity is to yield to all their rights. Such a disposition is not that which actuates mobs. The people of God, when under the operation of devoted obedience to him, are not the individuals out of which mobs will be formed. Such may be the objects of their aim, as were the martyrs, but these are not the persons to outrage the rights of their fellow-men, and to destroy the order and peace of the community. It is to them rather, that we are to look for the support of the laws and the maintenance of “ whatsoever things are just, lovely, and of good report.” Hence the vast importance of the extension of the influence and power of christian principle.

Mr. Barnes mentions a *second* thing indispensable to the supremacy of the laws : The success of the temperance reformation. It is in the dram-shop where the mob finds its natural aliment. From thence issue forth the lawless, ready to destroy the property and lives of their fellow-citizens. It is a well as-

certained fact, that nine-tenths of all the crimes in the land are committed either directly or indirectly through the influence of intoxicating drink. The same cause which will prepare men for private aggression, will render them fit for public outrages. Men whose conduct is such as to call forth no moral courage, must depend upon some artificial stimulant in order to nerve themselves to their daring assaults on other's rights: let them be deprived of this they have no sufficient defense against the urgency of conscience; and so long as the grog-shop is suffered to go on with its work of death, so long as dram-drinking is legalized in any community, so long will there be a population ever at hand to join setting law and civil authority at defiance.

Mr. Barnes also censures severely the "tameness of the sentiments in the community" in regard to mobs. From this cause he traces the increase of these outrages. Respectable citizens have been content faintly to condemn, if not indeed even to approve of their occurrence. The ground has been extensively assumed and acted on, "that there *are* offenses which deserve the interposition of a mob, and a strain of remark has been indulged in, just fitted to urge on a lawless multitude to scenes of disorder and blood." To what other cause is it to be traced, that while the Pennsylvania Hall was in flames, and the engines were playing upon the adjoining buildings, the firemen either would not make or were not suffered to make the least attempt to save it from the devouring element. Why did an immense crowd of citizens stand by as idle spectators, nor make one bold effort to uphold the majesty of the laws? Was it a greater evil to have their feelings of displeasure excited by incongruous associations, than to have the law placed beneath the feet of an incendiary mob? Had it been the United States Bank, or a theater, would no arm have been raised for its rescue? These are questions which deserve an answer, and the only answer which can be given is one which declares, that it was the nature of the building which called out their wrath, and which withheld the requisite aid to extinguish the flames. But this is to assume, that mobs are justifiable for some causes, and then who shall decide what are the legitimate objects of attack? Mr. Barnes' language on this subject expresses the true feeling: "Now what is needful—what **MUST BE**—in this land, every where, is, that there should be the language of unqualified condemnation of such infractions of the laws. From the pulpit, the press, and from every place of influence, there must be heard but one voice. There must be no apology; no time-serving; no equivocal tone. All must be decided, consistent, firm—or our liberty is gone."

For the same reason, our author says, "There must be a magistracy that is unshrinking in the execution of the laws." Here he points out the evil of inactivity on the part of the law of following up the offenders, as well as the absolute necessity of a magistracy "WHO WILL LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES rather than see the property and rights of their fellow-citizens destroyed by a lawless mob." If such protection be denied, where shall a citizen look for it or for redress when wronged? This naturally leads to the last position, "The right of free discussion must be conceded." This, says Mr. Barnes, "is THE right on which all our institutions depend," and we know not that we can do better than, in conclusion, to place his eloquent appeal, in part at least, upon our pages.

'It is THE right on which all our institutions depend. The extraordinary doctrine which has been recently advanced, that there are *some* points which must never be subjected to free discussion; the little sensibility which has been felt in regard to the claim; and the measures which have been adopted to defend it, and the sympathy which those measures have met, has done more to alarm the true friends of liberty in this land than all that has ever happened from the efforts of foreigners, or all the dangers that have ever threatened us from abroad. We need not fear foreign armies. We have measured strength with them and our swords have met theirs in deadly strife; and we have settled the point that our liberties are safe from any foreign invasion. We need not dread their fleets for we can build a navy like theirs, and can, if necessary, meet the mistress of the ocean on the "mountain wave." But how shall we meet this subtle enemy? How if one half of the nation shall refuse to their brethren the right of the fullest inquiry into all that pertains to the national morals, liberty, character, welfare? The pulse of freedom beats languid when this right is denied; it sends vigorous tides of life and health only when it is conceded that every thing may be investigated freely. No matter to what subject the point relates. The moment the principle is conceded that there is one point that may not be examined, that moment our liberty ceases.

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This right of free discussion is not to be denied. It is to be conceded that all things pertaining to the public welfare may be examined. There is to be no disturbance; no interruption; no intimidation; there must be no stripes; no burning; no murdering for the most free and full exercise of this right. Argument is to be met by argument and not by the fire-brand; principles are to be settled most freely by discussion, and not by a rifle or a dirk; thought is to be met with thought, and not by the cries of an infuriated and intoxicated multitude. What argument cannot put down must stand; and what can be met by no other weapons than the fire-brand or the rifle must endure as long as the everlasting hills.' pp. 127, 128.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor, &c.* New York:  
John S. Taylor.

THE charm of this work is the spirit of humble, unaffected and fervent piety which it breathes. Mrs. Taylor was a woman of good sense, and led a life of devoted attachment to her Savior. In her early youth she was led to the choice of Him as her portion, and in all the duties she was called to discharge, she steadfastly remembered her trust in his promises. She was an object of the faithful assiduities of the late Harlan Page, and seems to have imbibed something of the same holy love for communion with God which ever actuated him. Her biographer has aimed at no embellishment, but in a simple, natural manner, has set forth the excellencies of her character, interspersed with extracts from her writings, and thus furnished a volume adapted to do good. Her life was short, but she lived to some purpose. As a daughter, sister, wife and mother, she appears to have felt the high claims of heaven, and her great aim was to meet the approbation of her heart-searching Judge. Her writings show, that she was accustomed to read and think for herself, and while they make no pretension to brilliancy of imagination, or splendor of diction, are characterized by an easy style and a graceful turn of thought, as well as a warm and affectionate heart. The volume is very handsomely printed, and embellished by a beautiful vignette title-page, besides a portrait, and we learn has been very acceptable to the christian public. As such we commend it to our readers, and trust, that her example of piety and humility may find many imitators.

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*Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. I. No. I.*

WE have been much gratified in looking over this first number of a religious Quarterly, published in the Sandwich Islands. It is an interesting proof of the advancement of truth even in the remote parts of the earth. The articles are generally well prepared, and afford promise of yet better things. We are pleased also to observe, that for an outer dress its conductors have adopted our own, and we trust that they will find it an agreeable one. We shall have an eye to them now and then, so that they must scan their proofs carefully lest we catch them tripping. As this work must mainly depend for its support on persons abroad, we hope that a christian public will not be slow in their patronage. We can assure our readers, that the perusal would afford them much interest, and those who can will do well to aid its circulation.

*Letters of Isabella Graham.* New York : John S. Taylor.

WE recollect when the *Memoirs of Mrs. Isabella Graham* was one among the very few biographies of pious females which could be found on the shelves of the bookseller. With her name was associated the idea of a woman of no common excellence, whose works of charity were to be found in many a memorial of distress relieved and good imparted. The cause of the widow and orphan she espoused, and the children of sorrow ever had a claim on her heart. It was therefore with no ordinary interest we took up the present volume. It is a mirror in which is reflected the same image of high moral worth which was presented in her memoirs. Some of the events of her life were exceedingly touching, and the delineation of her feelings under her trials here given us, is a beautiful exemplification of a submissive yet anguished heart, beneath the strokes of a father's chastening rod. These letters, though evidently never intended for the public eye, let us into the secrets of her inmost soul, and no one can read them without the conviction, that they are the productions of a gifted woman ; such is the tenderness and purity by which they are marked.

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*Maternal Love.* By a Mother. New York. 1838.

THE principle advocated in this little volume is, that children should in their earlier years be kept much at home, and during the first six or seven years at least, educated almost exclusively under the eye of the mother. *Maternal love* is the spring on which we are to rely for the proper performance of such duty. Infant schools, Sabbath schools and common schools, seem to find little favor in the estimation of the authoress. With regard to a class of persons, her arguments may have weight. But we are by no means convinced, that she has made out her case as to the majority of children. Infant schools, we suppose, are mainly designed for the children of those parents who cannot afford to be always at home. To such, to the poor, it must be a relief to supply, as far as may be, a home to their children during the hours of labor, where their little ones may be kept from harm and be taught good things. As to the effort to urge on the infant mind, whether at home or in the infant school, we consider it injurious both to the health and morals of the child. Sabbath schools have proved a great blessing. Many a child has been brought thus to the sanctuary, who but for them would have never known, that there was a Sabbath, the day of God. The necessity of attendance by others, except the poor, does not so much arise from the inability to be instructed at home as for the sake of example and countenance to those who, in the pride of their hearts, might not be willing to appear there alone. Notwithstanding the evils

which may attend them, there is an advantage, too, in having children brought into contact with each other, and learning to sympathize with each others' wants. Were they destined to live secluded, it might be different, but they are to become members of society. The danger of indulgence and interruption while always at home is great, to say nothing of the increased expense and trouble. Though we cannot admit her theory, yet there are many valuable suggestions in this "mother's" volume. The writer, we understand, is a highly respected lady of this city. Her thoughts are expressed in a clear style, and evince a commendable desire to befriend parents and the guides of the infant mind and heart.

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*Treatise on French Poetry, &c.* By FRANÇOIS TURNER. New Haven: A. H. Maltby. 1838.

THIS work will prove a valuable auxiliary to those who wish to become acquainted with the nature and rules of French Poetry. Its author is a respected teacher of the French language in the University of Yale, and from his previous publications is known to considerable extent abroad. We must plead ignorance of French Poetry, as we never liked it well enough to devote to it much attention. Under such a guide, however, we do not despair of yet attaining the requisite taste and power to appreciate its best specimens; and we doubt not that the acquisition will reward the labor by ourselves or by others.

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*Professor Kingsley's Historical Discourse.* New Haven: B. & W. Noyes.

SINCE our last number, we have received a copy of Prof. Kingsley's *Historical Discourse*, commemorative of the settlement of New Haven in 1638, and intended to have given a full notice of the same. This we must now reserve to the closing number of our present volume. It is enough to say at this time, that it is what it professes to be, a *historical* address—and is characterized by the author's usual accuracy, and his felicity of diction. In it will be found an ample refutation of the calumnies on New Haven and Connecticut colonies, which have been repeated from the notorious Samuel Peters, down to the present time as to the customs, *blue laws* and oppressive spirit of the forefathers of these colonies. Our author gives a fair estimate of the character of the first settlers, and shows, that it was a desire of religious liberty, which led them to tempt the ocean, and plant themselves in the wilderness. The institutions which they reared, and the privileges they have handed down to their posterity, mark them out as no ordinary men.

*Twenty-second Annual Report of the American Bible Society, 1838.*

WE notice this Report now not for the purpose of detailing the Society's operations, nor even of giving an abstract of its successful prosecution of its high aims, but for the single object of referring to an interesting fact in relation to biblical literature. We mean the "Collation of the English Bible." We quote the statement of the managers on this subject :

' Many friends of the society are aware, probably, that suspicions were awakened, a few years since in England, in regard to the integrity of the present English bible. Charges of numerous and wide departures from the first edition of the translators had been freely circulated. Many letters and some pamphlets were published to substantiate those charges.

In these circumstances the authorized printers of the bible at the Oxford University, published a fac-simile of the first edition of King James, issued in 1611, in order that it might be compared with modern editions. This fac-simile copy is prepared with great minuteness, not only as respects the text, but the orthography, punctuation, and even embellishments. Having procured one of these copies, your board felt it their duty to institute a rigid comparison between it and the standard copy of this society. To secure perfect fairness as well as thoroughness in such an undertaking, a supervising committee was appointed by the board, consisting of one member from each religious denomination connected with the society. A skillful proof-reader was first directed to compare the early and the modern copy, word for word, and to note down all the discrepancies. Prof. Bush, the Editor of the Society's publications, having in the library a great variety of Bibles issued during the last three centuries, was then requested to go through the same, and learn where and when the changes found commenced. The Committee then, each with a copy of some age in hand, carefully followed the Editor and examined his investigations. The whole subject was then laid before the entire board for their adjudication. The task has been arduous, though one of great interest. While it has been found that numerous variations exist between the early and the present copies of the English Bible, it is also found that they pertain only to unimportant particulars; such as capital letters, commas, italic words, &c. not affecting the sense. It has been a matter of unfeigned satisfaction to the Board to find, on such careful investigation, that the books which they have sent forth from the Depository have been so conformed in meaning to the first editions issued under the eye of the translators. Little motive has been presented to make any changes. Those which have been made were of trivial importance, and usually for the purpose of return and conformation to the early copies.' pp. 29, 30.



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ART. I.—A VISIT TO THE WALDENSES IN 1837.

It was in the month of May, 1837, that we set out from Turin to visit the country in which dwell the remains of that martyr-people, who for so many ages resisted, alone, the corrupt doctrines and tremendous power of the church of Rome. We were accompanied in this interesting excursion by the Rev. Mr. Bert, the eloquent and amiable chaplain of the Prussian embassy at Turin. Mr. B. is himself one of the Waldenses, (or Vaudois, as they are called in the French language,) and is well acquainted with their former history, and their present condition. His father was, for many years before his death, their president or superintendent. He was a man of distinction, and wrote a valuable little work, for children, respecting the history and religious faith of this people, which might be justly entitled a Waldensian historical catechism.

We considered ourselves exceedingly favored in having for our companion and guide, one who was so well qualified, as was this young servant of Jesus Christ, for the task of giving us the information which we desired respecting his fellow christians and the land of his fathers. This young man, who holds so important a post in the service of his Prussian majesty, and preaches to a considerable congregation of Waldenses and other protestants in Turin, was educated in Switzerland, at the uni-

versity of Geneva. His talents, which are in the highest degree respectable, are well cultivated. He possesses a large amount of information on almost all subjects of general knowledge. Withal, he is a man of the most amiable disposition, and of abundant wit. And what is still better, he is a man who, we believe, is sincerely desirous of advancing the interests of the kingdom of his blessed Lord.

The day was far from being agreeable. A season of rainy weather had set in, which, with brief intervals, lasted three or four days. But the warm, vernal showers which we had to encounter, did not conceal from our view the beauties of the country through which we had to pass. Our course was nearly due southwest, and the distance from Turin to St. Jean, one of the chief villages of the country of the modern Waldenses, and to which we first went, was about thirty miles. The first part of our journey was over an excellent macadamized road as far as Pignerol, which is an old town, or city, of nearly 12,000 inhabitants, and is the chief place of importance in the immediate vicinity of the country of the Waldenses. A few miles beyond Pignerol, we entered the country of the wonderful people, to see whose condition was the object of our visit. And here we may remark, that the country which the Waldenses at present occupy is, from east to west, about thirty miles in length, whilst its width may be estimated at about twenty-five. It commences, as we have just said, a few miles from Pignerol, and extends westward up to the mountain-ridge which divides Piedmont from France. Only a small part of it reaches down into the comparatively level country which lies at the eastern base of the Alps. On the contrary, their territory lies almost wholly in those mountains, and consists, in fact, of two immense mountain-ridges, extending from east to west, and three valleys which run parallel with these mountain-ridges. Such is the present country of the Waldenses. In former ages it was far more extensive than it is at present. Within this restricted territory only, are they allowed to own lands or houses. They may live in Turin, or in any other city of the kingdom of Sardinia, or at least in the portion of it which is called Piedmont, for the purpose of trade, or for other occupation; but in that case they cannot own any permanent property in the place of their sojourn. Such is the law of the kingdom. Several hundred of them actually live at this time in Turin, some as merchants, some as artizans, but the most of them as domestics in families of those who choose to employ them. But to return from this digression.

It was afternoon when we left <sup>Turin</sup>, and as we spent an hour with one or two Waldensian friends at Pignerol, it was not until eleven o'clock at night, that we reached the village of St. Jean, and entered the hospitable mansion of the Rev. Mr. Bonjour, who is the present superintendent of the churches of the Waldenses, and a brother-in-law of the Rev. Mr. B., who accompanied us. It is not possible to describe the various and strong emotions with which our minds were agitated, as we entered the hallowed country where dwell those whose ancestors, during many ages, maintained the truth amidst the midnight darkness which papacy had created throughout all the rest of the christian world. It was affecting to reflect, that here lived a people who bear the very names, and in whose veins circulates the very blood of those honored men and women who suffered so much for Christ. As we passed along through their country, and contemplated the houses and villages which, from the high road, we could discern by means of the rays of the moon now and then emerging from behind the light clouds which crossed its disk, we could not but recall to mind that these very houses and villages (for they have stood most of them for ages,) were the scenes of cruelty and blood, again and again, when those who occupied them were called to suffer, and for no other reason than that of adhering to the doctrines and practices which Christ himself had enjoined! But feeble were our strongest conceptions of those scenes of anguish and wo. No imagination can reach their reality.

It was in the indulgence of such mournful reflections as these, that we approached the village of St. Jean. As it was late at night, all the country was hushed in stillness, save the sweetly-singing nightingale which from every copse, and almost from every tree, was all the night long warbling the praises of the great Creator. And whilst our hearts ascended to God in thankfulness for the measure of peace and tranquility which at present prevails in these valleys, our thoughts could not but recur ever and anon to those mournful tragedies of papal and bigoted violence which were so often enacted throughout them. We really felt more like being on consecrated ground than ever before in our lives. We had seen Genoa the beautiful; we had surveyed the remains of the grandeur of Rome; we had descended into Herculaneum, and walked the streets of Pompeii, and sat in the seat of the Venetian doges; but never had we before the feelings of tenderness, of sympathy with those who have suffered for Christ, of admiration for their constancy, and of gratitude for our own preservation from such awful trials, as we had on that occasion.

But we must hasten to lay before our readers the most important items of information which we received respecting the political, moral, and intellectual state of this people. In doing this, we shall present the facts very much as they happened to present themselves to our minds, whilst we were making our inquiries on the spot. This may, perhaps, be more acceptable to our readers than a formal and methodical procedure.

We have already stated that the territory of the modern Waldenses, is something like thirty miles long by twenty-five broad, and that it consists of two extended and lofty mountain ranges and three valleys. We will add, that the valleys are fertile, and well cultivated. They are divided into farms of unequal and, generally, small extent. Such is the denseness of the population, (arising from the narrow limits of their territory,) that there is scarcely a square yard of land, fit for cultivation, which is not tilled. The sides of the mountains, up as high as the vegetables which are planted or sown attain to any degree of profitable growth, are covered with fields. In many cases, from eagerness to enlarge the extent of cultivated ground, the very soil is carried up to a great height on the sides of the mountains, and is placed on terraces formed by stone walls, to prevent its being washed down into the valleys. It often occurs also, that from the extreme height, vegetation is prematurely destroyed by the autumnal frosts, and the labor of the husbandman is lost.

The productions of the country are wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, wine, and mulberry trees for the growing of silk-worms. The ground is well tilled. The crops, especially in the lower portions of the valleys, are generally good. The wine of this country cannot be said to be extraordinary, being generally of a poor quality. Still, enough is made for the domestic consumption, and a little for exportation.

The people are sober, industrious, and frugal. There are but few persons of wealth among them; probably no individual possesses property to an amount exceeding twenty thousand dollars. The bulk of the people, on the contrary, are poor, many of them very poor. And yet, such are their frugal habits, and such is the liberality of those whose worldly circumstances are better, that there is but little, if any, distress or suffering from poverty. It is not from want of industry, but from want of power to turn their industry to a profitable account, that any of this people are poor, excepting, perhaps, in a few cases of providential incapacity.

The dress of the people does not differ much from that of their Italian neighbors on the one hand, or that of the French on the other. Their manners are in the highest degree amiable and prepossessing. We never met a man, woman, or child on any road in the country of the Waldenses, who, if a Waldensian, did not speak to us in a polite and kind manner. In this respect, as well as in many others, they much excel their catholic neighbors of Piedmont; though it must be stated, that the Piedmontese generally are far from being an uncivil people. They are much superior in this particular, which is far from being an unimportant one, to the people, whether inhabitants of the city or of the country, of these United States. Though it may seem to some persons a small thing, yet the kindly salutation of every passer-by, in some countries which we have visited in Europe, does seem to us infinitely more amiable and pleasant than the morose and silent manner in which we so generally pass each other, unless personally acquainted, in this country.

The language of the Waldenses, in their ordinary intercourse with each other, is a *patois*, compounded of French and Italian, not only mixed together, but often arranged in sentences in a way very different from the idiomatic forms of either language. And yet almost every individual can speak both French and Italian, with greater or less purity. Every child, even, to whom we spoke in French, along the road, answered, without hesitation, in the same. We do not mean to assert, however, that the mass of the people comprehend either the French or Italian as well as they do their own *patois*. All their ministers know the French language well, and use it much. This is owing to the fact, that they have all, for two or three hundred years, been educated in the universities of Switzerland, and especially in those of Geneva and Lausanne.

And here we may state, that the country of the Waldenses is divided into fifteen parishes, and that the number of their pastors is also fifteen, when there are no vacancies. When we were there, there were thirteen pastors, owing to the fact, that two parishes had been rendered vacant by the death of their ministers. But it was expected, that their places would soon be filled from their young men who were in the Swiss universities.

The government of the churches is presbyterian, and not episcopal. They have a synod, composed of all the pastors, which meets regularly once in five years; though it may hold extraordinary meetings, when convened by the superintendent at the request of two pastors. Ordination is performed by the

laying on of the hands of the synod. The office of the superintendent is not that of a diocesan bishop, but it is that of a perpetual president of the synod, and has a very special relation to the government of the country. The superintendent is made to bear a great responsibility towards the Sardinian government, and is, in fact, held in a great degree responsible for the entire community of the Waldenses. It is exceedingly important, therefore, that he should be a very wise and provident man.

It is well known to our readers, that the Waldenses claim to be the lineal descendants of the apostolic churches which existed in their country, and far and wide on each side of the Alps, in the first centuries of the christian era. They maintain, that they have received, through an unbroken chain of faithful witnesses for the truth, the doctrine and discipline of the primitive churches. They claim to have history worthy of credit, to prove, that they existed as a body, holding the truth incorrupt, in the ninth century. That they did thus exist in the thirteenth century, is confessed on all hands. But it is not our intention to enter at present into the discussion of these points. We will only add that, when the Reformation broke out in Germany and Switzerland, these churches in the valleys of Piedmont sent some of their best men to see the Reformers and learn what were their doctrines. These men, when they had become acquainted with the doctrines and discipline of Luther and Calvin, at once said, that their churches had always maintained these same doctrines and this same discipline. And from that day commenced that intimate union which has ever since subsisted between them and the Swiss Reformed churches, and which, whilst it has been of some advantage to the Waldenses, has also been a source of no little evil, inasmuch as it has caused them to be viewed by the civil government, which was wholly and always subservient to Rome, as *protestants*. This simple fact has been the occasion of not a little of the persecution which has fallen upon them within the last three hundred years.

It is not maintained by the best informed of the Waldenses, with whom we have conversed, that their ancestors did always keep clear of the corruptions of Rome. They admit, that there were times when the errors of Romanism did undoubtedly overshadow the truth to a lamentable degree. But they say, that these seasons were not of long duration, and that the orb of the pure gospel soon emerged from these passing clouds. In later times, there have been seasons in which sound doctrine and vital piety sadly declined among them, and perhaps never more

than during the latter half of the last century, and the beginning of the present. Even twenty years ago, it is believed, most of their ministers were tainted with neological errors, and few of them gave evidence of knowing much about experimental religion. Blessed be God, the state of things is different now! Sound doctrine and evangelical practice are advancing visibly among them. Most, if not all, of their pastors, are reckoned theoretically sound in the faith, and some of them appear to be pious; whilst among the laity there has been a decided increase of vital piety in some parts of their country, within the last few years. This has been owing, under God, to an increased knowledge of the sacred scriptures, and especially to the labors of some faithful men of whom we shall speak more fully towards the close of this article. We are far from saying, that the state of religion among this people is a flourishing one. But we would confidently assert, that religion is decidedly on the increase, and the prospect is more cheering at this moment than it has been, probably, for a century and more. We would add, in this place, that the persons who are laboring to promote a revival of pure religion among these people, are denominated *methodists* by their opposers; a fact which shows, that those in every country who labor zealously to promote true religion, are called to share in the same abusive designations from those who hate it.

The state of morals in these valleys is incomparably better than that of the surrounding country, though it is not so good as it ought to be. Instances of the crimes and vices which are to be found every where else among mankind, even in those parts of the world where pure christianity exerts the greatest influence, certainly exist among the Waldenses. And yet so much better are these people than their catholic neighbors, that their little country is almost deserving of the name of a moral garden in the midst of a moral wilderness. Probably the greatest and most besetting vice among them is a miserable spirit of litigation about their lands. This arises from the fact that their limits are very restricted, and *land* is therefore the most eagerly sought for of all earthly possessions. Every acre, and even every foot of land is highly prized and strenuously contended for. The sins of fornication, adultery, theft, etc., although they exist among them, cannot be said to be any thing like so frequent as they are in every other part of Italy. In this particular, the poor Waldenses maintain a great and glorious superiority over their neighbors, and show the powerful influence which a pure faith exerts upon a people even long after its vigor

has been in a great degree lost. We will only add, in passing from this topic, that the spirit of litigation is greatly fomented amongst them by their own petty magistrates, and not a little by the malicious influence of the catholics, who live either in villages by themselves, or in a more dispersed manner amongst them. The number of these catholics is about four thousand. It is one of the most desirable objects in the estimation of the Waldenses, and naturally so, to get these catholics out from their midst. For this purpose they are solicitous to buy them out. But it rarely happens, that a catholic is willing to sell his farm or house, inasmuch as they prefer, whether from attachment to their native soil, or encouraged by the Sardinian government, to persevere in remaining there, to be thorns in the sides of these people, and spies upon their conduct.

As to the political condition of the Waldenses at the present time, we have to say, that although it is far better than it was two centuries ago, yet it is bad enough. They suffer many things from the government which are hard to bear. The government of Sardinia is greatly under the influence of the priests, and they bear an unmingled hatred to these poor Waldenses, whom they slander on every occasion. We are inclined to believe, that the present king, if he would follow the dictates of his own heart, would pursue a liberal policy with regard to this people. He was himself educated among the protestants in Switzerland, and is not naturally of a cruel disposition. And here we cannot forbear to state a fact which greatly redounds to the credit of these poor people, which is, that when the French conquered Piedmont in 1796, and when they drove off the king of Sardinia from the continent (which they did a few years afterwards) the Waldenses refused to accept the most advantageous offers which were made to them by Napoleon. On the contrary, they were loyal to their king, and many of them bravely fought to sustain his declining fortunes! And yet, by a law of the kingdom, they could not then, nor can they now, rise to a higher rank than that of colonel, if so high, in the service of their sovereign! At present it may be said, that they live under the shield of the good old king of Prussia, whose ambassador at Turin is their friend and protector. No difficulty occurs between them and the government officers (and such difficulties occur often) which his prompt intervention does not seek to arrest and redress.

Nor can we pass over without remark the goodness of God in raising up such a friend for this people, so long "peeled" and trodden under foot. This ambassador, the Baron Treuchness,



is a relative of the king of Prussia, and so attached is he to his poor protégés, that he prefers to live at Turin, in order to look after them, to the acceptance of a diplomatic station in Paris, London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, or at the Hague. Nor is his interposition in behalf of these without avail. To give an instance: the Roman Catholic bishop of Pignerol, who may be called their hereditary enemy, lately wrote a book of five hundred pages in octavo, in answer to the first volume of M. Mustin's *History of the Waldenses*—a work which is still in progress, and which promises to be a valuable acquisition to church history. The bishop in his work, every page of which is surcharged with the bitterness of gall, not only abuses the Waldenses, but also attacks the king of Prussia, their protector. The book was written in the French language, and published at Paris. As soon as it fell into the hands of the Prussian ambassador, he carried it to the king and demanded that its sale in the entire kingdom of Sardinia should be prohibited. And his demand was granted!

The state of education among the Waldenses, though better perhaps in some respects than that of their neighbors, has always been low. There was at every period a great want of good schools among them. But the prospect at present is in the highest degree encouraging. And this brings us to speak of one of the most remarkable instances of beneficent and well-directed effort on the part of an individual of which we have ever heard. But before we do so we would beg the reader to bear in mind what we have already said respecting the extent of the country of the Waldenses and its division into fifteen parishes. We would further add, that the number of these people is between twenty one and twenty two thousand, exclusive of about four thousand Roman Catholics, who live among them. The entire population of these valleys may be put down at not far from twenty six thousand. Having stated these facts, we proceed to give some notice of the exertions of a most excellent British officer, Col. Beckwith, who has spent a large part of his time for eight years among this people with the view of doing them good. We are not able to state what it was that induced this devoted christian to make the country of the Waldenses the theatre of his benevolence. It is sufficient to say, that having lost a leg in the battle of Waterloo, he was compelled to retire from the active service of his country; and being a man of some fortune, and deriving a very handsome income from his salary, or rather pension, and having only a mother and two sisters who may be said to have any claims on

his attention, he was led in the providence of God about eight years ago to visit the country of the Waldenses. Upon seeing their condition his heart became so much interested in their behalf, that he has, ever since, spent about six months annually with them; the other six he has spent with his mother and sisters. In this way his winters are spent in Italy and his summers in England.

The first object to which the attention of this philanthropist was directed when he came among the Waldenses, was the completion of a hospital which had been commenced some years before, and to build which, funds had been solicited by letter from the benevolent in England, Germany, and Switzerland. This hospital stands in a village about two miles to the westward of St. Jean, and is sufficiently central to the whole country. The necessity for having such a refuge for the sick poor, as well as for the stranger, is obvious. It has been completed for several years, and proves to be a great blessing. If we remember rightly, it is large enough to accommodate from thirty to forty persons. It is seldom that it is full.

The next object of his regard was the erection of a college in which the youth of the Waldenses who seek a liberal education might receive what may be called a college education. Hitherto they had been compelled to go to Switzerland or France for their entire collegiate and professional education. It was his intention to render it unnecessary for them to go abroad for any thing more than their professional studies. And here we may say, that it is a fact of great interest, that these people have ever highly prized knowledge. When we were among them we learned, that there were then seventeen of their youth at the University of Lausanne, two at Geneva, one or two at Berlin, and we believe one at Montauban. Besides these, there were seven boys in their own college, which had just been opened, under the instruction of two young professors, who had themselves been taught in universities of Switzerland. So that not less than thirty youth from this small and oppressed community were actually in various stages of a classical education. As to the college which they have erected amongst themselves, it is a plain, substantial edifice, much like a good New England academy in point of size, built of stone, stuccoed, white-washed, and covered with slate. It has rooms for various classes, as well as one for a library, and another for philosophical and chymical apparatus. It is a handsome and convenient building. It is intended, that the students shall board in private families in the village, where they can live comfortably for a dollar per week, if not for less.

Another enterprise which this excellent Englishman undertook, and the first, indeed, which he accomplished, was to cause to be erected a large school-house in each parish, in a central town or village, for a school of a more elevated description than usual, and which might accommodate a large number of scholars. These schools are all now in operation.

But a far greater enterprise was undertaken by him, which was to have a school-house built in every district throughout the whole territory of the Waldenses. This enterprise is now in progress. The number of school-houses, when all shall have been erected, will be, as Col. B. told us, one hundred and sixty. They are all to be built of stone, plastered outside, white-washed, and covered with slate. They are to be large enough to hold from twenty-five to forty scholars each. Nearly ninety of these school-houses are already built; and the whole will be erected before long. And when the whole one hundred and sixty shall have been built, then,—we have no hesitation in saying it,—this little community will be better supplied with handsome and convenient school-houses than any spot on this globe, of equal extent, so far as our knowledge extends. As it is, many parts of the country are ornamented with these little white temples, consecrated to teaching “the young idea how to shoot.”

And here we ought to state, that in no case has Colonel Beckwith carried on his benevolent enterprises at his own sole expense. His plan has always been to propose to the people, that if they will undertake to accomplish this or that desirable object he will contribute so much towards its accomplishment. This he did in erecting the college, in building the parish school-houses, and in erecting the district-school houses. In this way he has secured their interest as well as their co-operation. And although, through the cheapness of labor in that country, these various enterprises have cost far less than they would have cost in almost any other country, yet we speak advisedly when we say that the liberal Colonel has probably paid, or will have paid by the time all is accomplished, at least the sum of twenty thousand dollars!

The next enterprise which this excellent man intends to attempt, if God spare his life, is the establishment of a school or seminary for the education of teachers for the schools throughout the community. This he feels, and justly, to be essential to the success of all the other parts of his educational scheme. When this shall have been accomplished, and when he shall have brought up the people, by his efforts, to sustain these

schools, he thinks he will have accomplished all his plans in relation to education. His object is to make this little community a sort of *nursery*, where many youth may grow up like plants, and who, if God should pour out his spirit upon them, may go forth to flourish in other lands, and especially in France, as ministers of the gospel, or as useful men in other professions. Could any thing be more beautiful or more important? Who will not offer a sincere prayer to God for the success of these philanthropic plans and enterprises?

Another object which this good Colonel has had much at heart, is the publication of the New Testament in the *patois* of the country, in order that the word of God may be more fully comprehended by such as do not read either French or Italian well; and their number is not small.

Before we take leave of this benevolent man, and his excellent enterprises, we cannot but ask whether it would be possible for him to employ his income, whether great or small, in any way which would secure him a greater amount of happiness, than by thus devoting it to the promotion of the best interests of his fellow men, both for this world and the next? We think not. We *know* that he thinks so too. Simple and unaffected in his manners, he moves about among these people, when he spends his annual sojourn of six months among them, by the aid of a crutch and a cane, attended by his faithful dog. Wherever he goes, *le pauvre colonel*, (the poor colonel,) as he is every where called, is welcome to the hospitality of every house, throughout the entire community. And there are few, if any, houses in the whole of their country, into which he has not entered and received the cheerful and grateful smiles of those who occupy them. There is scarcely a house in the whole land of the Waldenses (save those occupied by the catholics,) in which the lithographed picture of the colonel, with his crutch and his gun, accompanied by his dog, does not adorn one side of the chief room, done up in a nice though simple frame. May his life be long spared to be a blessing to that people! Such is our prayer. Such, too, is the prayer which ascends from many pious hearts among that people in whose behalf he takes so lively an interest, and for whom he has done so much, and in so prudent a manner, that he has never had the slightest difficulty with the government. The secret of this is two-fold: *he does nothing contrary to the laws of the Sardinian kingdom, and he does every thing openly.*

We close this notice of our visit to the Waldenses, by giving some extracts of a letter which we recently received from one of

the most devoted of the portion of the Waldenses who are called "methodists," but who hold the doctrines and maintain the discipline which the Waldensian church held and maintained in its best days. This letter is dated January 15, 1838.

"It is with pleasure that I have just received your letter, and all those to whom I have read it, have experienced joy in its contents, and all say to us how much is such a letter, received from a brother from America, a country so far off, of which we have heard so many things, and in which there are so many dear children of God, who labor with so much zeal to extend the kingdom of our common Saviour, calculated to make us experience the sweetness of the communion of saints. Every where they have the same language, they are interested in the same work,—which is to rescue souls from the power of Satan, by whom they have been taken captive at his will, and to translate them into the kingdom of light, by the power of Him who alone bears the name by which we can be saved. For America, as well as for the old continent, Jesus Christ is the same; for he gives to all those who receive him, the privilege to be called the children of God, brethren in Jesus! What grace! May all the children of Adam soon receive it! Amen.

"Dear brother, you desire some information respecting the state of evangelical religion among our pastors and churches. May the Savior direct my understanding and my pen, that I may reply to your inquiry with charity and truth, persuaded that I reply to a child of God, who knows by experience what conversion of the heart is, and what is the difference between him who serves God, and him who serves him not; between the just [justified] and the wicked. In order to be understood, I must tell you what was the state of the Waldenses before the recent religious awakening. They were like all other protestants, generally speaking, throughout our continent, dead in trespasses and sins, having their religion only in prayer-books; brethren in name, but total strangers to the piety of their ancestors. This was their state until Felix Neff, of blessed memory, accompanied by brother Blanc,—now pastor of a church at Mens, in France,—came into our valleys preaching that man is condemned and lost, and that salvation is only through grace in Jesus Christ. The Waldenses in a body, pastors and churches, rose up against such a manner of exhibiting the christian religion. Notwithstanding this, the Savior caused his word to penetrate some hearts, which led them captive to the obedience of Jesus. These persons, continuing to meet together to speak of the "one thing needful," saw themselves exposed to all sorts

of outrage from the part of the co-religionists who were seconded by the government, which forbade us, with severe menace, to hold our meetings. To such a point did matters go, that some of us were cited to appear before the governor of the province, and this several times, where we were forbidden, under penalty of the prison, to continue our meetings. The Lord gave us grace to persevere. This was about the time that dear Mr. and Mrs. W—— visited us, and saw for themselves the animosity which pastors and flocks bore to us. Notwithstanding this, the religious awakening continued to make progress. This excited our adversaries to attempt every thing to extinguish it. We believed, that we saw, that it was then the will of God, that we should organize an evangelical church upon the confession of faith and discipline of our forefathers. After this, the persecution continuing, several were beaten so as to be left dead. The government, punishing our murderers, forbade our meetings with more severity than ever. Our enemies, (protestants,) encouraged by such conduct on the part of the government, formed the plan of having one of our leaders banished. They had the satisfaction to receive the order for his exile. But the Lord came to our succor. This brother received permission to remain, and still more, the king granted us permission to hold our meetings in full liberty, to pray, to sing, and to exhort each other as much as we would. We had not dared to ask for these favors, nor do we know from whom we have received them. It was the Lord who touched the heart of the king. It is He who has pitied us. Glory to our God, His compassions are eternal. From the preceding statement, you will be able to judge what was our religious state when our religious awakening commenced. None of the pastors took part with the revival of religion. On the contrary, by their disapprobation, expressed from the pulpit and elsewhere, the people were encouraged to despise us, and trample us under foot. This was, in few words, the state of things at the commencement of the revival.

“As to our actual position, glory and thanks to God, we continue to enjoy a very great degree of religious liberty. Under the protection of the government we can hold meetings wherever we wish. To make the most of this liberty, our church has found it useful to name two brethren, who, during the term of two months, traverse our valleys, making known the gospel as the Savior gives them opportunities. When they have finished their course, two other brethren are named to take their place. This work begins to be blessed by Him who put it in-

to our hearts to do it. Let the glory be rendered to him. If we find opposition, it is only when we ascend to the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Waldenses. For example, that authority has forbidden the consistories and the school-directors to let us speak in the churches or the school-houses, under pain of being turned out of their office. Until this prohibition, we had often preached in the churches and school-houses. But because the Rev. Mr. Gay, (a minister of the gospel, who for certain articles in faith had been deposed from his office,) had delivered several addresses to the people in churches destitute of pastors, this regulation was adopted. Mr. Gay is among us as a brother, and distributes the Lord's supper to us on the first Sabbath in each month. Notwithstanding this, he is not the pastor of our church on account of his manner of viewing some points, secondary in importance, but which are in direct opposition to our organization, which is, as I have said, established for the sole purpose of causing that religion to flourish again, for which our forefathers poured out their blood. We have often written to the ecclesiastical authority, and requested them to show wherein we are wrong, whether it regards the faith or the doctrine which was believed and practiced by our martyr-ancestors. Hitherto they have not taken the trouble, neither as a body, nor as individuals, to answer us on this point; without doubt, because they cannot do it."

After giving an interesting account of their getting up a school for the instruction of the children of those who desire to have their children taught by a pious person, and of the difficulty which was encountered in effecting this important object, the writer continues:

"The Eternal will provide; this is our confidence. The pastors, since the awakening, seem to preach a little more according to the analogy of faith. They speak a little more of Jesus Christ; but the great fault of the preaching is, that it is addressed to people who are dead in trespasses and sins, just as if they had faith. If there be some change, in certain parishes, in the manner of preaching, the manners of the pastors and of the people are the same. They speak now little respecting us from the pulpit. They let us rest tranquilly. But they take but little interest in the religious awakening. They take no part in it. From this statement, dear brother, it will be easy for you to judge of the state of evangelical piety among the pastors and the people of the Waldenses.

"My dear brother, you tell me, that the people of the Waldenses interest you much, as well as many other christians in

your country. I am not astonished at it. Our ancestors must have had great faith, for they did great things. But if any one persuade himself, that the modern Waldenses are what their ancestors were, he deceives himself greatly. They are as much departed, in mass, from the life of religion, as our ancestors were reproached for it. To persuade himself of this let a stranger who lives the life of a christian, come among us. If he content himself with asking of the pastors, what is the state of religion among the people, he might go away altogether satisfied. But if he examine for himself, if he seek for converted persons, if he examine the faith and the conduct of the people, he will not fail to perceive, that they are, like the rest of the children of Adam, spiritually dead, and in the conclusion he will be convinced, that the Waldenses live on the glory of their ancestors. Such is the remark which several foreign christians have made in visiting our valleys. On the other hand, glory to God, the awakening which manifests itself in our day, over all the earth, has also reached unto us. If you knew personally the instruments which God has employed to promote his work amongst us, you could not doubt, that it is the finger of God! It is His work. This awakening makes progress among the poor, little among the middle and higher classes. The most moderate in wealth do not fear, however, to make sacrifices to promote the cause of God, whether it be in the purchase and distribution of the word of God, religious tracts, or in any other way by which the interests of Christ's kingdom may be promoted."

The preceding extracts give a pretty fair account, we think, of the state and prospects of evangelical religion among the Waldenses at this time. If there be a fault in the communication of our correspondent, it consists, we have reason to believe, in drawing the picture in colors a *little* too dark, especially in what he says of the pastors. But two things are manifest from it. 1. That the state of evangelical religion is still very low among the Waldenses, taken in a mass. 2. That true religion is reviving among them, with the prospect of gradual and, ultimately, extended success.



ART. II.—LIFE AND DISCOURSES OF REV. S. H. STEARNS.

*Life and Select Discourses of Rev. S. H. Stearns.* Boston: Josiah A. Stearns, and Whipple & Damrell. 1838.

THIS is a valuable book. The part performed by the biographer has been executed with judgment and skill. The style in which the work has been printed and published, is worthy of commendation. The circle is numerous and highly respectable in this country, and beyond its limits, into which "the life and select discourses of the Rev. S. H. Stearns" will be a welcome visitant.

The subject of these memoirs did not, indeed, attain to advanced years; he did not present to the public many of the fruits of his literary studies; he did not long preach the gospel to any one people, nor did he leave behind him that *view of man* which had occupied so many of his solitary reflections. But there are young men in no small numbers, and of no trifling reputation, whose characters have been greatly affected by their intercourse with him. There are many, very many, who cherish a grateful remembrance of his kind offices. To such, the following remarks are devoted, and to such others as may chance to feel an interest in one of the brightest stars in our hemisphere, though, from its early setting, it could not be expected extensively to attract the attention of the public.

One of the most instructive chapters in the life of Mr. Stearns, is that which describes his early education. This brings to our remembrance not the least interesting among the admired traits in the character of our forefathers. Here was the source of his eminence as a scholar and a good man. "He used to say that the manner in which he was taught by his father to *weed the garden*, had influenced him in all his studies in after life." The maxim was—"a thing once well done, is twice done," and this maxim observed on a farm, induced those habits of thoroughness which, being transferred to his intellectual and moral culture, made him a successful student of nature and of revelation. In science, literature, and theology he always felt the influence of that discipline of his powers which he acquired in his boyhood, under the parental roof. Especially did he ever feel the effects of that careful attention which his parents bestowed on his early religious education. Every incident in life was made the occasion of reminding him of that over-ruling providence, to whom we all owe reverence and obedience. Besides an ex-

ample of faithful piety, he was blessed with the daily inculcation of the precepts of religion, and was constantly directed by parental lips to the throne of wisdom and grace. When Saturday night came, it brought with it a scene which reminds one of the "Saturday Night" of Burns, or of the puritan manners in their most religious state. The cares of the world were entirely forgotten. The family were called together for reading the scriptures and devotion, in both of which the exercises were more protracted than usual. Then followed the retired duties of the closet, and so was preparation made for the calm beginning of holy time. When the Sabbath dawned, all was still and peaceful. No interruption occurred to private reading and devotion. The public services ensued, in which all the family were expected to participate, not as a formality or constraint, but as a privileged means of improving the heart and elevating and ennobling the mind.

But the most remarkable scene was that which occurred upon the return of the household from public worship. All were gathered together in one place. The bible was read in company, and at an unusual length. The texts of the sermons were repeated by the children, with such an account of their contents as they were able to give. Then the practical lessons were inculcated anew, and with more special application to those present. The conscience was addressed. Those who had begun to serve the Lord, were encouraged to go forward. Those who were remiss or negligent, were solemnly admonished to repent and reform. All were reminded, in the most feeling manner, of their early consecration to God, of the prayers by which the consecration had been followed, and of the awful doom which would await them if they should rush through such privileges as these, and make their bed in hell. These were times in which the instructions and admonitions, the prayers and praises of these Sabbath evening scenes were so solemn and affecting, as to be long remembered by such guests as were occasionally present. On the *family* they had, of course, great influence. No one could write the biography of Samuel H. Stearns, without referring to the effect of these scenes on his youthful character, and the times most assuredly require, that such scenes of domestic pious instruction, living almost entirely in the past, should be faithfully recorded for the benefit of coming time. Before the vestiges are gone of such faithfulness in parental instruction, let us at least write them in a book, for possibly a more devoted race may come forward, who will be glad to read of them. We may have made great

advances in some other things, but in domestic religious education, our course is retrograde.

The mind of Mr. Stearns was of a high order, and the habits which he acquired of *being thorough* in every thing he undertook, were such as might have been anticipated from his early training. None who knew him intimately need to be told, that he called nothing knowledge which he did not comprehend with clearness and precision. Had he lived long in the enjoyment of health, with his inquisitive mind he would doubtless have been distinguished for the *extent* of his knowledge, but, *as it was*, he was distinguished for its accuracy. He was a careful student of his daily lessons—he was a careful *thinker*—he was a close observer and a careful describer of scenes and events—he was a careful reader of books; and whatever he expressed in language, on any subject, was put down with precision.

Mr. Stearns was equally distinguished for the *completeness* of his education. He wisely kept up the balance of his mind by cultivating all his powers in due proportion. There was no branch of knowledge to which he directed his attention, in which he did not excel. He was perfectly at home in the school of metaphysics, and in the anatomical chamber; he entered into the imagination of Homer, and was carried away with the eloquence of Demosthenes; he admired Locke and Edwards for their profound reasoning, and he was competent to write with taste a criticism on the works of Byron.

It is seldom, that we find the foundations of the literary character laid so thoroughly, and at the same time the superstructure finished with such beauty. Others of his age have written as tastefully—others have reasoned as well—but it is exceedingly rare, that we meet with one who has combined the two, as he did. All his productions resembled the earth from which he was taken, and whither his frail body has been returned; solid and safe, and rich in material, yet delighting to deck itself in a beautiful dress of green.

There was a charming *simplicity* about his mind. His sermons, which are admired by the learned for their profound thought and good writing, were always received with pleasure by the most unlettered congregations. Perhaps as a preacher he was quite as impressive with the most ignorant, as with the finished scholar. He is a fair proof, that in order to enlighten and sway the cultivated mind, it is not necessary, that a preacher should soar above the comprehension of the weakest saint. No doubt it requires a long and patient discipline of the mind, to enable the speaker to attain such simplicity, without the sacri-

fice of dignity of style ; and to maintain a constant elevation of thought, without becoming unintelligible to any. But the example we have before us is evidence that such an attainment is not impossible. We know not where to refer for a better example of success in the most valued of all accomplishments in the ambassador of Christ. We commend it to the study of every candidate for the sacred profession.

There was in the mind of Mr. Stearns, a *maturity* altogether unusual in one of no more age and experience. His judgments in difficult cases were sagacious. He took *caution* and *time* before he decided, and seldom was it necessary to reverse his decisions. This accuracy and maturity of his mind were attributable, in part, to the peculiar construction of his mental frame, and in part to the care and wisdom of his early education. Many of his associates in study were in the habit of consulting him, as they would a father, on the best course of study to be pursued, and in emergencies of the utmost importance. And it is believed, that in all cases the wisdom of his advice has appeared greater with the lapse of time, although it frequently gave a turn to the conduct for life. There are not a few who are now pursuing different professions, or the same with different habits and prospects, from what would have been the case without the aid of his counsels. His judgments in regard to the controversies that have arisen in theology, were not seldom the means of enlightening the mind, and of allaying the feelings of such as were perplexed and excited. In any *new* system that was obtruded upon the world, he discovered, almost at a glance, the main points ; saw how far it was overrated by its author, and how far caricatured by its opponents. A few such minds ought to be stationed in every considerable section of our country, to guard the church of Christ from unholy collisions and causeless surmises.

In speaking of the mind of Mr. Stearns, and its cultivation, we have already glanced somewhat at the character of his moral dispositions. Little need be added. In friendship he was faithful and endeared. He was not hasty in the selection of his friends, but when chosen, they were dear to him, and their interests almost identified with his own. No one can read his memoirs without feeling, that his affection for his relatives was peculiarly strong and uniform. But there are others, not so much as alluded to in his printed letters, who will never cease to remember the many kind offices received at his hands. He had a heart to feel for all, and by his meek and instructive intercourse with his fellow men conciliated the esteem and love of a numerous circle of acquaintances.

As a preacher, Mr. Stearns was unusually successful. He was admired by the learned and by the unlearned. The man of taste was delighted with his eloquence, the inquiring mind was instructed, and the humble saint was fed with spiritual food. In some of the many places where he preached the gospel, he was in the midst of a revival of religion. It is known, that his feelings on such occasions became intensely enlisted, and in the exercise of those feelings he sometimes rose to a pitch of impassioned address, which is not attained in any of his published discourses. It is, and has been an interesting inquiry, what constituted the charm in his sermons, as delivered by himself. A part of the answer to the inquiry may be found in that excellent training of his mind, which has already been noticed. He was an accomplished scholar, a profound theologian, and a finished writer. But to be more particular. He had studied, with philosophical acumen, the art of influencing the minds of men. He chose a subject for his discourse which he knew to be adapted to the wants of the soul. He reflected upon it in private, until he had imbued his own mind with its pervading sentiments. He then wrote from the fullness of his heart. His subject was *one*. He never lost sight of it, and he never allowed his hearers to do so. The impression conveyed was not weakened by being diffused over a variety of topics. The rays of light were gradually concentrating through the whole discourse, till at length they became a burning focus, and cold was that heart which did not feel the warmth. Though his sermons abounded in thoughts, they were thoughts baptized in the heart's blood. There was a *glow* about all his sentences from beginning to end, with this difference, that it became vastly more intense near the close. He sometimes wrote with rapidity, but he prepared himself to write in the "soul's travail working in the deep places of thought." It may be said of him as has been said of Shakespeare, "long and sore had this man thought, as the knowing eye may discern well, and had dwelt and wrestled amid dark pains and throes—it was for him to write rapidly at intervals, being ready to do it; and herein lies the true secret of the matter; such swiftness of mere writing, after due energy of preparation, is doubtless the right method, *the hot furnace having long worked and simmered, let the pure gold flow out at one gush.*" His sermons were delivered with dignity and sincerity of manner, free from all affectation, and oftentimes with a tremulous voice induced by disease, which, being connected with the sickly appearance of his person, wrought much

upon the sympathies of his audience. And, withall, his prayers were such, in pathos and humility, in appropriateness to circumstances and fervor of intercession, as frequently to melt the assembly into a state of deep religious feeling, ere the discourse begun. Is it wonderful, that his preaching had effect?

But disease was preying upon his vitals long before he became a settled pastor. The sermons which he wrote with most power, are not those which he wrote last. There are passages in his address to the Porter Rhetorical Society, which are not exceeded by any thing he afterwards produced. His sermon on the text, "What think ye of Christ?" was conceived in Philadelphia, soon after he left the seminary at Andover; yet, in originality of illustration and vigor of execution, it is perhaps his best.

As his chief excellence lay in *thinking*, rather than reading, in drawing from his own mind, rather than from the minds of others, he belonged of course to that class of writers who rise fast with the progress of years, and are known, especially in their earlier developments of character, only to a chosen few. What, then, might not have been expected from his long continuance in the world? "Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints!"

It has been said, that disease produced a languor in the mind of Mr. Stearns, which made his later productions nothing superior to his earlier. To this remark we must make one exception. The scenes of the old world so roused up his faculties, that he wrote many pages in Europe, and especially in Italy, which are marked by all the peculiarities of his mind in its most healthful action. At the same time, they show how susceptible he was to the beauties of nature and art, and how strong a hold had been gained upon his mind by his classical studies. Witness the following description, as Rome first came in sight:

'A little further on, and the scene around us had not changed, but in the dim distant horizon rose towers, and turrets, and roofs. It was Rome! What a thrill! . . . As we turned a projecting point, on which were piles of ancient walls, at which we were gazing, the dome of St. Peter's stood full and clear before me. My eye eagerly caught the sight, and transmitted its emotion to my heart. Again the vision fled, and again it rose and stood full before me, and then bright, silvery waters glistened in the foreground—the waters of the Tiber. My heart throbbed and palpitated. In a moment we were crossing this magic stream. We stood over it upon the bridge Ponte Malle; we were beyond the rolling flood, among the villas of the ever rich, and proud, and magnificent city. . . . One singular impression has seemed to possess me more

than all others, ever since my arrival—an impression of being *at the center of the world*, the source of every thing great—of good and of bad—the *center* and the *source*!

But if disease weakened the mental powers, it unquestionably improved the moral feelings of Mr. Stearns. As the outer man was decaying, the inner was renewed. His intimate friends were always aware, that his religious character was higher than to strangers or less intimate acquaintances it seemed to be. He had such an aversion to display in religion, that he perhaps leaned to the opposite extreme. Cant phrases he abhorred. But yet, whatever may have been the strength of his religious feelings in the course of his education, he certainly *manifested* much more of the spirit of Christ, after disease had blighted all his earthly prospects. His letters from Europe and his journal abundantly prove this. His intercourse with his friends, during the last few months of his life, evinces the same. In Paris, whence his spirit took its upward flight, he seemed to be living in heaven, by something more than anticipation. His farewell letter, what a legacy it is to his christian survivors!

It is well, that his memoirs have been published. It is a book which theologians may read with profit. It will be particularly grateful to those numerous friends who are yet in the morning of life, and who will not only delight to trace the wanderings of the deceased anew by means of his writings, but will find in them many valuable hints as to the prosecution of their own labors as the servants of Jesus Christ.

It was on the steps of the hotel at Baltimore, that the writer parted with Mr. Stearns; after an intimate acquaintance of many years. We had visited the tomb of Washington in company, and listened to the eloquence of Clay in the senate chamber. But we forbear. The above is a slight tribute to the memory of one of the best of friends.

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### ART. III.—THE GROUND OF MORAL OBLIGATION.

THE question, In what lies the ultimate foundation of Moral Obligation? is one of interest, and its practical bearings are by no means unimportant. Many philosophers and divines have stumbled at it, and the false views which they have adopted have tinged their opinions on a variety of subjects with which it stands in close connection. Yet the true answer is not a dif-

difficult one, and we believe, that it may be exhibited with philosophical accuracy, and plain to the common sense of every unprejudiced person. We have seen a number of recent attempts in distinct essays and treatises of moral science, to trace out the source of moral obligation, but none of them, we confess, very satisfactory to our own minds; for while there is an indistinct vision of the truth, yet the lines are not drawn as they may be with analytic precision. In deciding this question, we must go as far as the powers of analysis will carry us, and so long as the inquiry, why? or, wherefore? which can receive an appropriate answer remains undetermined, we are not come to the naked truth. We have stopped short of the end in our investigation, though the path lies open before us, inviting us to enter; and instead of an ultimate principle, we have taken up with a subordinate or proximate one.

Yet in conducting the process of examination, it is important to render it as simple as we can, divesting the question of its usual, and in our own case, almost necessary, circumstantial relations; for in testing any principle, the question respecting it should stand out as far and clear as it may from adjuncts which, while they remain, may so modify its original character as to render an accurate knowledge of its intrinsic or essential import and value difficult, if not impracticable. Not a few have thus bewildered themselves, unwilling, it may be, to devote the requisite patience to a close scrutiny of the fallacies which have misled them, or perhaps contented with a mere approximation to the truth, instead of an actual grasp upon the very thing. Yet they have been not less confident in their authoritative condemnation of their brethren who could not be satisfied with so superficial an investigation, than if their glimmerings of belief and guess-work of philosophy were identical with the full sun-like effulgence of true mental and moral science. The subject in hand has suffered from such a cause, and the real object has been so crowded off by a variety of collateral ones, that the mind has lost sight of the true position of the simple question, and the original aim of the investigation is left unaccomplished.

The main difficulty, as it appears to us, in supplying the proper answer to the question, In what lies the ultimate foundation of moral obligation? and a prime cause of error in the views of many writers, is, that the inquiry is considered almost exclusively with respect to our relation to God as our moral governor. Hence it is, that instead of a broad generalization, which may include *every* variety of moral obligation, we are narrowed down to a specific position as subjects of authority, and as called



upon to obey a known law of the divine Sovereign. No christian philosopher will be hardy enough to deny the obligation of obedience to God—no one who can perceive and feel the relations he holds to such a being, but must admit, that the will of God is the proper rule of action for himself and for every intelligent being in the Creator's wide domain. It is in these circumstances of admitted obligation to our great moral governor—obligation from which no change of condition will ever release us—with the law of his kingdom set forth and enforced by its sanctions of irrefutable rectitude, that the question comes up for our consideration, and the almost instinctive reply of our feelings to it is, The will of God. Yet this clearly is not the end of the matter. The further question is certainly a proper one, *Why* ought we to obey the will of God? Whence arises the obligation to do as he commands us? Simple will in itself can create no obligation, for a being may will, that another shall do some specific act which lies wholly out of his power, and surely no one would say, that in this case obligation could be fastened on the subject. Nor can the mere exercise of authority lay the foundation of obligation, for this might be usurped, and such that it would be a duty rather to resist than to obey. But in case of God, no such supposition as usurped authority or mere arbitrary will, is admissible. How then does his will become obligatory, as that of a moral governor upon us? There must be some foundation for it—some cause or reason why He is properly the only being whose will we are, above all, bound to obey. If any one say, that creation is the ground, we ask, is it the ultimate ground? Is the bare fact of giving existence and sustaining it, sufficient to claim unremitted obedience?

Suppose that some malevolent being—every indication of whose will was that of a mighty power bent on our misery, had created us, and issued his law, an expression of his feelings, would there exist the same obligation to obedience? God has graciously proclaimed himself our moral governor, and his right over us is indisputable. But the ground on which that authority rests, or rather in which it consists, is appropriate character, infinite wisdom and benevolence. It is evident, that entire reliance could be placed on the promises of no other being. He is both our benefactor and our supreme ruler, and in the character of moral governor, especially, he is entitled to our warmest gratitude. The desire, which he so unweariedly exhibits, to bless us from the abundant fullness of his bounty, is decisive evidence, that he will not deceive us in the matter which relates to our highest interest. We are capable, too, of feeling

this truth, and being influenced by it ; and this fact at once develops the true secret as to the source of moral obligation. Were we incapable of sympathizing with him in this matter, there could be no bond fastened upon us. It is the ability we possess to appreciate his disposition to render us happy, and in view of it to derive enjoyment, that constitutes us the proper subjects of obligation. Were we thrown out of the reach of all constitutional capacity so to sympathize with him, his law and authority would be null as regards us. When we say, then, that we are bound to obey God, in admitting the obligation we are under to his authority, we bear these facts in mind, as known and as under their influence :—That he is just such a being as he is, infinitely wise and good, and that our highest welfare is connected with obedience. We feel the claim, therefore, to be a proper one, and the heart of every good man is gratified ; that is, he finds happiness in doing as he is commanded. But were our misery the only result of following the dictates of God's will—could there be no feeling of gratification in the act, (we do not say *in view* of the act, for we now wish to avoid the *objective* form of statement,) he might be exalted in power, he might be otherwise related to a different class of beings, but in us the force of obligation would be unfelt.

It seems plain, then, that the foundation of obligation must be looked for in something which is in us, and also in the moral governor, since there must be a sympathy of some kind established before there can be any claim to obedience, and since obligation is in some respects reciprocal. What that is, we have already hinted, and intend more fully to develop in our subsequent remarks. Our mere constitutional power to do a specific act commanded, would not of itself create any bond of obligation upon us to do that act, any more than our constitutional power to take poison, lays us under an obligation to take it ; any more than the natural power of God to proclaim a new revelation of the condition of the planets,—habitable or not,—imposes such an obligation on him. An end must be answered—a relation of good must be established, and there must be a link common to both parties, to form the connected chain of obligation between man and his Maker. There is, and there can be, no fitness in the case, which does not ultimately center in the fact, that the true welfare of both, and of course our own true and highest welfare, is to be secured. Give it what name we please—call it self-love, susceptibility to pleasure, constitutional love of happiness, or any thing else, yet this is the ultimate feeling in the operation of which the bond is fastened in the subject of moral

obligation, and the true ultimate foundation of moral obligation, is the tendency of an action to promote the highest happiness of an agent, by promoting the highest welfare of all. It is this view of the subject, which we intend to illustrate and defend in our subsequent remarks; and we hope our readers will bear in mind as we proceed, that whatever may be their judgment of our success, we protest against any suspicion, that we do not admit, in its entire length and breadth, the fact, that every moral agent, in every possible circumstance of his being, is bound to obey God as supreme.

It will be useful to advert for a single moment to the definition of a moral agent. Susceptibility or capacity and adaptedness to receive pleasure or pain from different objects; intellect, or a power to discern and judge between the tendencies of things; and will, or a power to choose between any object or action and its opposite; together with consequent self-approbation or self-reproach, in view of the thing so discerned and chosen;—these we consider the primary or constituent elements in a free moral agent. Of course, the inquiry as to moral obligation must respect such a being; and in all our remarks we wish to be understood to refer to no other, unless explicitly mentioned.

We begin then with the simplest form in which moral obligation can exist.—Let it be supposed, that there was but a single rational being in the whole universe. No matter now, whether finite or infinite; but he is a free moral agent. We ask, would there not be a *right* and a *wrong* in respect to the acts of such a being? What would be duty with regard to himself? What does common sense decide that such a being *ought* to do? What would he do? It seems to us most clear, that so far as he has any knowledge of the tendency of his actions, so far as he could discern the bearing of surrounding objects, he should seek to be as happy as possible. Were a specific course of action known to be productive of injury to himself—to lessen his enjoyment, is there one of our readers who would not say, that such a being would do *wrong*, that his conscience must reproach him, should he throw away so much of his happiness, should he choose a less, rather than a greater good? The bond of obligation fastens upon him precisely at this point of his highest good. The only rule which is existing in this case,—the end, the perfection of his being,—is, to procure all the happiness within his reach. It is only when every power is thus exercised and directed, that he is brought out to himself, in the highest degree. What higher end is it possible to pro-

pose to him? He ought not to prefer a less to a greater good; he ought not to choose a present inferior pleasure to a higher future one. The whole range of his existence, the whole capacity he possesses, so far as practicable, are to be kept steadfastly in view. No moral governor exists to control him; he owes allegiance to no one. Of course, there can be no law other than such as we have specified. He is his own ruler. He may do just what he chooses, limited only by his capacity. No one is there to interfere. But such a being is as *truly* bound to seek his own highest welfare,—as if he was under the government of the Most High. Here then we may clearly see, that a foundation of obligation exists,—a right and a wrong, irrespective of authority and government, or the will of a law-giver; and no force of authority can *create* obligation.

Should any one say, that the obligation is founded in the nature of things, we ask, then, What is this *nature of things*? This is a very indefinite term. It is the nature of a triangle to have three angles, and of a square to have four. It is the nature of fire to burn, and of a lion to tear his prey in pieces; but surely this is a different thing from the foundation of moral obligation, and makes no part of it. There must be a specific limitation of the term to some *one* thing; and what in the case supposed can this be but adaptedness to good or evil tendency, to happiness or otherwise? If this be meant, we have no dispute except as to the use of such a term to express this thing, while at other times the thing itself is so strenuously denied. It is indeed the nature of the being constituted as every moral agent must be, to seek happiness, to obtain good, if possible; and he perverts his nature when he does otherwise. His consciousness is all directed to record in memory the precise bearing which any particular action may have in exciting pleasurable or painful emotions; his intellect is perpetually laboring to devise ways and means to procure to himself enjoyment. His choice fastens on objects so far as they seem adapted to this end, and when the contrary effect results, his conscience reproaches him for having sacrificed some portion of his happiness, and brought upon himself evil. Is it possible, that there should be any exercise of moral agency without such a state of feeling? We confess, that we cannot conceive of any, and we have a perfect conviction, that every unprejudiced mind would form a similar judgment. Were there but a single being in the universe, he ought to be as happy as he can make himself. He would have a *right* to do so: to do otherwise, is wrong. Even if there existed besides himself creatures dependent on him,

but who were not moral beings, he must act in reference to this end. But has he a right, in such a case, to injure them, or to destroy their happiness? This is a question which yet further develops the nature of moral agency. The supposition is inadmissible, in the case supposed, that a moral agent can have any delight in mere misery. If the same end could be obtained without as well as with it, he must prefer it. We might just as well ask if he had a right to do wrong. There is an intrinsic absurdity in it, unless we suppose a case where to injure them becomes necessary to his own highest good. Is there then no obligation to impart happiness,—to defend and protect them? Certainly there is. And what is the ground of this? What sympathy can there be between this being and these irrational creatures, but simply a power of feeling pleasure or pain, though not the same in degree, nor exactly in every respect the same in kind. The only obligation, therefore, the only bond, which can be fastened on the moral being, is simply one which is founded in a tendency to promote the highest welfare both of himself and them. This is the general law which arises out of their condition.

But we proceed one step further. The being before supposed in solitude, finds another being similar to himself. Each has existed without any knowledge of the other. They are now brought into contact with each other. They are the only beings in the universe, and both are free moral agents. Either can increase or diminish the other's happiness. Acting together, and aiming at the highest enjoyment of both, both will be transcendently happy. Would there be no right or wrong here? Would there be no moral obligation with respect to each other? Ought either to lessen the common good? Ought either to impair the happiness of the other? The happiness of either is dear to himself. Neither is the superior to the other. Neither is the other's moral governor. No voice of authority is heard demanding obedience on the principles of authority; no sanctions to dread; no punishment to be inflicted, other than the reproach of conscience. And can this reproach be avoided, if either willfully injures the happiness of the other? If when alone, it would be wrong for either to injure his own happiness, can it be right, as one of two, to do the same, or impair the happiness of his fellow? Ought he to do so? Surely, there is no unprejudiced person who will contend, that it is not a proper use of language to say, that an obligation is resting on both these two beings to do what in them lies to benefit each other. The case seems to be this.—By the simple fact of the

existence of two beings in society, a rule arises to promote the mutual welfare and the general good. A bond exists in the sympathy established between them. The being who before, in a state of solitude, would injure himself solely, by a specific act, now injures also his fellow by injuring himself; for his fellow-being cannot know, that he thus injures his own happiness, without pain in the contemplation, or at least without knowing, that the happiness he himself would have had in seeing him perfectly happy, is taken away. His consciousness, that he was not accessory to the act, might indeed prevent him from any reproach of conscience, and consequently any pain. Now the agent thus injuring himself, having the knowledge, that in injuring himself he injured his fellow too, must be subjected to a reproach of conscience on this account likewise; for he too is capable of more happiness, when both are supremely happy: He takes away from his highest happiness, when he breaks up the sympathy which renders it proper, that he should act for the good of both. Of course the same is the case when he performs an action which strikes directly at the happiness of his fellow, or which inflicts on him pain. This relation of the wrong act of an agent, injuring himself, by indirectly taking from the happiness of his fellow, because of the bearing of his wrong action on his own happiness, is one which has not been sufficiently traced out, in reasoning on this subject.

The rule of confidence between two beings, so important to mutual welfare, is impaired, when either does any thing adverse to the happiness of the other. Distrust must succeed. But confidence is that which holds them together; and this confidence in the bosom of either is nothing more or less than the conviction, that his fellow will not mar his happiness, or impair the general good. It is proper, that it should be sustained. No such thing as social feeling can exist without it; and in the case supposed, social feeling is necessary to both, as a means of securing the highest end of their being. The obligation of both is to the same identical course of conduct. What creates this obligation? Will it be said, the nature of things? But what is the nature of things? That there are two beings existing,—this fact simply cannot furnish it. For did they know nothing of each other, or if they knew each other, yet did they possess no knowledge, that they could in any way affect each other's welfare, could there be any obligation to each other. The whole force of obligation, therefore, rests in the fact, that they exist with capacities to affect each other for good or for evil, and that they know it. The moment this is admitted, a

sympathy is established, a bond of moral obligation is fastened. There is that in them to which an appeal may be made, and the appeal can be felt. Reproach of conscience must follow the neglect to benefit each other; and this is decisive evidence that obligation exists. The right and the wrong consists in the doing or not doing good, or what tends to happiness to one's self, and to his fellow being. It is not *right*, it is *wrong*, thus to mar the enjoyment of both. Yet here is no law of a moral governor,—no authority. Obligation exists perfectly without either. The only law in the case is that which results from the bearing of their actions on the common happiness, and hence, as will be further shown, on the highest welfare of either. The two beings in the case supposed, cannot exist without it: they are moral agents in society, and every such being holds his own, and a portion of the happiness of his fellow, in his own hands. Combining their efforts, they may secure the greatest good possible. Failing or refusing so to coöperate, they can only attain a lesser good. It is clear, that if the former course be *right*,—as it is,—the latter is *wrong*,—a violation of moral obligation. The conscience of a free moral agent, in such a case, must condemn him, if he does otherwise than he would that his fellow-being should do to him. His own happiness may be increased or lessened by the conduct of his fellow-being. He has a right to demand, that his fellow-being should not injure him. But were both independent of each other,—the happiness of one in no manner or degree affected by the other,—neither could possess any right in relation to his fellow.

We see, then, that the right and wrong relate to, or spring out of the tendency to the happiness of each. Now as a matter of fact, such is the constitution of a moral agent, that the highest good of each coincides with the highest general good, more or less, for in no other way than in thus promoting, so far as practicable to himself, the highest common happiness, can such a being secure his own highest happiness. The supposition, that in any case he should be under obligation to yield up his entire happiness to promote the happiness of another, is, by the very terms, an absurdity. He must become a different being in kind from a moral agent, in order to do it, and so must be the moral being whose happiness is to be promoted, in other words, cease to be a moral being. Entire misery can in no circumstances become a matter of preference to him, or to any other being. Were we to suppose an indefinite number of beings existing in society, the case would not be altered. He is one of them. It is true, that, abstractly considered, the happiness of

one is of less value than the happiness of ten beings of equal capacity. But it cannot be, that the happiness of the ten would be equal to that of the whole eleven, supposing them equal in capacity. Their highest happiness can be secured only by seeking and securing, as far as practicable, the happiness of each other and all; so that no moral circumstances can ever render it preferable, that one should be miserable, than that all should become as happy as possible. By the terms of the supposition there is no moral governor,—there is no authority. There is a general law of society in the case supposed, and this rests on the bearing of individual and of combined action to promote general happiness, in order to secure the end of his being, as respects every individual; that is his own highest welfare. It is a greater injury to each and to all, in the case supposed, to have such a general law of society broken down, than to have evil inflicted on its violator, and the others may combine to punish the violator, and this too they may do benevolently, since it is for his happiness, as well as for their own, that confidence the bond of happiness,—a determination to seek his highest happiness in its only true way by promoting the general good,—should be unimpaired. Such suppositions, therefore, based on the loss of the happiness of one, or of a number of beings, overlook the whole constitution of moral being, and are no more relevant than any other absurdity which might be proposed. No moral being can desire another's misery as a means of the highest good of himself; for his highest good can only be secured by promoting the happiness of others. The case of a moral governor inflicting punishment will come up hereafter for our consideration.

Thus far we have seen, that obligation will exist in solitude, or among equals in society, without authority or a moral governor. But here it may be objected, The case will be different, the moment we suppose a superior or a moral governor, as is the case with man under God's government. It is important, therefore, to examine this position. We have seen, that moral obligation *can* exist without a moral governor. Of course, the will of a superior cannot be the ultimate foundation of obligation. Yet, may not specific obligation arise on this account? Here, we apprehend, is the fallacy. The fact that there is a superior, a moral governor, it is at once seen, gives rise to relations which did not before exist. Among these is the obligation of obedience to authority. The question is then no longer the general one, What is the true ultimate foundation of moral obligation? but, Why is the inferior bound to obey



the superior? What relation does the *will* of the lawgiver hold to this subject? That there is some relation, is admitted. But what is its nature? His will simply, evidently does not *create* it. This exists in every moral agent, however he may be situated. The existence of a superior being at the same time with inferiors, does not change the nature of moral agency. Certain elements enter into it, and would were there no created beings. New relations spring up with every new being, and with every new circumstance of existence. But the fact, that this is moral agency, is unaltered by all these new relations. Its nature will remain the same; for, take away any of its elements, it is something else, not moral agency. Let us, however, examine more closely this relation to a moral governor. We have already referred to a rule which must exist in the case of any two beings, and the importance, that the bond of confidence be unimpaired. Now this is equally the fact in the case where one of these beings is superior to the other. The rule exists, and what its foundation is we have seen. As a matter of fact, it exists, however it is made known, and the tendency, or bearing, or relation to happiness, whence it arises, would exist even if the rule or law was unknown. It is the province of the moral governor to make this truth known, and to sustain it. The fact, that he is *such* a being,—that he is competent to the task,—forms a reason why he should be obeyed. In this competency, his capacity to judge what is *best*, what is most productive of good or of happiness, and his disposition to do it,—in other words, his infinite wisdom and benevolence,—is the prime element to be taken into the account. Divested of these, suppose him weak, partial, or bent on inflicting misery, there could be no sympathy, nothing in which the bond of obedience could be fastened. The conscience would not reproach the moral agent for disobedience to his commands. Fear might drive to the performance of acts, from which the spirit smarting under a sense of injustice would revolt. Regret might exist for the necessity which forced to such action; but self-reproach, as having done *wrong* in refusing it, never. The voice of authority would meet with no response, or rather it would be dumb, for no qualification would exist on which it might be founded. A sense of right to be happy, the renunciation of that government which sought his misery only, would be found active and lively in the breast of the free moral agent.

Perhaps, however, some may object, that there is in every moral agent a susceptibility to a love of righteousness, and that this sense of righteousness is the foundation of moral obligation.

But what is a susceptibility? It is a capacity for feeling,—feeling what? we ask. Either pleasure or pain in some of its degrees. Why too is righteousness or justice better than injustice? Is it said, because it is in accordance with the nature of things. But what nature of things? Some particular relation must be pointed out in the use of such a term, or we mean nothing. It is a phrase very convenient indeed to system-mongers, but what does it mean? We have to come back to the tendency to good or evil, pleasure or pain, happiness or unhappiness. The same relation is implied in saying, that righteousness or justice is *better*, or preferable to injustice or oppression. How better? In what respect preferable? What fitness or adaptedness has it, unless to good; and what is good, except so far as it tends to promote happiness? Is it not the universal voice of nature, that any thing which tends solely to destroy happiness is evil, and evil only, and that which secures perfect happiness is good. We know, that some persons talk and write as if sin were an indispensable means of good. Such a doctrine, however, we are confident, finds no response in the unperturbed conscience.

But we may be asked, Does not the bible tell us, that we are bound to follow the *will* of God in all things? This we have never denied. His authority is over us, his law is binding upon us. This, however, is quite a different thing from saying, that the will of God *creates* this obligation, or that its *foundation* is in the will of God. On what ground is obedience claimed? It is, that the law is holy, just, and good. The very reason which God assigns is, that it is *good*—that it is the surest way of making us most happy. His declaration in the form of his law, is the highest evidence which we have of the fact, for it is the testimony of one who sees in all things the end from the beginning, and who has no disposition to mislead us; but who, with all the sincerity of infinite love, seeks to promote our highest happiness. And here we apprehend is the point of the fallacy which men practice upon themselves, as to the question of the ground of moral obligation. Men do not distinguish between God's competency to discern and to make known to us the way of happiness, and his creating a particular line of conduct right or wrong. We are guilty and self-condemned because we reject the highest evidence in the case, making known the right and the wrong, not because God has, by his own will, made this or that action to be right or wrong.

It may be said, that God creates our constitution, and thus makes a particular course of action right or wrong, through the

operation of conscience implanted within us to express his will. The true way to test this question, however, is to inquire whether a complete moral agent could be created without a constitution which, in its elementary principles, should be thus adapted to secure his highest happiness in such a line of conduct. We know of no evidence, that it could be done ; we cannot conceive of the fact, and should any one assert it possible, to him belongs the task of proving it. If the thing were impossible, then the necessity existed antecedent to creation, and God in doing what he has done, has only been taking the surest course to secure his own blessedness, by aiming to promote that of all. The law he has imposed is one which only expresses, in the most clear and decisive manner, the truth, that such is the nature of moral agency, such is the bearing of action on the highest welfare of the agent—this end is to be secured by a specific course of action, and in no other. There is a propriety in having the sustaining of this law in the hands of a being who is competent to fulfill or carry out its beneficial results, though precisely the same course of conduct, so far as the case admits the supposition, would be right and the opposite wrong, were there no such thing as a moral governor, no authority over us. No mere enactment of a superior being, exercising the prerogative of government, can alter the essential qualities of moral actions—can make right or wrong in any given circumstances, to change places. A moral governor cannot make it right to do wrong, for this is an absurdity in terms. The great relation which he bears to the whole, the infinite supremacy of his own blessedness to be secured by aiming, in all things, to promote the highest general good, as every moral agent is under obligation to do, may require that he should, because the greatest good demands it, punish or inflict evil, and thus take away the happiness of individuals. The various elements of society must be harmonized in the best possible way—that which will produce the least evil, which confers the greatest happiness. The same superior wisdom which qualifies him to testify wherein lies the true welfare of the moral beings under his government, also qualifies him to discern when such an exercise of his power in the infliction of evil is necessary ; and the same benevolence which prompts him to reveal the truth, either in the constitution or by his proclaimed law, as he has done, also furnishes a sure guaranty, that when he punishes or mars the happiness of any individual, it is because the establishment of that very law—originally aiming to secure the individual transgressor's own highest happiness, as well as that of every

other throughout the universe—demands the moral governor so to execute its sanctions.

The question under consideration may, however, be yet further illustrated by a reference to the *nature* itself of *moral* government. Moral government is a government, or system of authority, not by physical force, but by moral influences or motives—an influence of authority devised to secure right action. No other could be predicated of free moral agents, who are to be the subjects of praise or blame. Now motives can operate in no other way, than as they appeal to some susceptibility in the agent. The desire of good, of happiness in some shape or other, must actuate him. It is either good to be secured, or evil to be avoided. For what hope of success in influencing any moral agent could there be, were the inducement to action only his own unalloyed misery. The constitutional love of happiness must prompt the agent, or he will never act. This is the spring of all his activity. We do not mean, that it is the *objective* reason, but it is the *subjective* one. This is a distinction which is often conveniently overlooked, and the question, In what lies the foundation of moral obligation? is made to assume the *objective* form; whereas, the ultimate ground of moral obligation must ever be a *subjective* one. A want of attention to this distinction, is the source of numerous objections which have been urged against the view we are aiming to sustain, which, by a proper regard to it, will be seen to be entirely irrelevant. Considering moral obligation in reference to an established moral government, it is the relation of a subject to a system of motives or moral influences directed to specific action, called right action, which influences are nothing except so far as they appeal to a desire of good, in some shape or other. It must, therefore, refer to the moral agent's capacity of being thus influenced; in other words, substituting the meaning for the terms above mentioned:—Moral obligation is a specific relation of the moral agent, to the good to be derived from his correspondence and sympathy with that infinite wisdom and benevolence, which points out his highest welfare as coincident only with the highest general good.

The relation of a moral government to him, is that of a means to an end. The ultimate end, that is, the subjective one, is happiness. God's holy law is the declaration of infinite wisdom and goodness, that herein lies his highest welfare. Through obedience, acting as it prescribes, he may be completely blessed. The aim to be kept in view by every being, the highest perfection of which he is capable, is such an employ-

ment of his faculties as will secure, so far as is practicable, for himself his own highest welfare, inseparable from the general good. The means, and the indispensable means, is in following out the indications of infinite wisdom—yielding to the influences which are pointing in the direction of perfection in blessedness. The highest possible or conceivable happiness may not be secured by his own action, but so long as it is in no degree owing to any deficiency on his part, he has no self-reproach to feel. Were the circumstances other than they are, he might enjoy a still greater degree of happiness, from the actual happiness of all reflected back to himself; but he cannot be unhappy, because nothing is wanting, that is practicable, on his own part, toward securing this result, and he has the pleasure of that reflected happiness as designed, though it has not been actually secured, because of the fault of some other.

We may here advert to a common objection against the view we have attempted to maintain. It will perhaps be said, that by making moral obligation to rest on the tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent, we make it wholly a *selfish* thing. This objection may serve the purposes of those who choose to urge it; but surely any one, except such as are willfully blind, can see the difference between a mere exclusive regard or preference to one's enjoyment, a voluntary act which is selfishness, and a simple constitutional desire for happiness, the prompting of nature itself, without any reference at all to a choice of means. Were this all in the case, it would be free from the objection. But it is not. Such an exclusive preference of individual enjoyment, cannot, in the very terms of it, coincide with the general good, for it implies a willingness to sacrifice it; it is not, therefore, and cannot be, a choice of our own highest welfare, since the only possible way in which this end can be secured, is in aiming, in the way of means, at the general welfare. The full gratification, in the highest possible degree, of the constitutional love of happiness, is in the choice,—the purpose to execute it so far as practicable,—of contributing in the utmost degree to the general good. It is only, therefore, by keeping out of view the fact, of this inseparable connection of the means with the end, and by confounding the term selfishness with self-love, or a mere constitutional desire of happiness prompting every action, that any plausibility can for a moment be given to the objection. This objection too utterly disregards the distinction between the objective and the subjective reason. We do not mean the objective motive or cause, or that specific object, whatever it may be, which is at the moment of

choice, *in view* of the mind, and which influences to the specific decision ; but we mean, that deep laid spring which sets in motion the activity of a moral being. It seems to be taken for granted in the objection, that the particular thought of one's welfare must be distinctly *in view* of the mind, and the question must be, how much happiness shall I obtain by the performance or the non-performance, and the balance is to be struck accordingly. But by the very constitution of a moral agent, the fact is decided, that the highest welfare of the agent lies in aiming at the general good, it is to be secured in this way, and in no other. The ulterior question, therefore, need not come up to view in any form, at every step of the mind's determination. What, too, actually is the *means* of securing this ultimate end, linked in with the other, is decided and declared by the expressive announcement of Heaven, so that the *objective* form of the question may come up decidedly in reference to the law of God. Though this, however, be the form which it wears, the question of the true source, or ultimate ground, of moral obligation, must be traced back to the *subjective* reason—the tendency to the highest good of the moral agent, not as referring to a selfish and exclusive choice of his own enjoyment, but a longing for happiness, and seeking for it in the only way in which in its full perfection, it can rightly be secured, by aiming to promote the happiness of all.

The failure to notice the distinction to which we have referred, is the occasion of another error or fallacy in the views of some on this subject. They seem to consider the question, whence we derive our ideas of moral obligation, as identical with this, What is the ultimate foundation of moral obligation ? But the two are plainly distinct. The *idea* of moral obligation, is objective in its form ; it is the *view* which is before the mind. Now it is perfectly consistent with this objective form, that the ultimate foundation of moral obligation should be, as subjective, what we have represented, and yet the derivation of the idea should be from the proximate or subordinate, something short of the subjective, ground. Here, we believe, is the fallacy of a late writer on moral science, whose opinion we had occasion to controvert in a former number of this work. His reasoning respects the objective form, so that his argument does not apply to the subjective ground of obligation.

Should it be said, that on our theory there is no sure standard of morality, that every one is to judge for himself, we meet this objection by the fact, that in the very constitution of a moral agent, there is such a plain manifestation of a connection be-

tween certain actions and happiness, that the unperverted mind cannot mistake the great law of society and moral government; and provision is also made by which, in the form of authority, the ignorance existing may be aided. Take the simplest form of moral government, that of a parent over the child; as soon as the child can understand the difference of actions, in their tendencies to good or evil, he knows, that obedience is his duty. The whole difficulty lies, not in the varying character of the great rule of action, but in its application to specific cases, and the same difficulty presses us on any theory; for admit, that the will of God is the foundation of moral obligation, or that it lies in the nature of things, yet quite as extensive knowledge is needed of the will of God, or of the nature of things, in their application to specific questions, as there is of the tendencies of acts to good or evil. A moral agent may know, that certain actions make him happy, free from any reproaches of conscience, and certain others are so accompanied by self-reproach, as well as he can, that certain acts do or do not correspond with a natural piety or moral sense.

The view we have thus taken, covers the whole ground, which none other does. This is a point deserving notice in its favor. The different theories are shown to be reconcilable on our ground, while they are not so short of it. Does any one hold, that the will of God is the foundation of moral obligation, we show, that this, when carefully examined, can mean nothing more than the objective ground, or the indication or proof to us, wherein our true welfare lies, so as to supply to us our defect of knowledge; if it be said to be in the nature of things we show, that by this phrase must be meant the relation of an action to the highest good; or, if moral fitness, then we show, that this fitness is only the relation of means to the end,—happiness. Thus our view covers the whole ground, in every conceivable condition of moral being—in solitude or society, without or with a moral governor; and in no circumstances can a moral agent be freed from moral obligation, the same in *kind*, and resting on precisely the same foundation. The ground is unalterable. It can no more be varied than immutable truth, for it is truth.

One word here in reference to another fallacy, which exists on this subject. It is the neglect to discriminate between the ground and the *measure* of obligation. Obligation, the same in *kind*, resting on precisely the same ultimate ground—the tendency of an action to promote happiness—may vary immensely in degree. The highest possible degree, exists in the

case where, other things being equal, the highest possible evidence, as to the bearing of actions, is furnished. And from the highest to the lowest degree, the *measure* of obligation is susceptible of an almost infinite diversity. We mean, in all cases of course, that the constitutional capacity of the being is perfect. The *measure* of obligation, therefore, other things being equal, corresponds with the means of knowledge. The declaration of infinite wisdom and benevolence—the evidence he furnishes us, of course measure out our obligations more perfectly than any other rule. Yet any authority or government, the declaration of which may be proper evidence, will also possess a similar relation in kind. Mistaking the measure of obligation for the ground of obligation—perceiving the propriety of obedience to the will of God in all things, no doubt many have been led to adopt an incorrect notion of this subject; and in their fear, lest the undeniable claims of heaven should be abjured, they have strenuously contended for their own view, as if it was a matter of revelation itself.

The question respecting *expediency* is one, too, closely connected with the subject before us. Many persons seem to regard with horror the position, that expediency is to be our guide, in particular conduct. But this term, as we use it, means nothing more than the suitableness or tendency of an action to promote the highest happiness, so far as we can best discern this tendency. The necessity of a resort to it in any case arises, from the imperfection of our knowledge, as relates to the application of the great rule of action, in particular cases. Whenever the will of God is clearly made known, we have decisive evidence as to what is expediency. His judgment is founded on the perceived relations of actions to the greatest good. In all other cases we must act according to the best and surest means of knowledge within our reach. This rule of action is the rule of expediency. The term, as well as that of *policy*, has acquired a bad reputation, so that those who choose to fix the attention on the term, rather than the thing meant, often raise a loud outcry, and excite prejudice towards others who may use it; with how much fairness, any one can judge. In some cases, too, the word points to present effects or relations, rather than to those of the whole, past, present, and future, and means suitableness to some present or merely temporary end. This is not the use of the term we now have in view. Nor, were we to reject expediency as a guide in the application of the general rule in specific cases, should we avoid the point on which the objection, if urged, must rest. For, suppose that we resort to an



intuitive conscience or moral sense, yet, does this unerringly tell us, in specific cases, how to apply the great rule of action? There must be a judgment formed; in other words, there must be a resort to means of knowledge within our reach, and we must decide accordingly. In saying, therefore, we are to be governed by expediency, we do not admit, that we are to reject a greater known good on the whole, for a less one, or that the simple question of means to some particular end only is to be regarded, irrespective of its bearings on the highest general welfare. Such is not the kind of expediency we advocate. We mean such a relation of means to an end, such a correspondence with what is proper, as, so far as we can know, exists, and which, in our aiming to act for our highest welfare, or the greatest good, is the true course for us to pursue. If any one choose to find fault with a resort to such a guide, we are content to leave them to their fancied superiority, and bear their censure.

We might extend our remarks on kindred topics, to an almost indefinite length, but it seems proper to bring them to a close. We cannot, however, avoid a suggestion or two of a more practical nature.

And in the first place, we would refer to the development thus made, of the *importance* of God's moral government. The human heart, in all its blindness and perversity, often utters its complaint against the moral government of God, for his issuing such laws and imposing such sanctions as he has done. But if we are right in our reasoning, he could do no otherwise. Moral government is nothing but a system of wise influences, to carry out the appropriate tendencies of things, the bearings of which exist in the elementary constitution of moral agency. The obligation to act as his law prescribes exists with the existence of the moral being so constituted, independently of his law; and were God to prescribe to such a being an opposite course of conduct to that which he does, it would be wrong. We might not, in specific cases, be able to discern the precise thing to be done, but he would know it, and the fact would remain the same. We do however know, that it is only by loving God supremely and our fellow creatures impartially, we can be most happy. Now this would be right, and the contrary to it would be wrong, were there no revealed law; a law exists in the very nature of moral agency in the circumstances supposed. It is inseparable from the condition of a free moral agent, existing in connection with knowledge of a superior in wisdom and goodness, that is, under a moral government. As a conservator of the public good, God has a right, and hence is under an obligation to en-

act such particular sanctions, and to execute them, as a part of that system of influence, which is indispensable to the end to be secured—the greatest general good. For it is in this way his own blessedness is to be secured. There is a rule of right and wrong for Him, a law of moral action, as truly as there is for us ; and could the supposition be admitted, that he should go contrary to it, he could no more avoid self-reproach than do his subjects, when they violate their obligations. This law is, that he should make known to his subject the true method of securing his highest happiness, and aid him in accomplishing it, so far as the general good allows any particular interposition of his own. Beings who are moral agents, must be created, or there cannot be that high state of happiness possible both in their welfare enjoyed, and in the consciousness to him of imparting it. In such beings, of necessity there must be a conscience or moral sense, and thus happiness, the highest degree possible, is put within the reach of every intelligent creature. But He who is infinitely above all, can in no way communicate or impart so great a degree of good, as in presenting himself to be loved, for he is worthy of supreme affection. Then is the measure of felicity full to overflowing, when such a harmony exists between man and his Maker ; for in proportion to the worth of an object, in other words, in proportion to the tendency to promote good, must be the regard cherished for it, if we would be happy. The absolute perfection of the Deity, secures against the possibility of mistake or deception. His will, however expressed to us, is the highest testimony within our reach. Were there no moral governor, no rule of action thus set forth, the finite being might mistake from deficiency of knowledge in specific cases. God, then, is not to be blamed, but to be loved and honored, for proclaiming and enforcing his law. It is just what an infinitely perfect being must do, or forfeit his claim to perfection. He has imposed on his creatures nothing as duty, even in specific enactments, but what would exist were there no published law ; provided any way existed in which the relation of the action performed or forbidden to his highest welfare, could be in any way ascertained. Even in cases of positive enactments, where some specific action is commanded, the wisdom or the tendency of which to promote the highest welfare cannot be seen by us, finite as we are, or in which the whole tendency seems to impair happiness, the moral obligation to perform it rests on the same great foundation as in any other case ; for the competency of God to judge respecting it, we cannot doubt, so far as the means of knowledge are fur-

nished us, renders it certain, that though we do not see it, yet he sees the particular thing prescribed, to have such a bearing on the highest happiness, and for this reason prescribes it. It may be, the specific act is part of a system of means to accomplish some end, which end we may be able to discover to be subordinate, and hence a means to the great ultimate end; but whether or not we can so discern the connection, either of the act to the subordinate end, or the subordinate end to the great ultimate one, the very fact, that he requires it, places it on the same ground of moral obligation.

Let it be supposed, that God exercised no moral government over us: could he be blessed as he now is? could we be as happy as we now are? He must know, that a vast number of intelligent creatures existed with capacities to be under such a government, to whom it was in his power to impart the conviction, that they were under a righteous moral governor, and yet he refused to do it, and he must reproach himself for a want of benevolence. His creatures must be left the sport of caprice, in some instances ignorant, it may be culpably so, of what was the true tendency of actions, and hence left to mar each other's welfare, without any rectification of their conduct. Anarchy, instead of order, might be the result, and the wondrous spectacle might be exhibited of a universe all wrong, both the Creator and the creatures. From such an abhorrent supposition the fact of a moral government relieves us. Order is restored. God is on the throne, an infinitely perfect, all-wise and benevolent being, and it is the privilege of his creatures to know, that their highest happiness consists in following the path of obedience which he points out to them. They need not err, if they read his counsels aright; for passion cannot blind him, ignorance cannot prevent him from seeing the truth, and evil desires cannot move him to withhold it. The same remark we have made with regard to God's great moral government apply—limited as the limitation in perfection is—to every species of moral government. All these are the means to the great end, and are to be regarded accordingly. Society is thus constituted according to our Creator's wise ordinance on successive and subordinate developments of the same great principle which he himself follows out in his universal moral government. All the authority of the subordinates is from him, and for the same end they are held responsible.

Another point of interest, and closely connected with the former, is the *supremacy* of God's universal government. There is no being throughout the wide universe like him, in infinite

perfection and blessedness. There is no one else to whom belongs creating and preserving power, or who with the glance of his omniscient ken, can look through all things from their beginning to their end, and discern the bearings they possess on the universal good. He it is, who has fashioned all intelligent agents, and written in their very constitutions the decisions of truth, so as forever to leave them without excuse, if they depart from the line of conduct which is there prescribed them. He it is, who has created a vast system of moral government, beneath the influences of which are gathered moral beings of various degrees of capacity, from the archangel and seraph, to the inhabitant of this our world. Throughout all these ranks of intelligent being, he has spread abroad the claims of his supremacy, nor is there one other who can arrogate the homage which is his due. The reasonableness of his demands are incontestible, and with that knowledge which qualifies him to discern, and that benevolence which assures us of justice, he, by his arrangements of creation and providence, has constituted society and government, and bound to his throne all the sources of authority under him; making it our duty to render obedience to those who rule over us, because he demands it of us, and he is the supreme authority and the moral governor of all. Fearful, therefore, are the responsibilities of those who are set over others—of rulers, parents, masters, and guardians; for they are to bear a part in the great system of moral influences to carry forward moral beings every where to their perfection. To violate the law of moral action, and to withhold from happiness, it may be, myriads, as they do who act from passion or party-feeling unmindful of the commandments of heaven, imposes upon them a dreadful load of wrong to be answered for in the day of final retribution.

So is it in a measure, too, with every moral being. His responsibilities to the supreme authority, reaches farther than he can now fully estimate. The great law of his Maker and moral governor is binding upon him; in every variety of situation, the law of love to God and love to his fellow creatures throws out its thousand-fold claims, for he is in a universe of moral beings, and under the government of an infinitely perfect ruler. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without the notice of that God. His wakeful eye is on every creature he has formed and sustains, and it is for the purpose of directing and urging them on to the fulfillment of the true end of their moral being, that he provides and governs. Every duty then, every design, every hope and every desire of those beings, is connected with the inter-

ests of his supremacy. The true tendency of every moral action should be to uphold it; the highest reach of the spirit, in its immortal longings to become more closely identified with its glories; and the blissful reality promised in that spirit's hopes should continually waken his energies to press forward to this mark for the prize of his high calling in God. It is the path, and the only true path of his happiness, to acknowledge and to feel the claims of the great moral governor; for he who has unerringly scanned all that such a being can do to become perfect in happiness, sits on the throne of dominion to order the circumstances of existence, if possible, to bring out such a correspondence of universal action with what is true. It is on this account, that obedience is directly urged upon us as our duty, and we are surrounded every where with monitors to remind us of our obligations to serve him. It would be a departure from all the principles of right moral action, to give the highest place to any other; for no other is so worthy; no other has done so much for us; no other can so bless us; no other is supreme. It is when the supremacy of God is allowed to hold its proper place in the affections of every moral being, that all are blessed. It is then, that the minds and hearts which reach forth to secure their appropriate aim, find it and rest contented and secure. No evil can harm a universe which thus lies sleeping in the hollow of his hand; and around which, when they go forth to perform his bidding, is ever thrown the guardianship of his almighty power. The motives which call forth their energies and prompt activity, are set in order and directed by his wisdom. His love lets fall upon them, as they gratefully look up to the source of every blessing, new tokens of his bounty, and pours into their bosoms the sweet reflection, that all is in harmony at home and abroad, between their fellow beings and their Creator. Such is the practical influence of God's supremacy, when rightly seen and universally acknowledged.

Another practical bearing of the view we have maintained, relates to the *evil of sin*. Sin is indeed a violation of God's law,—a spirit of disregard for his authority. It is evil, wholly evil. But the reason of this is, that it strikes deeper than a mere renunciation of the authority of the moral governor. It is because the authority and government of God bear such a relation to the happiness of all beings,—a relation of the indispensable means to the highest end. The foundation of obligation to obedience goes down into the fundamental nature of all moral agency, and the tendency of actions to promote or destroy the highest happiness of the moral being,—of every moral

being. Renunciation of God's authority in the case supposed, would, if followed out, lead to such an utter disruption of society. Sin is therefore the doing that, the whole appropriate bearing of which is to destroy a fundamental principle of moral being. It is,—viewing the act in its true relations,—the breaking up of the order of our very constitution as moral agents, and rejecting our own and the highest welfare of all ; thus subjecting us to the self-reproach which we must sooner or later feel. The connection and the consequences are as sure as existence itself. Let the true bearings of actions be seen and known, and, so long as persisted in, God himself could not make such a moral being happy. For heaven, or any other place in the universe, could not relieve the moral being thus situated from the self-reproach which in the nature itself of moral agency he must feel, knowing that he had chosen to slight the means of being as happy as he might be. What an evil then is sin ! Were it merely the violation of an enactment proclaimed by some other being, and thus resting on arbitrary will, the transgressor might seek a relief for conscience in the idea, that there might be no reason for the command. But every enactment of God is based on the tendency to promote happiness. It is goodness urging the moral being to be as happy as possible. This conviction then clings to the transgressor wherever he goes. It will point the shaft, and drive it deeper into his bosom, that he might have been as happy as his nature would allow, but he has thrown away from him the hand that was proffered to guide him, and stifled, so far as he could, the voice that made known the way of life. Can any evil be too great for those who incorrigibly persist in so maddened a purpose of self-destruction ? The tendency is to the annihilation of all good in moral beings. Nothing short of the finally realizing of this result in his own case, would seem the appropriate punishment.

Perhaps it may here be said, If this is the evil of sin,—the disregard of the agent's highest welfare,—and if this oftentimes results from a state of ignorance, then the only remedy necessary is to supply the requisite knowledge,—to enlighten the mind. Such assertions have been repeated time and again ; but their speciousness consists simply in overlooking the great fact of the constitution of a moral being, that his highest welfare can only be secured by promoting the welfare of others, and the fundamental principle, that in no state of moral agency can there be so much ignorance, that some degree of knowledge does not exist as to this great law of moral action. Con-

science, God's vicegerent within him, at least may let the moral being know thus much, if no more. It is the choice of some present inferior good to the higher and lasting good, and this notwithstanding the reproach of conscience, which constitutes sin. Hence it is not merely more light or knowledge, that is needed; a radical reformation is necessary; the bent of the soul to escape from the true path which leads to the highest good, and to plunge into some other which ends only in inferior and present gratification, must be corrected; a correspondent exercise of the moral faculties, with the true tendency as respects the highest happiness, must be brought out, or in other words, the change is one of the governing purposes of a moral agent. Then, and then only, will the force of moral obligation be felt as it should be, and the power put forth into action to meet it,—when the heart is right,—when the purpose has been formed to be as happy as possible, and in the only way in which this is possible, by acting so as to promote the general good. Whether or not such a degree of mere knowledge or light is practicable to any being, as without any further direct influence of God might cause the moral being to change his governing purpose, it is of no consequence to inquire, for we have no means of determining; and the case supposed, we are certain, *will* never take place. It is enough for us to know, that sin is a thing so radical in its character, so subversive of the very elements of moral being, that it must be reached by as radical a change or cure. God cannot view it with any thing but the utmost abhorrence; for he sees it just as it is—rending away, if it were possible, all the ties which bind the subject to his supreme ruler, and striking a death-blow at all existing, and preventing all conceivable, happiness. Nothing short of the utter annihilation of all moral being, so far as regards the appropriate tendencies of his elementary constitution, could be the result, were sin to do all its evil work. Such, too, is the constitution of moral agency, that the being who has once broken over the barriers of his obligation, and entered upon the purpose of rebellion, will continue in his desperate course, unless sovereign grace arrest him and bring him to choose the way of life. For he has of his own free act, cast away the hope of his highest happiness, and with the consciousness, that he ought not, he has adopted an inferior good, selfishly giving up himself to mere present gratification, thus showing how utterly estranged he is from the high principle of aiming at the perfection of his being, and carrying out the benevolent design of his existence. His obligation must forever remain unchangeable, and yet his heart

is reluctant to its exercise. Who can estimate the wretchedness of such a being, when conscience wakes its slumbering energies, to reproach him with his own ruin, and the tendency of his transgression to destroy the happiness of all !

On this account, the proper view of the ultimate ground of moral obligation, is of great importance. Impressed upon the mind of the preacher, it will enable him, without bringing any particular theory formally into the pulpit, to urge home the great facts on which it is based, so as to fasten the deeper conviction in the conscience of his hearers, of their lost situation without Christ, and their need of redeeming grace. The claims of God for obedience will stand justified ; for they are founded in a purpose of infinite benevolence, and the love which, unwilling to relinquish that purpose, has made such provision for the guilty, that has given up to death his own son, will shine out in its true splendor, compelling even the rebel who disowns him, to confess the justice of his eternal sentence of condemnation. We would urge, therefore, every one whose duty it is to minister to the souls of men, to study accurately and prayerfully the bearings of this question, and placing himself on the high ground of a proper view of moral agency and moral obligation, fearlessly to press home the truth of God upon the conscience ; sensible that it is in rightly dividing that truth, and presenting it in its own appropriate adaptations, that he is to hope, if in any way to become the instrument of salvation to any, or of the highest glory to God. Let it be written upon his own soul—let it be fastened on the heart of every hearer, that moral obligation is as it were a part of his being, to cling to him in all its pressure and solemn consequences, as long as he exists, and wherever he is ; that whether obeying or sinning, he is under it, and God's law and government is only carrying out the truth in its appropriate tendency to happiness ; that the decisions of the judgment day are only a more perfect development to the universe, of the bearing of all moral action on that highest general good which he, as a perfect being, who is forever blessed, is seeking to secure ; let it be felt as it should be, and under its influence, the conduct of the life be directed ; it will teach him to admire and adore the wisdom and the grace of his Creator and divine Sovereign, and cheerfully submitting to the command, he will find it the way of peace and of life !



ART. IV.—EXPOSITION OF 2 PET. 3 : 12.

*"Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens, being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."*

THIS is one of those passages of scripture which are made plainer by the aid of human science. It seems to the unlearned almost impossible, that the earth shall ever be burned. If he allows that such an event may ever take place, it is on the principle, that with God all things are possible, rather than from perceiving any method by which it can be accomplished.

A few remarks will remove the air of impossibility that hangs over this text, and "help the unbelief" of those who are half inclined to believe, that the earth will not be burned.

1. It is a doctrine of the bible, that the heavens and the earth shall be destroyed by fire. In 2 Pet. 3 : 6, it is said, that the old world being "overflowed with water perished," and in the 7th verse we are told, that "the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire." Our Saviour on different occasions taught, that "the heavens and the earth shall pass away," but his word should not fail. In Ps. 102 : 26, there is an allusion to some great catastrophe, that shall befall the earth ; the heavens and the earth "shall perish," yea, all of them shall wax old as a garment, as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. In the 51st chapter of Isaiah, the righteous are exhorted to look to the heavens and to the earth, for "the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment." The Jews at a very early period believed, that the world would have an end. Job, who is supposed to have lived as early as the time of Abraham, speaks of lying down in the grave "till the heavens be no more." It is not expressly said in the old testament, that the earth shall be destroyed by fire, but it is clearly revealed, in both the old and new testaments, that the earth shall *perish* ; and in the latter, we are assured, that it shall perish through the agency of fire.

2. It is not irrational to suppose, that the earth may be destroyed by fire. It is true, that the materials which compose it, are incombustible in their present combination. Rocks, sands, and water will not burn ; but each is a compound substance, composed of elements that are either combustible, or supporters of combustion. He who united the gases that form water, and the

elements of silix and lime and other earthy and metallic compounds, can as easily separate them. If the water of every river, lake, and ocean should be simultaneously decomposed, what an immense quantity of oxygen and hydrogen gases would exist in a state of mixture! A cubic inch of this mixture, brought in contact with a taper, burns with an explosion as loud as a musket. Science teaches us, that the rocks have metallic bases which, when brought into contact with water or oxygen, explode with more or less violence. If, now, the land and the water were reduced to their component parts, by the omnipotent word of him who spake and it was done, these substances would immediately come in contact with the fires upon the surface, or with oxygen, and an awful explosion would ensue. Then would be justly realized the prophecy of Peter, "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."\*

Science teaches yet another method by which this awful prediction of the scriptures may be fulfilled. It has been shown, that the temperature of the earth increases downwards—that the average rate of increase is one degree for fifty feet.† It hence follows, that at the average depth of sixty-two miles, the rocks and metals are in a state of fusion; and that the earth is a vast mass of molten lava, inclosed in a shell sixty two miles thick. The existence of two hundred volcanoes, is an argument in favor of this induction of science; they are necessary as vent-holes through which steam and streams of molten lava may escape.

We have evidence, therefore, that the earth is already on fire. The burning has already commenced at the center; a fire exists there, of sufficient magnitude to melt down the remainder of the globe. It is kept for the present smothered; how easy it would be for the Almighty to cleave with an earthquake the external crust of the globe, and admit the free access of the external air! If he should, how soon flames would burst out on every side, and the elements "melt with fervent heat."

3. When it is said "the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved," it does not mean the starry heavens. We have no evidence, that the great conflagration will extend beyond the confines of the solar system, and probably not beyond the earth. The old world was overflowed with water and perished, in consequence of the wickedness of the human family; and the heavens and the earth, which are now, are "reserved unto fire

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\* 2 Pet. 3 : 10.

† Cordier's Temp. of Earth, and Silliman's Jour. Vol. 15.

against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." The earth that was deluged is to be burned. Again it is to be burned on account of the wickedness of men. The inference, therefore, is, that the burning will be limited to the earth, the residence of man. A curse came upon the earth in consequence of man's sin; the flood did not remove that curse; when the earth burns it will be purified and cleansed. As we have no evidence that the curse for sin rested upon any other planet, we have no evidence that any other will be burned.

If it be asked, whether the phrase, "the heavens shall pass away," or "shall be rolled together as a scroll," does not imply, that the destruction will reach other planets, or the fixed stars, we answer, that necessarily we suppose "the heavens," in the text, mean only the visible heavens, or the aerial region. The word often has this meaning in the bible; the birds are said to fly through the heavens, i. e. through the air; God "gives us rain from heaven,"\* i. e., from the clouds floating in the atmosphere; and "the Lord thundered in the heavens,"† or among the clouds.

4. The matter of which the earth is composed, will not be destroyed. The scriptures teach, that "these things shall be dissolved," that "the elements shall melt," and "the heavens shall be rolled together;" but such language does not teach the annihilation of matter. "Dissolved," in the text, means *decomposed*. The verb here translated *dissolve*, in John 11 : 44 is translated *loose*, and in Mark 1 : 7, *unloose*. Its most obvious meaning is to *unbind* or *untie*; the elements shall be untied or decomposed. *Dissolution* never means the destruction of the materials of which any thing is composed. Salt may be *dissolved*, and so may a town meeting, but the material substance still exists. The earth may burn, also, and not a particle of matter be lost. When wood burns, it ceases to be wood; combustion changes the state of matter, but does not destroy it. "By the convulsions of the last day, the earth may be shaken, and broken down, and thrown into such fitful agitation, that the whole framework shall fall to pieces, and become as it was in the beginning, 'without form and void.'" Out of this chaos, a new heaven and a new earth may arise, and the world be peopled again by a nobler race of beings; or, as an eminent theologian has said, it may be converted into a paradise of beauty and loveliness, to which the redeemed from among men, when clothed with spiritual bodies,

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\* Acts 14 : 17.

† Ps. 18 : 13.

may occasionally wing their flight, to admire the goodness and the justice of God. Pollok, borne in imagination down the stream of time, till the resurrection of the dead, and the scenes of the judgment were past, says :

“ The essential particles remained, of which  
God built the world, again renewed and improved ;  
In clime and season, as fruitful as at first,  
When Adam woke unfallen in paradise.”

5. The *day* when “ the earth shall melt,” will be the day of judgment, or that immediately succeeding. Some have asserted, that all those texts which speak of the burning of the earth, were fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem. It seems to me, that the bible teaches very explicitly, that it will take place about the time of the general judgment. The earth is “ reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment.” Christ will then descend in flaming fire, taking vengeance on his enemies ; and this great day of wrath in Rev. 6, will be at the time “ the heavens depart,” and “ every mountain and island” shall be moved out of their places.

When the wicked are being cast into hell, then the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Then the mountains and valleys shall burn.

“ The Andes burn, the Alps, the Appenines,  
Taurus, Atlas, all the islands burn,—  
The ocean shall burn and roll his waves of flame.”

Then shall be burning within and without, the flames shall rise and fall, till the earth shall be reduced to chaos.

The exposition given of the passage under notice, teaches very forcibly our dependence on God. He keeps the materials of the earth combined ; should he dissolve the union that now exists, how soon ruin would spread far and wide ! Is it not as easy for God to dissolve the elements, as it is to keep them bound ? Surely it is of the Lord’s mercies, that we are not consumed !

It also teaches, that God is determined to make an end of sin. The day is coming when every impenitent sinner will be shut up in hell—when Satan himself will be restrained. Neither the power nor influence of the wicked will extend beyond the adamantine walls of the eternal prison. The work of eradicating sin will not stop here. It will not be enough to shut up the wicked in hell. God will burn the earth, that has so long been the abode of sinners ; he will melt down the mountains and dissolve the elements ; “ he will thoroughly purge his floor,” and

"burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire," and not a vestige of sin shall remain. It will be so changed, that in the new heavens and new earth there will be nothing which will suggest to any saint, the sins that he or others have committed. If, in the circling ages of eternity, Jeremiah should visit the new heavens and earth, he will not find the loathsome dungeon, nor David the caves in which he hid from the fury of Saul. There will be no field stained with blood, no bone of a human being moldering in the soil, nor any weapon for the destruction of human life.

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ART. V.—THEATRICAL AMUSEMENTS.

*The Theater, in its influence upon Literature, Morals, and Religion.* By ROBERT TURNBULL. Hartford, 1837.

It is not true, as Burke has somewhere affirmed, that vice loses half its evil, when it loses all its grossness. The worst forms of evil, not unfrequently, appear under the most attractive dress. The very fact, that it is divested of its more revolting features, is what gives it all its influence over the minds of many. The virtuous man, for instance, is sufficiently shielded against intemperance, when it is clothed in rags,—when it is exhibited in the faltering tongue, the trembling limb, or the bloated countenance, or when surrounded with nothing to attract or divert the attention, with nothing to cover over and hide from view its hideous deformities. But change the scene; array this vice in the robes of splendor; cover over its hideousness with the pomp and circumstance of wealth; surround it with the show of fashion, and the sprightliness of wit; with the fascinations of art, and the brilliancy of genius,—and is it the same repelling vice as before? Is not the cup, thus "tinged with juices sweet," more likely to be drank? Is not the danger multiplied a thousand fold? And yet in the case supposed, this vice has lost its grossness. Evil without disguise, may be withstood with comparative ease. Satan, simply as "an arch-angel ruined," may be easily resisted; but it requires all the discernment of the intellect, and all the moral courage of the virtuous heart, to understand and resist his wiles, when transformed into an angel of light. The more perfect the concealment of his

designs, the greater is the peril. The more beautiful and captivating the imagery is, with which he can decorate and adorn the features of some dark and insidious vice, the more successful will be his attempts, by it, upon the virtue of mankind.

Every effort, consequently, to disguise what is evil ; to call it by a good name, or to conceal its real nature by throwing around it the gaudy decorations of art, the imposing powers of music, poetry, and mimic representation, in order to lessen its deformity, ought to be exposed, and held up to the just reprobation of a virtuous community. Our author has, therefore, we think, rendered an acceptable service to the cause of literature and religion, by the publication of the little volume before us. He has torn away much of that disguise, which has been thrown around the theater, and made it to stand out, as it were, by itself—alone—and to appear, what it really is, and ever has been, the source of incalculable mischief to society. Most sincerely, therefore, do we wish, that a copy of this work may find its way into the hands of every youth, ere he is tempted to approach the playhouse, or to cross its dangerous threshold.

If our pages have hitherto been silent on the subject of theatrical amusements, it has not been because we are ignorant of the evil of such things, or disinclined to bear our testimony against them. We, in common with most of those among whom the *Spectator* circulates, are opposed to the theater upon principle—opposed to it in every form which it has taken, or is likely to take, in this wicked world. We regard its amusements as more than useless—as positively *injurious*. Their deleterious influence can be shown with perfect certainty. The right and wrong in human conduct it is not difficult to determine. The will of God respecting the actions of men, always synonymous with their highest good, may easily be ascertained. It is in us, as well as around us. It is revealed to us as really in the nature or constitution of things, as it is in his written word. It is written as truly, if not as legibly, in the laws of our physical and moral being, as it is in the enactments of revelation. It is deducible, as directly from the *effects* of any cause upon the human mind, as if it were recorded in letters of fire.

The pain, for instance, consequent upon cutting the flesh, is as conclusive a prohibition of the act of mutilating and destroying our bodies, as if it were written out with a pen of iron upon every limb, and muscle, and nerve of the system. The effect upon our physical and moral nature, of all intoxicating drinks, conclusively demonstrates the sinfulness of such conduct. And universally, the bearing of any irregular course of

life upon the physical or moral constitution of man, speaks out the condemning sentence of God against it. Every act, therefore, may be fairly tested and its character determined, by its effects upon the intellect and the heart of man. These are its *genuine fruits*, the quality of which decides the character of the tree that produces them; for a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. In the moral world, then, effects determine the character of their causes.

To a test, thus plain and simple, we propose to subject the *propriety of theatrical amusements*. We shall say nothing at present about the immense expense of these amusements, either as it regards time or money; for if the fruit be good—if the effect upon the mind be salutary, it may justify all such expenditure. The main question—that which must take precedence of all others—is this, What is the bearing of these amusements upon the physical, mental, and moral constitution of man? Do they in any respect make him a better man? Do they fit him for a more faithful discharge of the duties of life, and open before him the prospect of a higher and happier existence in another world? We say, *another world*, for we are not willing to argue this, or any other question pertaining to the mind of man, if it does not distinctly recognise the bearing of any act, or course of conduct, upon the *whole existence* of man. We cannot consent to stamp the mark of our approbation upon that, which, however it may affect one day, or month, or even year of life, with pleasure, will nevertheless bring blighting, mildew, and disgrace upon all the rest of existence. Every act ought to be tested, every practice tried, by its bearings upon the whole of our intellectual and moral being. Man is not a grasshopper, a being of a moment's existence. He is immortal, and it is therefore an insult to his noble destiny to consider any influence on him, simply and exclusively in relation to the nursery, the childhood of his being.

His present and future life are not isolated parts of existence, bearing no relation to each other. They are most intimately connected. The action of the one bears most powerfully upon the fruition of the other. As the discipline of infancy bears directly upon the respectability and happiness of manhood, so also do the habits that are formed, and the feelings which start into existence, in this infancy of our being—which are developed and invigorated in this cradle of immortal life, continue to reign, and actuate man forever. The habits and dispositions which he here forms and cherishes, and takes with him to his

dying bed, are what he will carry with him to the bar of God, and onward through eternity. The relation, therefore, of present action to future character and condition, will be a great element of consideration in every reflecting mind. Whatever affects these interests injuriously, will be abandoned ; whatever is lovely, and of good report ; whatever tends to make us morally more excellent, more happy in ourselves, and increasingly benevolent to others, will be approved by every considerate man. Every thing that unfits us for our appropriate duties here, and for the enjoyment of happiness hereafter, *is*, and must be condemned.

1. The impropriety of theatrical amusements, then, is seen *in the effects of the exhibition of fictitious distress upon the mind*. We are aware, that much has been said in favor of such exhibitions. They have been vindicated on the ground, that they tend to awaken and invigorate the tender and natural feelings of the heart. But such is not their influence. It is contrary both to philosophy and fact. The nature of the human mind, and the experience of all ages, are alike against it. Whoever, therefore, advocates the propriety of such exhibitions on this score, shows himself, in this very thing, to be ignorant both of the laws of his own nature, and of the history of theatrical amusements. Such cannot, in the nature of the human mind, be the result. It is a fundamental principle in our moral constitution, that all our passive impressions grow weaker by repetition. The sensibility of the mind, we mean its capacity to feel, is diminished by experience. Thoughts which often pass through the mind, affect it less and less. Constant exposure to danger, we know, lessens the feeling of fear. The youth who to-day is deeply excited by the plaintive bleatings of an expiring lamb, will, by constant familiarity with suffering, soon stand unmoved amid the dying and the dead. The pleasure, also, which we derive from any favorite pursuit, gradually diminishes as we advance in life. Frequent views of distress lessens our compassion for it. An exhibition of human suffering, which to-day affects us even to tears, will affect us less and less, upon every repetition of it. There is wear and tear in the world of feeling, as well as in that of commerce ; in the action of mind on mind, as well as in that of matter on matter.

Were it not, therefore, for another law of the mind, that compensates for this *decrease* of feeling, by a proportionate *increase* in the strength of habit, the human mind would soon become as insensible and inactive as a stone. The tenderness of youth would give place to apathy in manhood, and to perfect hardness



of heart in old age. But we are so constituted, that while our passive impressions, or the mind's capacity to feel, grows weaker by experience, all our active powers become stronger. The strength of habit increases, as the capacity of feeling decreases, by repeated acts. While, therefore, the awakened feeling, which now prompts us to action, will recur a second time less vividly, yet by *acting now*, we shall find it easier to act to-morrow; and hence we do not require the same amount of impulsive feeling as at first. The force of habit supplies the deficiency of feeling.

Thus the man who gives himself up to irregular habits, finds his sense of pleasure gradually diminishing, while his desire of gratification becomes stronger. And hence "vice often prevails, when the passions have subsided." The use of intoxicating drinks destroys the sensibility of the palate, while at the same time it strengthens the habit of intemperance. The perception of misery, while it affects us less and less upon every repeated view of it, yet, when the pity excited leads us to seek for, and relieve, the distressed—it gives strength to our active principles, our habits and beneficence. While we passively compassionate the wretched less, we acquire a greater energy of purpose, by action, to assist them. The loss of feeling is compensated, *in case we act*, by the increasing force of habit; yea, in this way, we become more ready to mitigate human woe. The doing of good becomes our meat and our drink.

On these two great and fundamental principles of our nature, is formed our capacity for moral improvement. On these two commandments, written by the finger of God on the heart, hang all the law and the prophets. All proceed, in other words, upon the assumed action of these great laws of our moral constitution, upon the importance of *acting*, when we feel that we ought to act. Awakened sensibility, when, by prompting us to act, it produces in us the habit of beneficence, is in the highest degree beneficial. But if it be mere excitement, and no action, whereby a habit of doing good is formed, it is injurious in the extreme. It tends directly to dry up the fountains of feeling in man, without adding one iota to the moral purpose of the antagonist principle of habit.

Here then we take our stand in opposition to the theater. We need no specific chapter or verse of the bible to condemn it. That condemnation is written on the heart,—on the very *fibers* of man's moral nature. We might as well ask for a specific sentence in condemnation of self-mutilation,—of cutting off an arm or a leg,—as to demand a written prohibition of this

species of moral suicide. The exhibition of fictitious distress strongly excites the sensibilities of the heart, without the possibility of their being exerted in virtuous action. The consequence is, and must be, a decrease in the power of feeling, without any corresponding increase in the strength of beneficent habit. Men, therefore, long accustomed to such exhibitions, become insensible to the distress depicted. It will be difficult, as Dugald Stewart has well remarked, to find an actor, long hackneyed on the stage, who is capable of being completely interested in the distress of a tragedy. All is artificial,—the assumption of feeling,—and not the native outpouring of the heart,—the spontaneous emotion of the soul. While such exhibitions, then, lessen the power of feeling, they give no exercise to our active principles. In real life, the excitement of feeling leads to the relief of the object which excites our sympathies. When the eye rests upon an instance of suffering, we endeavor to remove it. If we behold a fellow-being sinking in the water, or exposed to violence, we exert ourselves to save him. But in the contemplation of imaginary suffering, rendered more than real by the drapery, and other circumstances of the stage, we always stop short of this benevolent exercise. We stand by the shore, and see men sink every day, without putting forth a finger to save them. Perfect insensibility must be the result of such a process; evil, and only evil, must ensue.

But this is not all. Familiarity with the tragic scenes of the stage, prevents the impressions made upon the mind by the ordinary sufferings of life, and of course unfits man for that exercise of sympathy, which, as a member of one great family, he is bound to feel with the other members. It cuts the mind loose from this law of sympathy with human woe, and accustoms it to feel in view of suffering wholly unlike that which marks the life of man. The great object in the theater is to *please*. Of course, every circumstance which is disgusting is removed. The squalidness that generally attends real misery, is put aside, and in its place, descriptions of elegant and dignified distress are introduced, such as are seldom if ever witnessed in our world. The theater, therefore, increases the disgust, which we naturally feel with the usual accompaniments of suffering, and cultivates a false refinement of feeling,—one that is entirely inconsistent with the present relations of mankind. Thus we see, then, that while it lessens the power of feeling, it perverts what little feeling is left, and renders the mind wholly disinclined to engage in the great duties of life.

We come to this conclusion, it will be seen, independent of all argument drawn from the immorality of the stage. Our argument, so far, is purely and simply *physiological*. We have planted ourselves upon the laws of the human mind, and have drawn our conclusion in accordance with their known and acknowledged action. The nature of that mind, therefore, must be changed, before this conclusion can be disproved and set aside,—before the exhibition of fictitious distress will cease to produce these sad effects.

Experience fully sustains what the philosophy of the human mind thus teaches. Who are the men, that manifest most sympathy with suffering humanity? Who are the men, that are most prompt to feel, and most ready to search out, and relieve the wants of the wretched? Are they from the ranks of those who visit the theater? Among the hundreds and thousands, in our large cities, that are actively engaged in works of healing charity,—that visit the poor, and pour the oil and wine of heavenly consolation into the wounds of suffering and bleeding humanity, how many visit the playhouse? If it be the high school of the tender and humane feelings, where is the proof of it in the *character and conduct of its scholars*? Call over the long list of worthies, who have distinguished themselves in works of philanthropy, and ask them where they first caught the fire of that heavenly feeling, which sent them forth, like ministering spirits, to gladden the heart and cheer the sorrows of a suffering world? Did Wilberforce and Clarkson first feel their spirits stir within them under the tragic exhibition of human woe? Did they come fresh from the impulse of the theater to the halls of legislation, to plead the rights of injured and bleeding Africa? Was Howard, whose philanthropy is without a parallel, trained and disciplined in the school of theatrical exhibitions? Did his mind there acquire its quick sensibility to feel, and form its high purpose of untiring activity in relieving human misery? Was his ear first opened to the groans of the prisoner, by the fictitious representation of his agonies? Did the theater lead him to plunge into dungeons, and prisons, and penitentiaries, to take the full gauge and dimensions of human suffering, and to enlist all hearts in its removal? We challenge the whole company of theater-going and theater-approving men to produce one solitary instance of an untiring philanthropist,—of one whose whole life has been devoted to the interests of the poor, the wretched, and the miserable, and who was warmed up to this by the influence of the theater. If it be the school of the tender and humane feelings, we again ask, where are its scholars? The school has been in operation for more than two

thousand years, and where are the high-souled, the warm-hearted, the self-denying men, whom it has sent forth to search out and alleviate the woes of mankind? If the tree be good, where are its *good fruits*?

2. The impropriety of theatrical amusements is seen in *their influence on the intellect of man*. We admit, with our author, that the "drama, as such, has not been productive of unmingled evil. Some dramatic writers have purified and elevated the language of their times,—have furnished some of the finest models of poetry and eloquence, and thrown a luster over the literature of their age and country." In our opposition to the stage, it is not necessary to condemn the drama. We do not. We have no fault to find with it, as a department of literature, to be read and studied, when it is pure and elevated in its character,—what all departments of literature ought to be. The drama can and will exist, without the stage. The classic beauty of Euripides, the subduing tenderness of Otway, the purity and lofty sentiment in the Cato of Addison, and the heroic fortitude and exalted spirit of a self-denying patriotism, breathed into the Gustavus Vasa of Brooke, would be admired and studied, if every theater were, in an instant, to crumble to atoms. The great master of the English drama would lose none of his luster, by a divorce from the playhouse. Aye, he would, in our estimation, be incomparably a greater man, if what is *most frequently* rehearsed in the theater from his pages he had never written. For while we accord to Shakspeare all the elements of the most wonderful genius, and believe that he will live as long as the nature which he has so admirably illustrated shall continue to exist; yet we cannot but drop a tear of regret over the licentiousness of some, and the general spirit of all his writings. He seems to have written without any moral purpose. He delights and astonishes, without making men better. He looked at man. He looked through him, but still he viewed him in separation from his Maker and from his end.

Our admission in regard to the drama, however, makes nothing in favor of the theater. The dramatic productions of these master-spirits are mostly laid aside. They do not usually, in our day, entertain the audience at the theater. They are too pure, too intellectual, for the moral taste and mental caliber of most who frequent the playhouse. They disdained (at least most of them did,) to court applause at the expense of their pure and refined taste, and consequently, what they wrote has long since given place to the low, obscene, and puerile productions,—comedies, tragedies, and farces,—full of rant and fustian, and without one redeeming trait of natural beauty, wit, or humor,

which are seen advertised at every corner of the streets,—productions which vulgarity itself seems half ashamed to own.

The advocates of the theater complain of this themselves, but tell us they cannot help it. We believe them. The character of a play must conform to the taste of the audience. Good men will not attend the theater. Men of refined and elevated taste will not. In order, therefore, to secure success, (and every thing must bend to this,) the writer of plays must adapt the character of his production to the taste of those who will and do attend such places, and whom he undertakes to please. No manager now thinks of schooling his audience into a proper appreciation of talent, or of elevating them to a sympathy with true, intellectual refinement. The failure of Garrick, the modern Roscius of the stage, in such an attempt, has written hopeless despair upon every imagination of this kind. Every such effort must end in failure, while the audience remains what it is. A large portion of those who attend the theater, are not distinguished for a very refined and elevated taste. This all admit. And as pleasure, and not taste, is the article in demand in such places, it follows, that, where refined taste and amusement are not synonymous, the former must fall a sacrifice to the latter.

The consequence is, we think, that the theater, where the assembly has little or no sympathy with plays of pure and elevated sentiment, is not likely to call forth works of such character. Experience proves this. Look at the plays that have been written during the last twenty years. Can an equal amount of coarseness, indelicacy, and low wit, of covert obscenity, unblushing profaneness, and open contempt of virtue, be scraped together from the four winds of heaven? While the mind of man has been rapidly developing its energies in every other department of literature and art, in useful and glorious action, in the drama it has gone back more than half a century,—back to an inglorious subserviency to degraded taste and licentious passion,—back to the disgusting level of Congreve and Kotzebue. Failing to attract the good, it has determined to work upon the evil.

*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo,*

seems to be its motto. The reason of this backward and

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\* Take the following as a specimen of the statistics of a modern drama. "Sixteen pounds of powdered brimstone, for lightning. Twenty-four peals of thunder. A dozen imps with tails. A dozen bloody daggers. A skull and crossbones. Forty battle-axes. Six terrific combats, three of them double-handed. A course of violations. Eight murders. A pair of ensanguined shirts. One comic song. Three hundred oaths, and sixty-four pages of blasphemy!"

downward movement is obvious. The theater injures the intellect in its wholesale corruption of the heart. This leads us to remark,

3. That the impropriety of theatrical amusements is seen *in their influence upon the morals of men*. We have spoken of the character of plays usually exhibited in theaters. They are low in point of taste, and immoral in sentiment. The character of the actors is of the same stamp. With here and there a rare exception, the lives of such men present the most melancholy departure from the path of moral rectitude. If the authority of Dr. Johnson, or of our own Witherspoon, or the voice of common fame, can be depended upon, play-actors are among the most degraded and contemptible beings on the earth, entire bankrupts in character, men who live in habitual and open violation of almost every command in the decalogue,—the merest wrecks of all that is noble and good in man. Below them, and above them, in the theater, there are many birds of the same feather,—the lazy, the idle, the vicious, and the profligate. Some there are, we admit, in the audience, of a different hue; but they are exceptions to the general herd,—little isles in the midst of a surrounding ocean of impurity, verdant spots in the midst of an arid and burning desert of appetite and passion, innocence in unseemly and shocking vicinity to the most shameless corruption, purity by the very verge of moral putrescency, the rose expanding its leaves by the side of the frozen avalanche of a once virtuous character!

In and around the theater, there are places where thousands of dollars are expended for intoxicating drinks. The bars in these places are rented, we understand, for \$75 or \$100 per week. The amount of strong drink sold must consequently be immense, in order to enable the lessee to pay this rent, and make his profit. Add to this the poison sold in the stalls and cellars, which crowd the vicinity of the theater, and our readers may form some estimate of the dissipation and drunkenness produced in the abodes and dens of wickedness. Here the finishing stroke is given to the work of moral ruin. What the exciting tragedy and the corrupting comedy began, the poison of the bar easily completes. The vulgarity of the pit becomes yet more vulgar. The virtue that merely blushes in the boxes, here sickens and dies. The fiercer and hitherto slumbering depravity of the heart, roused by the exciting scenes of the stage, and goaded to madness by the poisonous draughts of the bar, starts up in wild and terrific developments, laughs at the restraints of virtue, and sets at defiance all ideas of modesty, and even of common decency.

These refreshment-rooms and lofty tiers of seats are not mere *excrescences* of the theater,—they are an *essential part* of it. Few of the theaters, we might almost say none of them, can exist without them. Remove all the stimulants of the passions, put away all incentives to vice, and the attractions of the theater are gone. Withdraw these, and its doors will be closed. Licentiousness will seek for some other place more congenial to its taste. This is not empty assertion, as some may possibly be at first disposed to think. We appeal to *facts*. Not long since, the friends of morality in Boston presented a memorial to the mayor and aldermen of that city respecting the theater, in which they say, “ten thousand dollars are annually expended, chiefly for intoxicating draughts, and where a greater part of this sum is expended by minors in the society of wanton and abandoned women! Surely it cannot be generally known, what misery has been thence diffused through families, and how cruelly the honorable hopes of families have been blasted forever.”

In a report made by a committee of one of the royal theaters in London, it is stated, “that, when a proposition was made to exclude females of loose character from the house, in compliance with the wishes of many, who, in consequence of such persons being admitted, were compelled to withdraw their support, *the measure was overruled, under the conviction, that, if adopted, the institution could not be supported!*” We will bring forward one witness more. A writer in the *Dramatic Repository*, published in the city of New York, who signs himself, “Neither a libertine nor a fanatic,” says, “Until lately, the theater in this city has, as I believe, been conducted with as much regard to decency and public purity as possible, [that is, we suppose, for any theater to be conducted.] The managers have been contented with those who came voluntarily, and paid their money freely. *Traps* to allure the low, the debased, and the most profligate, are new modes, now resorted to for filling their treasury. A practice has been commenced, which bids fair to produce more real and frightfully injurious results to the morals of youth, than the brains of the righteous over-much ever imagined. Free admissions are dispensed to the public courtesans of the city, in order that their vile paramours may be induced to follow them, and that, in this way, the receipts of the house, and the profits of the bar, may be increased.”\* We make no

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\* This declaration was made a few years since. Whether the practice has been abandoned or not, we are unable to say. The presence, however, of such characters now at the theater, shows, that it is no losing concern to either.

comments upon these facts. They need none. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Here are the fruits of the theater, the destruction of natural sensibility, the debasement of the intellect, and the deep moral blight thus brought upon the heart. These are the *genuine fruits* of the theater,—fruits which it will produce any where, and every where. Place the theater in any part of any city, and this work of ruin will begin. Plant this Bohon Upas of wickedness where we may,—in any soil,—and its atmosphere will be deadly to virtue; the birds of the air, that prey upon character, will come and lodge in the branches thereof. Yes, the moment the corner-stone is laid, and a new playhouse begins to arise, every hovel, and stall, and cellar, in which appetite may feast itself, or passion accomplish its purpose, doubles, and triples, and quadruples its former rent. The streets and lanes leading to every haunt of infamy, resounds nightly with the wheels passing to and fro from the theater, and the cries of a mother's agony and a sister's grief, over a ruined son,—a profligate brother,—rises in unavailing sorrow towards pitying heaven.\*

The influence of the theater is bad, and only bad. Hence every thing which savors of virtue condemns it. Patriotism condemns it; not that mushroom patriotism of the present day; not that sickly, pliant and unprincipled thing, which has risen up among us, and called itself patriotism. We speak of that enlightened and virtuous love of country, which shone in the fathers of the revolution—which glowed in the bosom of Washington, and the glorious circle of hearts around him. The patriotism, we mean, that looked with proud complacency upon incorruptible integrity, lofty sentiment, and hardy enterprise, as the true greatness of a people; that regarded true religion and sound morals, as the only true foundation of public liberty and private happiness, that linked a nation's virtue and freedom inseparably together.

The venerable men to whom we have alluded, "regarding idleness, dissipation, and general depravity of principles and manners, as the destruction of a free government, earnestly recommended to the several states *to take the most effectual measures* FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THEATRICAL AMUSEMENTS." Well might patriotism thus lift up her voice against the theater. For well did she remember how it had unnerved the arm, and

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\* And yet, when the corner-stone of the Bowery theater in New York was laid a second time, a distinguished individual of that city had the hardihood to pronounce, in the presence of thousands, the playhouse to be the *school of morals*.



quenched the fire of patriotic feeling in the bosom of the Greek ; how it had quelled every fear, enfeebled every energy, frustrated every noble purpose, and finally opened the gates of Athens to the sweeping conqueror of Macedon !

Heathenism, as low as it is in moral feeling, condemns the theater. Plato denounces it as dangerous to morality. Aristotle thinks, that young people ought never to see comedies acted. Ovid advises Augustus to suppress this kind of amusement, as being a grand source of corruption. Julian, the apostate from christianity, speaks of theaters and play actors as so many corruptors of men. The infidel Rousseau, when it was proposed to establish a theater in Geneva, wrote against the project with much force and zeal, declaring that no friend of virtue could approve it.

Here then is the theater, condemned alike by the nature of man, by patriotism, by heathenism, and even by infidelity itself. Let no one speak in abatement of these condemning voices, of a *pure* theater. There is no such thing on the face of this earth. There never has been, and there never can be. The theater cannot be reformed. We should just as soon think of reforming the devil himself. Its reformation will be its *annihilation*. Its whole history is a history of corruption. In all periods of its existence it has been the nursing mother of abominations, and as such, repulsive to virtue, and attractive to vice.

Degeneracy is its natural tendency. By one trespass upon decency, it prepares the way for another. Novelty is the ruling law of pleasure, and the only novelty of a licentious stage, is in newer designs of corruption ; in one and another startling breach upon public propriety. Hence it is constantly putting out its feelers, and trying the moral pulse of the community, in order to ascertain how much of increased indecency the patient will bear. Some of our readers may accordingly remember the "bold experiment," which the managers of the Bowery theater in New York, a few years since, made—not upon the rabble in the pit, for they can always be sure of their approbation—but upon the manly virtue of young men, and the shrinking delicacy of young women, in the boxes. They introduced Madame Hutin upon their boards—the shameless creature of a shameless French stage. They had a splendid house, and imagined the experiment would be complete. But it was not quite so. The slight tinge of modesty on the cheek of youth, the drooping heads of ladies, bespoke a greater amount of remaining purity than they had supposed still to reside in the bosoms of their audience. The mistake, however, was promptly

corrected. They added a few fig-leaves more to the apron of their hireling favorite, and complacency was restored. They compounded the matter with their more sensitive auditors. An inch of dress was added for an ell of modesty surrendered; an ounce of prejudice was humored, for a ton of indecency forgiven; vice promised to move less wantonly, and virtue agreed to smile! Thus all was soon righted, and the shameless nudity of the Parisian stage was acted out before an American audience! Oh, if we have ever felt a sinking of soul within us—if we have ever given away to despondency in regard to the perpetuity of our free institutions,—it was when American virtue stooped to this! Why, we should rather have supposed she would have risen in the strength of her indignation, and insulted majesty, and hurled the hated creature from our shores, back to the polluted soil, whence she came! But no; all was tame submission. No wonder, surely, that the flames of the devouring element have thrice swept through that edifice, and that its walls are now desolate, and are left to rot under the winds and rains of heaven!

But where are we to stop in the descending scale of morals? The corrupting influence of which we complain is increasing in our land. We look around us and see, in all our large cities, this mystery of iniquity at work. Every thing is done, that can well be done, to allure the thoughtless and the unwary into these whirlpools of vice. Every thing which can captivate the ear, or delight the eye, or please a vitiated fancy, is eagerly seized upon, and held up for this inglorious purpose. Within are snares. Without are temptations. Pictorial representations are posted up at every corner of the streets, inviting and alluring people to the theater; and a profligate and venal press teems with eulogiums upon the actors and the actresses, upon the scenery and the play.

Our hearts bleed within us, when we think of the youth who are thus enticed away from the path of virtue; youth who have left the homes of purity and love; the hearts that will cease to feel for them only when they cease to beat. Their eye rests upon one of these representations—one of these bloated paragraphs—curiosity is excited—the secret purpose is formed; and they begin their career of crime, by pilfering from their employers the means of accomplishing their determination of attending the theater. Thus the work of ruin commences. The warm glow of innocence ceases; the keen sensibility of youth dies away; shade after shade in deepening gloom, descends upon their character, until virtue is extinct. Like the loadstone in

Eastern fable, which drew the nails out of the luckless ships that approached it, the theater thus draws away one principle after another, by which character is held together, until it falls to pieces, a useless wreck.

Oh, if the curse of God came upon Jeroboam because he made Israel to sin; if the wrath of heaven was poured out without mixture upon the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse, because she corrupted the earth with her wickedness, what must be the doom of those, who established, and support, and countenance, the theater—the fountain of corruption—the play house of the devil! On them rests the responsibility of this great evil. Let then the advocate of the theater come forward and take one of the graduates of this school of morals; one of these ruined young men, of whom we have spoken, and return him to the home of virtue, which he has left. Let him take that youth, and present him to the family circle, as the individual who first enticed him to the playhouse. Let him, as such, “meet the father’s brow of burning indignation, the mother’s lip of quivering anguish,” the sister’s eye bursting with grief. Let him—but we will not complete the picture, for he has not nerve enough to go through with such a farce. He has not hardihood enough thus to insult the blasted hopes of parental love. He has not the moral courage to meet thus the withering scorn, the anathema maranatha of virtue.

Upon what principle, then, we ask in conclusion, can a man justify his attendance upon, or his countenance of, an institution which affects man injuriously in all the variety of his being, as social, intellectual and moral; one which pours its unceasing tide of ruin over this land? One which inflames the passions, and subverts all the moral principles of men? How can he do it, as a man—as the friend of man? How can he with any claim to benevolence, approve that which saps the very foundation of virtue, introduces universal idleness, profligacy, and ruin; which swallows up time, and money and character; yea, every thing that is dear to the heart of virtue. How can he sanction what patriotism condemns? What must be the moral dimness of that eye, which can see propriety and beauty, where heathenism, low, degraded heathenism, can see nothing but evil and deformity!

But most of all, we ask, upon what principle can a delicate lady visit the theater? Man’s moral constitution is made of coarser materials, of “firmer stuff,” than that of woman. His virtue is of a rougher cast, of a stronger fiber, and yet it withers and dies in the atmosphere of the theater. What then must be its influence on the tender and delicate nature of female virtue?

—virtue which complains at the slightest breath of wrong—which shrinks back, like the sensitive plant, from the least touch of rudeness? Can her mind, thus delicately framed—thus nicely attuned to the sweet harmonies of virtue, listen to the polluting comedy, or behold the absorbing and corrupting tragedy, with impunity? Can pride, ambition, and revenge; can malice, seduction, and murder, act out their hellish purpose before her eyes—can she be agitated by these materials of the tragedy, under the imposing scenes of the theater, the music, the action, and the oratory of the stage, without receiving an injury? Can she open her ear to unblushing obscenity, or fix her eye upon disgusting nudity, without receiving a moral blight upon the holy sympathies of her nature? Can she go where sensuality reigns; where virtue is treated with open scorn, or covert contempt; where christianity is ridiculed; where the bible is caricatured, and where the Savior of the world is crucified afresh, and put to an open shame? Can woman do this without injury to her moral nature? No; she can never behold such things without a blush, or take pleasure in them without *deep self-degradation*.

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#### ART. V.—A TALE OF THE HUGUENOTS.

*A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family. Translated and compiled from the original manuscripts of James Fontaine, by one of his descendants. With an Introduction, by F. L. HAWKS, D. D. New York: John S. Taylor. 1838.*

THIS is a faithful record of the perils, toils, sufferings, escapes, and various adventures of a devoted servant of Christ,—one of those, who, in the bitter days of persecution, “took joyfully the spoiling of their goods,” and hazarded their lives for their steadfast adherence to the precious gospel. History has chronicled, in letters of blood, the name of the Huguenots of France, as among the most zealous assertors of religious liberty; and it requires no aid of fiction to throw an interest around the heroism and fortitude with which they dared and endured the assaults of enraged power. Treachery circumvented them, when their foes could not overcome them in the fair field of bat-

tle ; but France lost some of her best and noblest sons, when the edicts for their slaughter and expatriation were issued. The Condes and Colignys, and names of scarcely inferior note, though less known, were more than a match for the Montmorencys and Guises, their Catholic adversaries ; but they trusted too implicitly to the word of a king,—the infamous Charles IX,—and too late, amid the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, they learned, that their monarch was as treacherous as he was weak and bigoted.

They left the land which was not worthy of them, and England, which opened her arms to receive them, profited richly by the infatuation which led the bloody Charles, and his imperious mother Catharine de Medici, as also the proud and voluptuous Louis XIV, to decree their persecution. Deeply imbued with religious feeling, acquainted with the arts of manufacture, and industrious in their habits, they added their inventive genius and their steady enterprise to the means of their adopted country's advancement : so that, with their introduction into it may be said to have commenced almost a new era in her commercial history. Instead of being obliged to go abroad for her merchandise and wares, she sent out the products of the skill of her artisans, competing at once with the old and long-established manufactures of her neighbors across the channel. God thus rewarded her for her charity to the oppressed, and proved, that it was self-blessing even with temporal benefits, as well as blessing others.

No one can read the history of those times without a deep conviction, that a crooked policy will sooner or later meet its retribution ; and, that the promises of a faithful Creator will not fail of their accomplishment.

The work before us, as the title-page shows, is taken from the manuscripts of the ancestor of numerous descendants in the United States. It is prefaced by a short introduction and accompanied with explanatory notes from the Rev. Dr. Hawks, and is dedicated to the two thousand descendants of the man whose fortunes it describes.

Born of a noble stock—for one of his ancestors was a nobleman and held a post of some distinction near the king,—James Fontaine seems to have inherited not a little of the high spirit of his sires ; and though a Huguenot preacher, he was fearless in the very face of his persecutors. His early history is identified with that of his religious teacher, a brother-in-law, who was imprisoned and otherwise persecuted by the papists, till he finally left France. His own brother, also, the minister of his

father's parish, was seized by a *lettre de cachet*, and confined in the castle of Oleron. In this state of things he felt called upon, so far as was possible, to make up to his neighbors the loss they had suffered in the removal of their loved pastor. Accordingly he invited them to join him in his family devotions; and numbers—sometimes one hundred and fifty—joyfully availed themselves of the privilege. This was at first daily, but on consideration, he recommended them not to come more than two or three times in a week, and then families by turns. For a time this christian society was suffered to proceed without interruption. But the enemies of the Huguenots were soon aroused; they were unwilling to permit to the poor brethren so much enjoyment. The spirit of persecuting zeal was abroad. On Palm Sunday, 1684, the neighbors, assembling at Mr. Fontaine's house, and not finding him, they withdrew to a grove near by, and one of their number, a mason by trade, officiated as their pastor. Soon the number amounted to a thousand. An attorney who had abjured his faith, and hence peculiarly qualified for the bigot and persecutor, was on the watch; and though it was impossible for him, at the distance he was from the place, and the lateness of the hour, to recognize individuals, yet he made out a list of sixty persons, and on his deposition warrants were issued. The poor mason was caught and terrified into an abjuration, of which he afterwards bitterly repented. With the boldness of a martyr, James Fontaine immediately waited on the magistrate, who denied the issuing of any warrant against him. On his return home, aware that the apprehension was only delayed, he made his preparations for his imprisonment. Accordingly, he was soon escorted to the prison, amid the mingled exhibitions of feeling on the part of the crowd through which he passed; for while "some clapped their hands, jumped for joy, and cried out in loud tones, 'Hang them! hang them!' the others stood aloof and wept." Having obtained permission of the jailor to pray aloud night and morning, he was thus enabled to afford spiritual consolation to others, his fellow persecuted. The poor country people were now daily brought in, and notwithstanding the efforts of the papists to seduce them, they still continued firm in the faith of the precious gospel of Christ. The examination of Mr. Fontaine, which soon took place, is a curious specimen of papist intolerance and wickedness. The charges preferred against him by the king's solicitor were, that he had taught in prison and prevented his "companions from changing their religion; that he had given offense to the catholics who were in prison; and that

he had interrupted the priest in the celebration of divine worship." These were attempted to be supported, in part, on the evidences of two men who had waylaid a neighbor and murdered him and mangled his limbs, for which crime they were afterwards broken on the wheel. Their tender consciences, it seems, had been greatly hurt, by having the name of God heretically pronounced in their hearing. In the final trial, the only witness who appeared against him on one charge, was the miserable pettifogger by whom the charge was originally instituted. On his cross-examination, this witness, though himself a lawyer, contradicted himself, and instead of being able to say positively, that he saw Mr. Fontaine, as charged; he could only reply, "At any rate I thought it was you." Similar was the fate of other charges :

"The first blow avoided; you shall now see how I got clear of the dreadful accusation of having prayed to my God in prison. The two witnesses afterwards broken on the wheel were first examined. One of them had been brought up a Protestant, and all he could remember hearing me say was "Our father who art in heaven." The second could not remember even as much as that. The gaoler was the third witness, and his accusation being that I had prevented the recantation of the people. I enquired of him whether he had heard me speak to them about religion.

"No," said he.

"Did I even call them to prayers?"

"No."

I asked no more of him.

The fourth witness was the gaoler's wife, and she was expected to prove that I had interrupted the priest in celebrating mass. She had some talent and was a great bigot, therefore some little dexterity was required in dealing with her.

You must bear in mind that the chapel was separated from the main body of the prison by a little court, and also that it was on the ground floor, and the common room of the prison was in a second story, and I prayed in the corner of that room most remote from the chapel, and with my back towards it, and in a subdued tone of voice, only just loud enough to be audible to those around me. It would indeed have required lungs much stronger than mine to have made myself heard in the chapel; the President well knew that it was an impossibility; and if there were no other evidence of the falsity of the accusation, the non-appearance of the Priest, (said to have been disturbed,) as a witness, would have been sufficient.

When the gaoler's wife came forward, I complained to her of the injustice of the preceding witnesses, and said, that I was sure a devout woman, such as she was, could not have been shocked to see poor people, for whom punishment was in store, humbling themselves before their God, and that as all my expressions were taken from the Holy

Scriptures, they could not have given offense to a good Christian like her. She replied that my words had not given her offense.

That was written.

"However," said I, "you had a much better opportunity of hearing me than any other of the witnesses; do not you remember passing close by my feet one morning when I was praying, as you went from one room to the other?"

She said she remembered it well.

I had that written, almost in spite of the President, who considered it so useless a question. After a few unimportant queries, I asked her if she ever heard me call any one to prayer.

"No," she said, "but as soon as they see you kneel down, they run like wild fire.

I then asked, if she ever heard me forbid these people to change their religion.

"No."

These answers were written.

I then inquired whether she was able to remember a sermon she heard from one of the preachers of her own religion. She was piqued that I should have doubt on the subject, and answered most unhesitatingly, that she could remember it.

I did not require that to be written, but with humble apology, I begged she would do me the favor to repeat to the President any passages she could remember of my prayers, because I was persuaded that he would esteem me for them, rather than wish me evil.

She was abashed at acknowledging any deficiency in the memory of which she had just now boasted, and said, she could not oblige me because I always spoke in so low a tone that she could not hear what I said.

That was written, and I was satisfied.

We both signed the confrontation or rather refutation of the accusation. The witnesses having all contradicted themselves, I told the President that instead of sending me to a worse prison, I had a right to expect that he would enlarge me.

The king's advocate answered, accusing me in an indignant tone of having caused illegal assemblies in the prison.

I answered pleasantly enough that he was wrong in imputing the crime to me, the Grand Provost and his Archers had to answer for that, and I could assure him that if he would open the prison, I would disperse the assembly.

"It is no jesting matter," said he, "you have prevented the conversion of these poor people."

I then spoke with more seriousness, and said "you must perceive by the confrontation that you are mistaken; but for the sake of argument, suppose it to be otherwise; I look upon the conversion of the soul as exclusively the work of the Holy Spirit of God, and that perseverance in our religion cannot be attributed to any mere man, but rather to Him who tries the hearts and the reins, and strengthens whom he pleases."

"I am ashamed," said I, "to plead before Christians as Christians



formerly pleaded before Pagans; and now just imagine yourself in the situation of one of us. What would you think of a religion which should impute it to you as a crime, that you had prayed to God out of the deep gulf of your affliction? Would you be disposed to embrace such a religion?" pp. 63—67.

Notwithstanding his innocence, therefore, he was driven away to prison, a worse abode than his former one. Another trial awaited him here, and, as in all cases of persecution, he was found guilty, sentenced to pay a fine, and declared forever incapable of exercising any function of the holy ministry. He appealed to the parliament, where he obtained a decision in his favor reversing the sentence. Difficulties, however, were continually interposed, so that it was not till after great efforts, that he received the deed which set him at full liberty. Nor was his restored condition long continued. The next year the dragoons made their appearance, and the well known cruelties which are comprised in the term invented at that period—*dragooning*, were suffered by the poor protestants in all their extent.

This was the age of Louis XIV, called the Great. Mr. Fontaine was again the object of unwearied persecution. He thus relates the story of his hard lot :

'I left my house at midnight never to return to it, with my valet, and a horse for each of us, and a portmanteau. I was well armed, and I resolved if I did encounter the dragoons, to sell my life as dearly as possible. My house was amply furnished, and I had removed nothing. Two hours after my departure, eighteen dragoons took possession of it and lived there until they had consumed or sold every thing they could lay hands upon, even to the locks and bolts of the doors. \* \* \*

Wherever I went I tried to do some good, strengthening those who were firm, and denouncing those who had fallen, trying to persuade them to abjure their abjuration. It was distressing to see what numbers had made shipwreck of their faith. Many persons who had suffered persecution, lost all their property, and still did not yield to the tempter, fell victims at last to the evil counsels of false friends, who persuaded them that God having ordered them to honor and obey the King, they broke his commandments by refusing to obey the King's decrees; and thus they became idolatrous renegades, adoring that which they well knew to be nothing more than a morsel of bread. I was so grieved at the extent of defection that I fell sick, lost my strength and spirits, and suffered much from bilious vomitings. I often encountered parties of soldiers, and so great was my depression that I should not have been sorry if they had attacked me, and life had become so burdensome, that I would willingly have parted with mine, especially if I could in the struggle have despatched some of the ringleaders of the devil's armies." pp. 99—102.

It was in this year, 1685, that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes took place, and all was distress and flight. After having engaged a passage for England, together with some of his friends, they were almost on the point of being taken by their foes before they could reach the ship. The account of their escape is interesting, both in its incidents and the manner of narration. The vessel had been detained at the custom-house, and they were informed by the captain, that their only hope of joining him, was to come out in boats, and he would lie by to receive them, as he was passing out to sea. "Accordingly," says Mr. Fontaine,

'Under cover of the night we passed by all the pinnaces that were keeping guard, and the fort of Oleron, without being discovered; and at ten o'clock in the morning we dropped our anchor to wait for the ship. We had instructed our boatmen that if we were pursued they were immediately to run the boat ashore, abandon her, and then 'sauve qui peut.' I was well armed, ready for such an emergency, because I could place no reliance upon my poor lame limb helping me in the hour of need, and I had resolved to defend myself to the last gasp, and never to be taken alive. I was not put to the trial, for God guided us in safety, and closed the eyes of our enemies.

We had agreed with the English Captain that when we saw him, we should make ourselves known by hoisting a sail and letting it fall three times, and he was to answer our signal by lowering his mizzen-sail three times. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we first espied the vessel; she had the official visitors and pilot still on board. On reaching the extreme point of the Isle of Oleron we saw her cast anchor, put out the visitors and pilot, take her boat on board, get under way, and sail towards us. We now felt a confidence that we had surmounted every difficulty, and expected in a very few minutes to be under full sail for England. Our joy was of short duration, a King's Frigate came in sight, and gradually approached us; she was one of those vessels constantly employed on the coast to prevent Protestants leaving the kingdom, and all who were found were seized, and the men sent to the galleys, the women to convents. No language can describe our consternation at this sudden change in our prospects; a moment before, the cup of joy was at our lips, and now dashed to the ground. We were at the distance of a cannon shot from the Frigate, and what must she think of us; a little bit of a boat at anchor in a place which did not afford safe anchorage even for large shipping. She cast anchor, ordered the English vessel to do the like, boarded her, and searched every nook and corner without finding any French Protestants except a minister and his family, whose departure was authorized by law. What a blessing that we were not on board at this time! Had the Frigate been only one hour later in appearing we should all have been lost. After the search, the Englishman was ordered to sail immediately; the wind was favorable, and he could make no excuse, and we had the misery of seeing him leave us behind.

Our situation was dreadful; we were in perfect despair, and knew not what to do. To remain where we were would infallibly excite suspicion, and the Frigate would send to overhaul us. If we attempted to return to Tremblade, the chances were a hundred to one against our succeeding, and to add to our dismay our poor boatman and his son (our whole crew) wept aloud, deploring their misery, for they having already abjured, knew well that nothing short of a halter awaited them if detected in the act of aiding Protestants to make their escape. Through the whole course of my life prayer had been my constant resource in every difficulty, and I betook myself to it on this occasion as usual, and felt a persuasion that God would not suffer us to fall into the hands of his enemies and ours.

All at once I thought of a feint which, thank God, proved successful, and effected our deliverance. Having considered that the wind was fair to Rochelle, and contrary to Tremblade, I said to the boatmen :

“Cover us all up in the bottom of the boat with an old sail, then hoist your sail, and go right towards the Frigate, pretending to endeavor to gain Tremblade; and if they should hail you from the Frigate, you must say you are from Rochelle, and going to Tremblade; if they ask what you have on board; say, nothing but ballast; and it would be well that you and your son should counterfeit drunkenness, tumbling about in the boat, and then you can, as if by accident, let the sail fall three times, and so inform the English Captain who we are.” He determined to abide by my counsel, and after covering us up, actually sailed within pistol shot of the Frigate.

As I expected, she hailed him, and asked whence he came, whither he was going, and what he had on board. To all which he replied as I had instructed him.

“And what made you cast anchor?” said they.

“In hopes,” he said “that the wind would change and I might make Tremblade, but it is still too strong for me.”

Just then the son fell down in the boat and dropped the sail; his father left the helm, and instead of hoisting the sail at once, took a rope's end and pretended to chastise him, the hard blows falling on the wood and making a great noise. The son cried out lustily, and the people in the Frigate threatened that if the father would not have more patience with his son, they would come and treat him in the same way. He excused himself, saying that his son was as drunk as a hog, and he ordered him to hoist the sail a second time, and he resumed his station at the helm; the son let the sail fall as soon as he had raised it, and repeated the same manœuvre a third time, and thus gave the English information of who we were.

From the Frigate they entreated our boatman not to think of making for Tremblade, that night was approaching and he would inevitably be lost, but recommended him to return to Rochelle with the fair wind. This was exactly the advice we wished to receive. Our course was altered, the boat was put before the wind, and we bade them adieu very cordially. In the mean time, the English vessel had answered our signal, and was getting fairly out to sea, we dared not follow her be-

cause the Frigate remained at anchor ; but about twilight the boatmen said we must make the attempt before night, or we should be swallowed up by the waves. We had no sooner altered our course than we perceived the Frigate taking up her anchor and setting her sails ; of course we thought we had been observed, and that she was going to pursue us, and we again turned towards Rochelle in great agony of mind. Instant death would to any of us have been greatly preferable to capture. Knowing our own weakness and frailty, we feared persecution might destroy our constancy. A few minutes put an end to our anxiety, for we saw the Frigate steering towards Rochefort ; so we again changed our course, the English vessel slackened her rate ; we overtook her and were taken on board before the Frigate was out of sight. A day never to be forgotten by us, who effected our escape from enemies, who had not only power to kill the body, but have destroyed an infinite number of souls also.

My dear wife and I have fully experienced the truth of that promise of our blessed Saviour, to give a hundred fold more even in this present life to those who leave all to follow him. We have never wanted for any thing, we have not only been supplied with necessaries, but comforts ; and oftentimes luxuries also. Certain it is that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth, but in the enjoyment he has of them, and it is in this sense that I would be understood, when I say that we have received the hundred fold promised in the gospel ; for we have had infinitely more joy and satisfaction in having lost our property for the glory of God, than they can have had who have taken possession of it. pp. 109—115.

Henceforth the narrative is of his residence in England and Ireland. After some unsuccessful ventures in mercantile affairs, Mr. Fontaine removed from Barnstaple to Bridgewater. This was not, however, till after his marriage to a young French lady, who had come over to England in the same ship with himself, and to whom he had been for some time attached. Previous to his leaving Barnstaple, and while residing with a Mr. Downe, who had proved himself a friend to the stranger, he experienced a different kind of persecution from any former one. Mr. Downe had a maiden sister who seems to have cast her eyes upon the young Huguenot, and to have made up her mind that nothing would be more feasible than for them to unite their fortunes for life. The plan as settled by herself was, for her to receive Mr. Fontaine for a husband, while her brother would very kindly relieve him of any anxiety as to his intended, by taking her himself to wife. Unfortunately, however, for the lady's project, the two parties most interested, when consulted, were not willing to submit to such a transfer. Mr. Fontaine, perhaps somewhat inclined to a little roguery, informed Mr. Downe, that he would bear the proposal to his intended. This

brought on a melting scene. The lovers with true self-denial, professed their readiness not to stand in the way of each other's good fortune, and the result was, that they determined to have the knot tied at once, so that they might be freed from all other addresses. The brother seems to have acquiesced like a sensible man, but the sister felt all the pangs of unrequited affection and wounded pride. During his residence in Bridgewater, Mr. Fontaine received some assistance from the fund at London for the relief of French refugees. This was accompanied, however, with an intimation, that a continuance of the charity must depend upon his sending a certificate to the committee of his union with the Episcopal church of England. Its doctrines he most readily embraced, but of its government Mr. Fontaine observes, "especially the point, so much insisted upon, of Episcopacy by divine right, seemed to me to have too strong a resemblance to popery." Dr. Hawks in a note says, "It is not surprising, that a foreigner should confound the conscientious members of the Church of England with the disguised papists, who were so numerous in the days of Charles II, and James II, by whom the Calvinists were persecuted." We cite this admission merely to say, that henceforth we hope there will be no more denials of the persecution of the Calvinists, the forefathers of New England, and that the praises of those "disguised papists" who then disgraced the miter will no more be sung, for we have the word for it, that there was persecution, and by such men, of no less an authority than the historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States. Mr. Fontaine found, that as a Presbyterian he could receive no relief. But we will let him tell his own story :

' I have another serious fault to find with the distributing Committee. The fund placed at their disposal arose from the voluntary contributions of the whole English nation, and I believe the Nonconformists had been as liberal as the Episcopalians, and yet no one was relieved who did not hand in a certificate of his being a member of the Church of England, and surely this was unjust.

At one time, ground down by poverty, my spirit was so humbled that I went to London to make a personal application to the Committee, and my friends advised me to call upon certain Deans and other high dignitaries who were the most influential members of the Committee. My garments were old and shabby, and I found it difficult to gain an entrance to any of the great houses. The footman would leave me waiting a long time in the entry like a common beggar, and at last return to inform me that his Reverence was not then at leisure to see me. I would call again and again, till weary of opening the door, the servant, to avoid further importunity, would obtain for me the desired audience,

and accompanying me through divers richly furnished apartments, watching carefully lest I should steal some of the plate that was piled up on the sideboards, introduce me to the apartment where the Dean was sitting. He inquired what I wanted of him, not even asking the poor beggar to take a seat.

In as few words as possible I told him my situation and sufferings, and was opening my papers, but he refused to read my testimonials; saying, the subject would come before the Committee.

The necessities of those who were dearer to me than life so lowered my pride, that I made a round of such visits as these, but it was all in vain, the money was for Episcopalians only.

Mr. Maureau, who held the office of secretary to the Committee, took up my cause very warmly. "You will not," said he, "suffer so worthy a man to be reduced to extremity with his wife and two children, a man who has shown that he counted his life as nothing when the glory of God was in question, and who generously and voluntarily exposed himself to uphold the faith of a number of poor country people. Perhaps there are not four ministers who have received the charity of the Committee who have done so much for the cause of true religion, as he has."

All this was to no purpose so long as I was a Presbyterian. "He is a young man," said they, "let him get a situation as a servant, his wife can do the same, and we will take care of his children in the house we have hired for the purpose."

I was directed to go to the grand Almoner to receive an answer, and when he gave me the above, my eyes filled with tears, I felt indignant, and answered hastily, that he ought to have put himself in my situation, according to the commandment in the New Testament, before he undertook to give me such cruel advice. His wife happened to be present, and turning to her, I said, "Madam, I sincerely pity you to be united to a man who can speak with so much indifference of separating husband and wife," and (knowing they had no family) I added that I adored the wisdom of God who had not thought fit to give him children, seeing he felt it so easy a matter to part with them; but before I would place mine under his guardianship, and give up the spouse whom I regarded as one of the choicest blessings God had bestowed upon me, I would dig the ground all day as a common laborer, in order to share with them the bread that I had earned by the sweat of my brow. I had £3 given me, which I was told was the last I could expect to receive, and I returned home sadly cast down, having spent from £7 to £8 upon the necessary expenses of traveling and making this fruitless application.

Some charitable Presbyterians, hearing of my distress, made a collection for me in their congregation which was a great help. You may be sure my feelings were still more soured towards Episcopalians, and I felt convinced by bitter experience, that opposition and ill treatment, for difference of opinion, have a much greater tendency to widen the breach than to bring our opponents over to our way of thinking.' pp. 130—133.

With great simplicity of heart Mr. Fontaine speaks of an effort which he made, if possible, to recover some of his property left in France; for he says, that finding a stamped half-sheet among his papers, he sent it to an agent, after signing his own name at the foot, and requested him to fill it up as necessary with a sale or lease of his estate to some one, antedating it so as to appear to have been executed previous to his leaving France. The agent proved a rogue, for he did as he was directed, and then kept the property himself. In this disappointment Mr. Fontaine sees the hand of a kind providence, not merely preventing himself from profiting by an illegal act, but also not suffering any temptation to exist to draw away his descendants to France, or the Babylon, as he calls it, whence he had been withdrawn. His next removal was to Taunton, where he set about manufacturing of French light stuffs. His success here was so great, that he was summoned before the mayor of the place, to answer various accusations which were brought against him. The charges are a curious compound of ignorance and envy:

'When I appeared, they accused me of various misdemeanors. I was a sharper, a Jack of all trades, against whom there was universal complaint. I had the wool combed. I dyed it myself, I had it spun and woven, I then retailed it in my shop. I sold all sorts of things except apothecaries' drugs. The grocers complained that I sold a better article retail, than they could buy wholesale. The dealers in tin and copper were ready to shut up shop, and go to the Parish if I did not close mine. Those who dealt in brandy and vinegar set all day with their arms crossed, while we could scarcely measure fast enough. The hatters could sell no more, since I sold the Caroline and French beaver hats. Stockings of St. Maixant destroyed the hosiers. The drapers were idle all the time since I had introduced chamois leather dyed of all colors, a pair of breeches of which lasted as long as three pair made of cloth, and looked better. In short, they were obliged to pay government taxes and town rates, to which the stranger was not subjected and yet he pocketed all the profits; besides, he was a Jesuit in disguise, who said mass in his own house every Sunday; as well in one word, as a thousand, he is a French dog, who takes the bread out of the mouths of the English. To hear them, you would have supposed I was as rich as a Jew.' pp. 142, 143.

On being questioned whether he had ever served an apprenticeship, he vindicated himself with uncommon boldness and perhaps a little too much sarcasm, for knowing that the mayor had arisen from nothing by his own labor, he told the history of his own education, and the position he occupied as a minister of

the gospel, and a man of education in France, and then closed by saying :

‘ Hitherto I had been thought worthy of the best company wherever I had been, but when I came to this town, I found that science without riches was regarded as a cloud without water, or a tree without fruit, in one word, a thing worthy of supreme contempt ; so much so, that if a poor ignorant wool comber or hawker, were to amass money, he would be honored by every body, and be looked upon as the first man in the town. I have therefore, gentlemen, renounced all speculative science, and have become a wool comber, and a dealer in pins and laces, hoping that I may one day attain wealth, and be also one of the first men in the town.’ p. 144.

The Recorder, a more sensible man than the mayor, alluded to Mr. Fontaine’s misfortunes, his industry and prosperity, and how much better this was, than that he should become chargeable to the town by poverty, and recommended to them if they felt peculiarly desirous of his ceasing his occupation, they should raise for him an annuity which would enable him to resume his intellectual labors. It strikes us, that a similar answer might often be given to those parishioners who are in the habit of complaining of their minister for resorting to different honest modes of ekeing out a maintenance to which their stinted allowance has compelled him. After a feeling address to the court, the Recorder turned to Mr. F. and said, “Go, there is no law that can disturb you ; I will answer for it. We return you thanks for the bread you earn. God bless you and your labor ;” to which he answered, “May the Lord bless you also.” The appeal was not without its effect, for “the court resounded with thousands, ‘God bless you, Mr. Fontaine.’” Notwithstanding that he was thus delivered from law proceedings, still he was exposed to many petty annoyances, and treated uncourteously by the envious mayor and his friends. The revolution of 1688, and the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne, soon followed, and again Mr. Fontaine was led to new enterprises of industry. His inventive genius found an object in imitating a species of cloth which was very salable. After a variety of attempts he succeeded, and began to reap the fruit of his labors. This induced competition, and when others were enabled to rival him, he proceeded to renewed exertions and corresponding improvements. The account which he gives of his processes, is both interesting and instructive ; and when we think of the present modes of operation, it shows how great have been the advances in the arts and sciences, and how wonderful are the improvements in the economy of manufactures. It is from



such humble efforts, that the proud preëminence of England and the United States had their rise.

We cannot follow out in detail the fortunes of the French Refugee. He removed to Cork, in Ireland, and became the pastor of a French protestant church, but after a season of great happiness, he was under the sorrowful necessity of breaking up there, on account of some dissensions which arose in the church. Mr. Fontaine seems to have been a close practical preacher, and one of his hearers, a member of the church, felt a discourse as it were saying to him, "Thou art the man," and set himself to create difficulty. The pastor, unwilling to remain, left the place and took up his abode at a place called Bearhaven, where he engaged in the fishing trade. Here, however, he was unfortunate, and sustained heavy losses; and to crown all, the house or fort in which he and his family were, was attacked by a French privateer. The first time, after a most gallant defense, the enemy retreated, but in the last, notwithstanding a vigorous onset by himself and his wife and children, he was forced to surrender. He was wounded in the fight by the bursting of his own piece, and when, after an unwonted assault, a breach was finally entered, and capitulation made, the scene must almost have bordered on the ludicrous; since the whole garrison, as mustered, showed only five youths and four cowherds, and his wife—for he himself was disabled—the commander. The prisoners were plundered of their property, and two boys and two servants were carried away, contrary to the terms of surrender. He, too, was carried to the privateer, where his ransom was fixed at £100 sterling. His warlike spirit breaks out, while relating this part of his history, in a tone too earnest for the peace-men of the present day,—but he certainly deserved credit for his valor, and he was respected accordingly. Leaving his son as a hostage, he rode over to Kinsale and gave information to the magistrate of his treatment, who immediately retaliated by putting in irons a number of French prisoners.

The remainder of Mr. Fontaine's history contained no very striking incident. He took up his residence in Dublin, where he received an award of damages from the grand jury, which enabled him to open a school, to live comfortably, and educate his children. Three of his sons, in process of time, emigrated to Virginia, though they all did not remain there. The narrative before us was prepared in the year 1722, for the benefit of his children and their descendants—to impress upon them the

importance of trusting in the good providence of God, and that it might be a bond of union among their descendants.

We have dwelt upon it as a piece of Huguenot autobiography, and as developing the manner in which the French Refugees were enabled to benefit their adopted country. It inculcates a lesson of kindly charity towards those who flee from the hand of oppression and seek an asylum among us. It should impress us with a deeper sense of our privileges as a religious community. The fires of persecution do not kindle and burn against us as they did in France against the ill-fated Huguenots. No system of *dragooning* comes to turn us from our dwellings, and with all the inventive genius of zealot cruelty, to mutilate our limbs and destroy our lives. We are not forced to expatriate ourselves, leaving our property, gained by arts of honest industry, to rapacious plunderers. We are not thrown upon the charity of a foreign shore, to undergo a stranger's privations and a stranger's sorrows. Yet amid those storms and beatings of the tempest, they nursed a spirit of piety of a sturdy growth—the plant became hardier to endure and stronger to resist. We need in our day more of the same sterling, resolute devotedness in the place of much of that sentimentalism and time-serving profession, which is too often found within the pale of the church of Christ. The spirit of liberty—the manly independence of character, which prompted to the open avowal of obligation to God, even in the face of threatening evils, has become tamed down and subject to the claims of ignorance or corruption. The heroism of moral principle is almost lost in a fool-hardy rashness on the one hand, or a timorous shrinking from duty on the other. Undoubtedly there were deficiencies, and important ones, in the characters of the martyr-spirits who stood up for their civil and religious liberty in former ages; but it will be useful to study them, and imbibe a portion at least of their devotedness. It is on this account we esteem the publication of such a work serviceable. Every thing which lets open a window, through which to survey the past, may be turned to good account; for the experience of former ages may teach us many a lesson of good—how to direct our own affairs.

We cannot, too, but notice the ways of providence in every item of personal or public history. The ups and downs of life, the revolutions and commotions of kingdoms, all have a voice to utter for our instruction. The connection of true religion with the best interests of nations, is a fact established by all the records of the past. From the time that France drank

the blood of her martyrs for Christ, she degenerated and grew weaker, till but two centuries after she was compelled to gorge herself with her dead amid the excesses of the Revolution, to which the vices of her monarchs and nobles had directly conducted her. It could not but be, that she who had raged with such fury against the people of God, should be left to experience what it was to be without God for a protector, since his providence will sooner or later redress the wrongs of his children. For half a century how has she been filled with blood and slaughter, her sons dragged from their paternal hearths and the pursuits of industry almost before they had passed their minority, to fall on the battle-fields, which helped but to satiate the ambition of her despot; and finally armies of aliens from the extreme north, entering her capital and displaying their banners in the very scene of former exultation, while her ruler was an exile and nearly an outlaw! This is the kingdom where were perpetrated the cool blooded massacres of St. Bartholomew's day, where was signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,—where fire and sword were let loose upon the unprotected Huguenots. Surely, God is a judge among the nations, and he has his means to bring a certain and dreadful retribution upon the oppressors of his people! From such examples may we learn our duty, and be wise in our own time.

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ART. VII.—NORDHEIMER'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.

*A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*; by ISAAC NORDHEIMER, Phil. Doct. Munich; Professor of Arabic, &c., in the University of the City of New York. In two vols. Vol. I. New Haven: 1838. pp. xxviii, and 280. 8vo.

ALL nature has a voice. Even matter, in every form, when interrogated by a smart percussion, gives an audible response, indicative at once of its existence, and of its internal organization. Animals, with conscious effort, express their feelings and their wants in monotonous sounds, which are yet intelligible to their own species. But man, on the high grade of free moral existence, can, by a peculiar power, also express the whole extent and richness of his thoughts.

The voice here ascribed to lifeless matter is, properly speaking, merely sound. The voice possessed by animals is imperfect and inarticulate, consisting of vocalic sounds with some modulation. But the voice which belongs to man is not only modulated, so as to produce different vocalic sounds or vowels; but also articulated, so as to form consonants. This articulation is the peculiarity of human speech. By it are formed syllables, words, propositions, sentences, and in short the whole structure of language.

Thus language in its origin is a radiation of the human mind, a product of the common human understanding. It belongs not to the individual, but to the race possessing the same attributes. To the oneness of the race are owing the unity of language, as well as of science generally, and the other great results of human effort.

Language, therefore, is not a matter of concert, nor is it dependent on the caprice of individuals; but, so far as the natural is opposed to the artificial and arbitrary, it is a natural phenomenon. Developing itself after necessary laws, both in its form and spirit, and extending itself over the wide domain of human thought, it is a living and organic whole.

It has hitherto been a defect of grammar, to be insensible to the life and sacredness of language. Grammarians have supposed language to be a work of human wisdom, a mass of words which man might call up and direct at pleasure. They have proceeded as if ignorant of its superhuman character. They have adopted this or that mode of declension and conjugation at pleasure, and forms which did not coincide with their rules, they have pronounced irregular. They have thus denounced, in special languages, some of the most ancient and deeply grounded forms. Without considering, that grammar is merely the physiology of language, they have made the great mistake of supposing, that language must conform to their artificial rules.

Life consists in the union of a spiritual principle with a bodily. Like color, it is elicited by the light of the spirit striking on the darkness of matter. So it is with language. Without the life-giving thought, the word would be an unmeaning sound; without the body of sound, the thought would not make itself known to the ear. This inner, spiritual principle, we call the *logical*; the external, bodily principle, the *acoustic* or *phonetic*. The manner in which the two are united, exhibits the genius of the language. To these two principles grammar should have constant reference, as well as to the spirit of the language thus exhibited.

Life usually extends itself out from a central point, as from the heart into the members, or from the kernel to the outer coatings. So with the vital principle of language. This may be easily represented to the mind by conceiving of a diagram, composed of concentric circles.

The center would represent the root or kernel of the word. Compare, for example, the radical letters, *bnd*.

The first concentric circle would represent radical words, or words formed from the root by mere vocal sounds, also, that species of inflection, which consists in the internal change of vowels merely. Comp. verb *bind* and noun *band* from root *bnd*, also preterite *bound*, from present *bind* by inflection.

The second concentric circle would include the derivation of words by suffixes and prefixes, and inflection in the same way. Comp. *binder* and *unbind*; also *bindeth* and *bands*.

The third concentric circle would include the composition of words, and inflection by particles and auxiliary words. Comp. *bondman*, *he has bound*, *to the band*.

The farther we depart from the center, the weaker is the vital principle. After a word has undergone repeated changes, the force of the root is often lost in the feeling of the people that use it. Hence the radical letters are sometimes dropped. As in an aged oak, whose heart has decayed, the principle of life continues in the bark and extremities; so in such words life continues in the periphery, after time has consumed the center.

This explains to us, why the ancient languages, with their great richness of forms, so far exceed the modern in simplicity and vital power.

Since it has been discovered, that a language is a living organic whole, and not an accidental assemblage of words, it has become a subject of intense interest with the learned, to examine and describe the characteristics of each tongue, in order that it may be compared with every other. Hence has arisen, as it were, a new science, the physiognomic of language. The examination of single languages prepares the way, of course, for that of a whole family or class.

We seize the occasion, which the publication of a learned, original and philosophic grammar of the Hebrew language, by Dr. Nordheimer, presents us, for taking a general survey of Shemitism, or of that class of languages to which the Hebrew belongs.

In doing this, we think we shall pay our highest respect to the worthy author, and at the same time exhibit some new views of the relation of the Shemitish languages to the other Indo-

European, by which they are surrounded. The time has now arrived for subjecting the Shemitish languages to a philosophic examination, for vindicating their true character, and for bringing them forward from the insulated station to which they have been banished by many of the leading philologists in Europe.

It seems necessary to make some general remarks, before we proceed to our main object.

The Shemitish family of languages belong, in our view, to the Indo-European stock; although they differ from the other families of this stock more than they generally differ from each other.

These languages are called *Shemitish*, because the leading nations who spoke them were descended from Shem; while the nations who spoke the other languages of this stock were descended from Japheth.

This family of languages extended in ancient times from Armenia and Asia Minor to the Indian Ocean, and from the Mediterranean to the Tigris. It embraced, of course, people of very different habits and degrees of culture, and has been the cradle of three religions, the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan.

Shemitism has remained substantially the same for four thousand years. Its influence, through the Bible and the Talmud, the Koran and the Sunna, now pervades a large proportion of the world.

The Arabians were the first who labored on Shemitish grammar, and much of their technical language has descended to the present times.

The Shemitish family is divided into three branches:

I. Aramean branch,

1. East-Aramean, otherwise called Jewish Aramean, or Chaldaic.
2. West-Aramean, otherwise called Christian Aramean, or Syriac; including Comagene, Maronite, and Nestorian Syriac.
3. Samaritan.
4. Sabian.
5. Palmyrene.

II. Canaanitish branch,

1. Hebrew.
2. Phenician and Punic.
3. Modern Hebrew, including Talmudic and Rabbinic.

### III. Arabic branch,

1. Arabic.
2. Ethiopic.
3. Modern Arabic, including Moorish and Maltese.
4. Modern Ethiopic and Amharic.

We proceed now to the physiognomic of the Shemitish languages, commencing with the topics of pure grammar, and those in their natural order.

#### I. Phonology.

By phonology we intend an account of the sounds vocal and consonantal, which are developed in any language.

On the phonology of the Shemitish languages, we observe,

1. That they have three original vowels, *a, i, u*. From these *e* and *o* are formed by composition, or rather commixtion. It is remarkable, that this circumstance which has long been familiar to the Shemitish grammarians, should now be the acknowledged fact in reference to all the Indo-European languages. As we anticipate some objection to this statement of the nature and origin of the sounds, *e* and *o*, we shall endeavor to fortify it by the following considerations:

(1.) The Sanscrit, which is the oldest Indo-European dialect, has distinct characters for the three short vowels, *ā, ī, ū*; and for the three long vowels, *ā, ī, ū*; but for *ē, ō*, it has no character whatever, and the vowel sounds *ē, ō*, arise from the meeting and mingling of *ā* with *i* and *u* respectively; as, *namēdam* for *namā idam*; *purushōttama* for *purusha uttama*, (the best man.)

(2.) The Greek language has only single characters for the sounds *a, i, u*, and of course does not distinguish the long and short; while for *e, o*, which were probably added later, it has two characters; as, *ε, η*; *ο, ω*.

(3.) The Latin *ē* appears sometimes to have arisen from the mingling of *a* and *i*; as, *amēmus*, comp. Sansc. *kāmayēma* for *kāmaya-ima*. Comp. *Claudius* and *Clodius*; *plaustrum* and *plostrum*.

(4.) The Teutonic languages employ with a striking uniformity the vowels *a, i, u*, to express the different tenses of the strongly inflected verb; as, *wand, wunden, wind*; while *e, o*, are very rarely to be met with in the most ancient roots. The Runic alphabet has no sign for *e*. The short *ē* and *ō* are wanting in Gothic.

(5.) In the Shemitish dialects, the three original vowels, viz. *a, i, u*, are clearly distinguishable from the rest. There existed originally only three signs for them, א, י, ו; and only three now

in Arabic. The *e*, *o*, arise from combining *i*, *u*, with a preceding *a*; as, Arab. *baina*, Heb. *bēn*; Arab. *yaum*, Heb. *yōm*; Heb. suff. *ō*, for *ahu* or *au*. See Hupfeld: Exerc. Æthiop. p. 6 ff.

(6.) In several modern dialects *ai* sounds like *e*; as Mod. Greek *μυσαῖς*, French *palais*, Eng. *claim*, (comp. *pale*, *pay*.) So *au* like *o*; as French *aurai*.

(7.) Comp. Eng. *Cesar*, Lat. *Cæsar*, Gr. *Καῖσαρ*; Gr. *θαῖμα*, Ion. *θῶμα*; Teuton. *hauru*, Lat. *cornu*; Germ. *auch*, Swed. *och*.

(8.) According to Dr. James Rush, (in his *Philosophy of the Human Voice*, 1st ed. pp. 41, 61, 62.) the vanishing movement of *e*, (Eng. *a*;) is *i*, (Eng. *e*;) and of *o*, is *u*, (Eng. *oo*.)

It is a very remarkable and interesting circumstance, with regard to the principle which we are illustrating, that different minds, unknown to each other, and proceeding on entirely different grounds, have been led to the same conclusion. For such we must regard the course of the Shemitish grammarians, as for example, Gesenius; the comparative philologists, as Grimm and Bopp; and finally, Dr. Rush, while pursuing the English language physiologically.

2. Shemitism in its oldest form abounds in gutturals. It is now clear, from the Celtic, Basque, and especially from the Sanscrit, that this was the earliest state of the Indo-European languages. These gutturals, however, are softened in some of the Shemitish dialects, which retain the characters, while they confuse the sounds.

3. Syllables, almost without exception, begin with a consonant, or at least with an aspiration. This feature is exhibited in Sanscrit, and also in Greek, in reference to all initial syllables.

4. The oldest form of Shemitism, to wit, the Chaldaic and Syriac, is comparatively flat and hard. The numerous grades of sibilant sounds are a later addition. There has been the same softening in the other Indo-European tongues.

## II. *Euphony.*

1. The commutation of consonants of the same organ, which is so common in the Shemitish dialects, is found also in the various dialects respectively of the Greek, Teutonic, and Celtic languages.

2. The omission of weak letters, and the passing of vowels into consonants and vice versa, belong also to the languages with which we are acquainted.



3. The euphonic changes of some consonants, as the aspirates, which are varied in construction, are analogous to similar changes in the Sanscrit, Greek, and Celtic.

### III. *Parts of Speech.*

1. The Shemites have had from the earliest times a definite article formed from the demonstrative pronoun, and in later times an indefinite article formed from the numeral for *one*. This accords with the Indo-European languages.

2. Adjectives are often expressed by abstract nouns, or by periphrases.

3. The numerals are for the most part substantives. The units from three to nine are masculine with a feminine termination, and feminine with a masculine. The plurals of these units express the tens.

4. The oblique cases of the pronouns are expressed by suffixes on verbs and nouns.

5. The particles are less distinguishable from each other than in other languages.

### IV. *Character of the Roots.*

It is exactly here, where the greatest difference has been supposed to exist between the Shemitish and the other Indo-European languages, that we find some most remarkable coincidences.

1. The grand distinction which lies at the basis of modern comparative grammar, between the pronominal and interjectional elements on the one hand, and the verbal and nominal roots on the other, is found in full operation in the Shemitish languages. This might easily be shown by comparative tables of interjections, of personal and correlative pronouns, and of numerals.

2. The root consists of consonants only, and forms no word for the purpose of speech. The meaning of the root is also that which is common to the noun and the verb, the mere germ of an idea, of course no noun or verb itself, nor forming any part of human speech. This accords with the views of writers on general grammar, as deduced from the other Indo-European languages.

3. The roots, or rather radical words, which are the first sections of the trunk above the root, were originally monosyllabic, as has been shown by Dr. Nordheimer. See his *Hebr. Gram.* p. 74. This accords with the other Indo-European languages, in some of which harsh combinations of consonants often occur.

Compare *scand*, a root common to the Sanscrit and Latin ; also *waerstm*, a root in Anglo-Saxon, (Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. 6.)

4. There is an actual radical resemblance between the Shemitish and other languages ; (1.) in the interjections, which are formed onomatopoetically ; (2.) in the personal pronouns, as has been ably shown by Dr. Nordheimer, p. 84 ff ; (3.) in the other pronouns, as might easily be shown by a table of correlatives properly made out ; (4.) in the leading numerals, as has been long acknowledged ; and (5.) in many verbal and nominal roots, whose coincidence can no longer be doubted. See Gesen. Lex. passim.

#### V. Formation of Words.

Internal inflection is made great use of in the Shemitish tongues in the formation of words. The same seems to have been the case with the Indo-European tongues originally.

#### VI. Composition.

This is that for which the Sanscrit, Greek, and German languages, are so highly celebrated.

The Shemitish tongues are peculiarly marked in this particular. While, on the one hand, they have a uniform system of prefixes and suffixes peculiar to themselves, they have no compound words in the full sense, like Greek and German compounds, except in proper names. The close intimacy of the noun in the construct state with the following noun, seems to have rendered such compounds unnecessary.

#### VII. Inflection.

Under inflection are included those changes which a word undergoes in order to express the changeable relations which it sustains in connected discourse. The form of a word which has as yet suffered no change from inflection, is called the pure form or ground-form. The modifications of a word which are employed to express relations, are called the signs or exponents of those relations.

The relations of a word which are expressed by inflection, are those of number, gender, comparison, case, voice, mode, tense, and person. But by a more convenient classification, these are all included under declension, comparison, and conjugation.

Declension is very limited in the Shemitish dialects ; but so far as it goes, the correspondence with other languages is stri-

king. (1.) The most common exponent of the feminine gender, viz. Heb.  $\text{ת־}$ , Chald.  $\text{ת־}$ , Syr.  $\text{ܬ\text{-}}$ , accords fully with the expression of the same gender in the other Indo-European languages. See Quart. Christ. Spect., Vol. IX, p. 125. (2.) The other feminine termination  $\text{ת}$ , which is to be regarded as a hardening of  $\text{ת}$ , (see Nordh. Hebr. Gramm. p. 202.) answers also to the  $t$  or  $d$  in forms like Sansc. *bahuta*, greatness, from *bahu*, great; Gr. *ἰσότης*, equality, from *ἴσος*, equal; Lat. *bonitas*, Fr. *bonté*, goodness, from *bonus*, good; Goth. *daubitha*, obduracy, from *daubs*, obdurate; Old Germ. *armida*, Germ. *armuth*, poverty; Old Germ. *tiurida*, Germ. *zierde*, ornament; Eng. *length*, *sloth*, *verity*, *gravity*. (3.) The two Shemitish plural terminations  $\text{ים}$  (Chald.  $\text{ים}$ ) and  $\text{ות}$  are probably the  $n$  and  $s$ , of so frequent occurrence in the Indo-European tongues. See Quart. Christ. Spect., Vol. IX, p. 417. (4.) The Shemitish languages, properly speaking, have no case, the cases found in the learned Arabic being a deviation from the usual law of Shemitism. But the powers of the adnominal or genitive case correspond almost exactly to the use of the construct state; and of the adverbial cases, the nominative, vocative, and accusative, are expressed by collocation, and the other cases by prepositions, as is done in most of the modern languages of Europe.

The comparison of adjectives is expressed by a periphrasis. The comparative is expressed by the simple form of the adjective followed by a preposition signifying *from*, as in other languages the comparative degree is followed by the ablative case, which originally denoted the place *from* which. The superlative is expressed by a particle signifying *very*, as in many other languages.

The conjugation of verbs, notwithstanding its apparent dissimilitude, has something in common with other languages. (1.) The two leading tenses in the Shemitish languages probably correspond to the two original absolute tenses in the other languages, to which the remaining or relative tenses were afterwards added. (2.) The two Shemitish tenses with the participle show the same play of the leading vowels, as is found in Greek, Latin, German, and English; thus,

Chald. pret. *ketal*, fut. *yiktul*, partic. *katel*.

Greek aor. *ἔταφον*, pret. *τέταφα*, pres. *τάφω*.

Lat. pres. *frango*, pret. *fregi*.

Germ. pret. *band*, partic. *gebunden*, pres. *bind*.

Eng. pret. *swam*, partic. *swum*, pres. *swim*.

(3.) The terminations of the persons are fragments of the pronouns, as in many other languages.

### VIII. *Syntax.*

Higher grammar treats of words in connection. It includes syntax, or the doctrine concerning propositions, and versification, or the doctrine concerning verse.

Syntax treats of the nature of the proposition; of the concord or harmony of the parts which stand in the same relation; of the government of the parts which stand in different relations; of the collocation of the parts of the proposition; and also of the period or compound proposition.

In respect to the syntax of the Shemitish dialects, I observe,

1. The parts of the proposition are the same as in other languages. The substantive verb, or copula, however, is often omitted. It may be observed here, that the substantive verb is wanting in many of the North American Indian languages. Arch. Amer. II. 174.

2. The concord is apparently very irregular. But much of this irregularity is removed by the adoption of two simple principles; (1.) the verb being placed before the subject is sometimes put in the third person singular, as the nearest and leading form; (2.) the construction sometimes follows the sense, and not the letter.

3. The government is reduced to very narrow limits, from the entire want of cases. To this remark, however, the learned Arabic, which has three cases, forms an exception.

4. The natural collocation of the parts of the proposition is as follows: first, the verb, with the subject implied; then, the noun, explaining the subject implied in the verb; and lastly, the object. Qualifying words follow the words which they qualify. Emphasis, however, requires a departure from the order here given, by putting the important or emphatic word first.

4. The particles *וְ* and *וּ* are prefixed to sentences or clauses, like articles to nouns, as are the corresponding particles in other languages, particularly the conjunction *that* in English.

5. Great simplicity reigns in the Shemitish languages. This is owing partly to the imperfect development of the relative and of course the correlative pronouns and particles, and partly to the fewness of conjunctions which denote the internal relations between sentences.

### IX. Versification.

Versification, or the external form of poetry, consists in the division of language into measured portions of sound, in addition to the logical division of the same into propositions and words.

1. Under this head we have to notice a peculiar form of poetry, which is indigenous in the Shemitish languages, although it may be imitated in other tongues. I refer to the *parallelism*. This parallelism is now found in the oldest specimens of Hebrew poetry, and without doubt existed originally in the other dialects, as may be inferred from remaining specimens in Syriac and Samaritan.

That this species of poetry has a peculiar external form, is evident at first sight from its symmetry, although rhetoricians have often failed to appreciate and describe it.

The peculiarity of this poetry consists in its division into equal or nearly equal lines, in such a way, that the verse and sense shall be conterminous. As the poetic division coincides with the logical, Hebrew poetry does not require the aid of quantity, as in Sanscrit, Greek and Latin, nor of accent, as in most modern languages, in order to mark the lines or verses; nor does it need quantity or accent to mark the strophes, as these are sufficiently distinguished by the parallelism of thought.

The simplicity of this form of poetry gives it a high claim to antiquity, as has been happily illustrated by Dr. Nordheimer in his *Hebr. Chrest.* p. 83. So far as the verse and sense are conterminous, there is an approximation to it in the most ancient Latin and Sanscrit poetry.

2. Accented poetry is found in Arabic, Syriac, and modern Hebrew. Evidence, however, is not wanting, that in Arabic it was preceded by quantitative poetry. Hence the change from quantitative to accented poetry in the Shemitish dialects, has been analogous to that in modern Greek and in the modern Latin languages.

3. The Shemites do not want entirely the other external ornaments of poetry.

(1.) Acrostic poetry is found in ancient Hebrew, in Syriac, Samaritan, and Sabian. It is also found in modern languages.

(2.) Alliteration is found in ancient Hebrew; (see Gen. 49: 19. Judg. 5: 30. 14: 14. Cant. 1: 3.) It is also found occasionally in ancient Greek and Latin, and forms the leading characteristic of ancient Teutonic poetry.

(3.) Rhyme is found in Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan, and modern Hebrew. In some Syriac poems, every line ends with the

same syllable, and in some Arabic and Samaritan, with the same letter, as Lam, Mim. It is even said, that the rhyme of the modern occidental languages is derived from the Arabians. Rhyme is found occasionally in ancient Hebrew, (see Judg. 14 : 18. Job 6 : 9. Ps. 45 : 8. 72 : 10. Prov. 6 : 1, 2. Is. 1 : 9, 25, 29. 10 : 6. 44 : 3. 49 : 10. 53 : 6.) but this is to be ascribed for the most part to accident.

The discordance between Shemitish and occidental poetry is certainly not so great as has been supposed.

### X. Orthography.

The orthography of a language, or its reduction to writing, is an important supplement to pure grammar, which latter respects the language merely as spoken. We proceed to some observations on the orthography of the Shemitish tongues.

1. As letters were invented by the Shemites, the alphabet was originally better adapted to their language, than to those of the other Indo-European nations, who have derived their written character from the Shemites. We are authorized, therefore, to assume on the one hand, that there were originally as many sounds as written characters, for example, all the grades of guttural sound, and on the other, that they were not necessitated to use two characters to express any simple sound. At a later period, however, different characters coalesced in some dialects into the same sound, and a double character was sometimes employed to express a single foreign sound.

2. Certain euphonic changes in the sound of particular letters, according to their position in a word, seem not to have been regarded in the several Shemitish languages as constituting distinct letters, as only one character was employed to express them. Thus, *b* and *bh*, *g* and *gh*, *d* and *dh*, *k* and *kh*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th*, were expressed by one character. The repetition of a letter was also treated as an euphonic variety of the same. This gave rise, in Masoretic Hebrew, to the complicated doctrine of the Daghesh forte and lene.

3. Owing to the irregular feature of these languages mentioned above, that every syllable begins with a consonant, or at least with a perceptible aspiration, only the consonants were originally expressed in the writing, the vowels being added subsequently, and then not in the same line with the consonants.

4. In the view of the Masorites, every perfect consonant seems to have constituted a syllable, or at least a half-syllable ; for they always add, or at least imply, a Shewa, wherever a full vowel is wanting. This is very different from some modern

languages, as the German and Italian ; but finds an analogy in the mute *e* of the English and of the French. The object of the Hebrew Shewa was, we apprehend, to express this half-vowel, and not, as some suppose, to denote the mere absence of all vowel sound.

5. All the Shemitish dialects, with the exception of the Ethiopic, are written from right to left. In the same way Greek was originally written, as the most ancient monuments testify.

The limits of a review do not permit us to enter into minute details. But these general statements are, we apprehend, sufficient to show, that the Shemitish languages have a fair claim to be considered a part of the Indo-European stock.

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Before we conclude, it is proper to say something with more immediate reference to the work under review.

There are two modes of treating grammar. The one embraces simply the facts or principles of the language ; the other aims at an explanation of the facts, and a philosophical deduction of them.

In grammars designed for young pupils, or for merely practical purposes, the former mode is sufficient. But for the Hebrew language, which differs so widely from our own, and is taken up at a maturer age, as a part of a liberal education, the second mode is desirable in itself, and is almost necessary to relieve the mind from the multiplicity of facts. While, however, the true nature of language was not understood, it was natural to expect that efforts in this way should fail. But the firm basis given to the study of language, by the late investigations in comparative philology, under the guidance of a few gifted minds, convinces us, that we now stand on a different ground. It is now time to apply the rich stores amassed by Humboldt, Bopp, and Grimm, to grammatical treatises of every kind.

This, we think, is the peculiarity of the grammar before us. Conversant with the writers just alluded to, and impressed with the importance of the philosophy of language, the author has attempted a *rationale* of the phonetic system of the Hebrew on physiological principles—a system, as is well known, closely inwrought into the very texture of the language. Unless we greatly err, Dr. N. has cleared up this dark spot in Hebrew grammar, attached to it an uncommon degree of interest, and led on the student to enlarged views of general grammar.

The volume before us contains only the orthography and etymology of the language. A second volume, containing the syntax and a chrestomathy, is to follow.

The author, in our view, has been peculiarly happy in his mode of exhibiting the three primary vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*; and of deriving *e* and *o* from them; p. 10 ff.: this, as we have shown above, accords perfectly with the vocalism of the Indo-European languages;—in his statement of *Holem* written defectively, p. 14;—in his lucid exhibition of the principles of syllabication, p. 17;—in his explanation of the compound *She-was*, the *Pattah* furtive, and their relation to the gutturals, p. 20 ff.;—in his new distinction of *Daghesh compensative* and *Daghesh conservative*, p. 24 ff.;—in his neat explanation of the consonant changes which proceed from euphony, p. 48 ff., and in his synopsis of vowel changes, p. 69. These topics occur in the first book, which relates to orthoëpy and orthography. The second book opens with an interesting chapter on roots and the formation of words. His idea, that the Shemitish roots were originally monosyllabic, is worthy of the attention of Bopp and Grimm. His opinion, that the root lies in the verb rather than in the noun, is so far correct; but, in our view, the true root, consisting of consonants only without vowels, is an idea anterior both to the noun and verb. This we have alluded to above. His next chapter, on the personal pronouns, with their use in the inflection of verbs, will be found of great practical value. His ingenious comparison of these pronouns with those of other languages, both singly and as connected with the verb, must stagger those who deny the connection between the Shemitish and the Indo-European languages. His derivation of the imperative from the future, his explanation of the *Waw* converse and of the *Pilel* of verbs *Ain Waw*, of the construction of numerals, and of the *Daghesh lene* in עָנַו, might also be mentioned. That which will especially please the learner, is his happy arrangement of the verb, and its irregularities.

There are, however, in this work, some principles with which we are not prepared to accord; although we are aware, that much may be said in their favor; as, for example, his account of the origin of the final letters, which appear to us to have been the original forms from which the others were derived, to render the character cursive, p. 6.—His opinion, that the Hebrew characters were originally syllabic, and that the resolution of syllables into vowels and consonants was subsequent in the order of time, p. 9.—His idea, that the aspirate sound of the



Begadkephath letters was the original, and preceded the unassimilated; for, though the Masorites may have had this opinion, yet a comparison of the Indo-European phonology leads us to the contrary conclusion, p. 28.—The denial of what may be called *retrograde assimilation*, p. 26.—His doubt of the usual derivation of the Hebrew article from *ה*, pp. 25, 253, 258 ff.—His idea of assimilation, which, however, is certainly ingenious, p. 52.—And his view of the primary use of the accents, p. 33.—Most of these points, though interesting objects of discussion, are not of such a nature as to affect the general character of the grammar.

The typographical execution does honor to the press from which it emanates. The Hebrew is printed with remarkable correctness.

The author, who is of German birth and education, is a man of talents and enterprise. Although young, and recently arrived in this country, he has already attained an honorable station in the University of New York. He is advantageously known as a language teacher in that city and elsewhere, and is now mingling himself with our literature in one of its most important branches. As friends of literature, we wish him success.

#### ART. VIII.—WHO ARE THE TRUE CONSERVATIVES?

WITHIN a few years, the word *conservative* has become a term of frequent use among us, and apparently of great consequence in the estimation of not a few of the literary, political, and religious parties of the day. With the introduction and general use of the term has been connected the prevalence of certain peculiar opinions, and as the philosophy and history of language both teach us, it could not have been otherwise, inasmuch as the frequent use of a new *term* is always the signal of some movement in the minds of those who receive and give it currency.

The history of the term is brief, and can easily be traced, since in its present somewhat peculiar signification, it has been employed but for a very short period of time.

It was adopted originally by the Tory party of Great Britain, after their ominous defeat in the passage of the Reform Bill, at the suggestion, probably, of the wiser and more moderate of their leaders, who hoped to rally part of the Whigs to join with

themselves, under a name so auspicious, in a united effort, to save the altars and throne of the imperial nation. From England, it speedily passed across the Atlantic, and has been eagerly taken up by more than one party, in politics and religion, and with a prodigious flourish of trumpets, and a loud cheer of defiance to the foe, has already been imprinted upon their banners. We now no longer need to search for it in the classic pages of the London Quarterly, nor in the political articles, exuberantly intolerant, of the severe but good-natured Blackwood; but it meets the eye in the pages of many of our daily prints, which commend or censure all men and all opinions, according as they are, or are not, "thoroughly conservative." We hear it, also, *usque ad nauseam*, from the mouth of the genteel aristocrat of our cities, and also in the daily discourse of the talking philosopher of our colleges, who renounces the people and "all their works," with the customary ardor of academical orthodoxy. In certain of our periodicals, also, it is of so frequent occurrence as quite to surfeit those who prefer the strength of argumentation to the endless reiteration of the watch-word of a party, and who would relish the piquancy of satire, or even the coarse abuse of an unlicensed pen, above the querulous sighing forth, on one doleful key, of the same lamentations upon "the times." Our preachers, also, begin to introduce it into their discourses, and after deliberately and coolly classing themselves and their own opinions on the conservative side, and their opponents on the side of fanaticism and folly, so finish the argument, and close with the appropriate practical inferences. There are those even, who seem more anxious to preach conservatism than the gospel of their master, and are more careful to imbue their hearers with their own wholesome prejudices, than that they should be animated with the healthful influences of the divine spirit. In short, so common has the term become, that those who appropriate it to their own party, will, if not especially watchful, soon render themselves liable to be charged with *cant*, that *dreadfully vulgar* offense, which, in their judgment, is not a venial transgression, but is clothed with all the fearful associations, that belong to a "*mortal sin*." Surely, they ought to tremble, for we hear of the conservatives among the abolitionists, and other movement parties of the day—a certain proof, that the term must have been esteemed of sovereign efficacy and of wondrous reputation, and that it is soon to lose its appropriate and very peculiar charm.

We are very far from the opinion, that there is no such thing as radicalism, or that there are no parties abroad which deserve

not the appellations *Disorganizing and Destructive*. Never, perhaps, in our country, was there a more pressing need of true conservative principles, and a louder call for a really conservative influence. An unclean spirit has indeed gone out into the length and breadth of the land, and taken possession of its low and its high places. Her brood "of sundrie shapes, yet all ill-favored," have entered the sanctuary of the domestic circle and the holy temple of God's worship, and defiled them both. Their senseless and fantastic tricks ; their brazen self-confidence ; their perversions of holy writ ; and their uncharitable judgments of all who differ from them, excite the mirth and jests of the scornful, and move the foreboding anxiety of those who can trace the end to which these movements tend, and in the history of the past, can take note of the destructive ravages which in other times have followed indications precisely similar in kind, only more widely spread in extent. When grave philosophers and sober divines, begin to grow warm for "the rights of woman," and men of influence and moral worth are so morbidly sensitive, lest the treasures of our benevolent societies should be defiled with the price of blood and the wages of iniquity ; when warlike zealots for peace dishonor the magistrate whom God has ordained, and pluck from his hand the sword with which God has armed him, for "a terror to evil-doers," it is surely time for all good men and true to look about them, and seriously to ask themselves, whether the days of the Fifth Monarchy Men, of Sir Harry Vane and of citizen Danton, are not again to return.

The pulpit has been perverted and degraded, by this mad spirit ; and the day and the hour set apart for the worship of God, have been desecrated into a season for the indulgence of unhallowed excitement and of party animosity. In politics, it has almost extinguished the ancient and honorable spirit of statesmanship, and made it to be but a pitiful scramble for the rewards of office. It has not only corrupted the manners and morals of most of our acting politicians, but it has extinguished the feeble remains of principle that lingered within their minds, and led them to proclaim, with brazen assurance and seared consciences, the doctrine, that in politics, there is neither right nor wrong, and between principles no difference, except on the ground of probable success.

We may trace, alas ! too distinctly, the presence of the same rash and heedless spirit, in many of our benevolent and reforming associations. One-sidedness of mind, illiberality and narrowness of spirit, a furious and mad excommunication of all

who will not raise their banner and join their ranks, disgust many sincere friends of the causes which they espouse. Even the warm supporters of those voluntary associations, which have been such efficient servants of the church, at home and abroad, see some things of which to disapprove in the management of their concerns, as shaped too much to the unsteady spirit of the times.

But much as we are disgusted with these exhibitions of spiritual folly and senseless extravagance, much as the antics played off before our eyes, move alternately our laughter and our tears, there is also in the spirit and aims of many who call themselves conservatives, especially of such as claim to be the only conservatives of the church, much to call for animadversion. Fanaticism does, indeed, run wild with her victims, some misguided, others wilfully perverse. A destroying radicalism batters with a blind and obstinate fury against the very walls which uphold the paternal roof under which it was protected and nurtured, and with an idiotic and grinning frenzy defaces the altars and temples of its fathers' God. There is also a morbid spirit of conservatism, with lofty pretensions, a learned and reverend air, which promises much and accomplishes little, if indeed it does not nurture a temper destructive of our institutions, and at war with that good old English and American spirit with which God has blessed the earth and honored mankind in these last days.

Claiming for ourselves some interest in the conservation of sound principles of every species, and in the maintenance of our political and religious institutions, we purpose to examine the pretensions of certain classes of those who arrogate to themselves the almost exclusive possession of the conservative spirit, and most frequently designate themselves by this high sounding name. It is because we believe that there are such claims which are well grounded, that we subject to our scrutiny those which we look upon as suspicious. We love our own institutions too well to suffer to pass without question, the imbecile and even pernicious efforts of those who profess to aim to remove their deficiencies and to impart to them a new life.

We commence, then, with the class, who, as they make as much boasting as any, and attach the greatest consequence to their own movements, in the direction of conservatism, might feel it an injury not to be first noticed. We refer to those who rest their hopes, for the salvation of true religion, and of our country also, upon the general prevalence of diocesan Episcopacy. With the old-fashioned claims of Episcopacy in this re-

spect, we and our readers have been sufficiently familiar, and also with their often repeated prophecies of the speedy destruction of all the churches which lacked the conservative element of "primitive order." These claims have till recently been urged in a way as modest and unobtrusive as was to be expected, considering their excessively immodest character. Their upholders have been satisfied rather to repeat them within the circle of the initiated, who were all taught devoutly to assent thereto, than to spread them abroad amidst the unbelieving crowd of the scornful, and the prejudiced band of "nonconforming." We have of late, however, observed a disposition to give them additional importance, and to urge the sovereign remedy of prelacy as our only refuge and hope in these times of disorder, and of approaching anarchy. We meet these pretensions at every corner, and they are obtrusively thrust upon us at every step. Their champions are not content with presenting them on proper occasions, and in those vehicles of religious discussion and information from which they might be expected, but they contrive to interweave them in books on practical religion, prepared obviously for the use of other denominations, and to gain a hearing from the readers of those periodicals which profess to be exclusively literary, and to shut out from their columns every thing in the remotest degree connected with sectarian controversies.

It is worthy of our notice, that those most zealous for Episcopacy as the great conservative influence, and most prominent in urging its claims upon others, are neophytes in the church which they so much laud and extol. A few men, most of them, indeed, young men of literary taste and cultivation, who but recently had renounced the simple and unpretending forms of religion in which their youthful piety was nurtured, and fled from those altars at which they had consecrated themselves, first as disciples and then as ministers of Christ, (evincing therein an unsteadiness of spirit, highly inconsistent with the conservative character,) have been suddenly put forward as champions for the church of which they are now so careful piously to avow themselves as the dutiful and the devoted sons. The reason which they give for their exchange of communion is, their alarm at the inroads of the democratic spirit in the churches which they left, and the there threatening symptoms of fanaticism and disorder.

We do not here raise any question as to the truth of these allegations, for we have already had occasion to discuss them with our readers, nor shall we attempt to show that the excite-

ments and differences which always have prevailed among those churches, and in those periods when religion has been vital, are far more healthful than the moral and spiritual death attending religious inaction, even though it gathers upon its surface, and presents to the eye of the observer, the fairest colors that were ever curdled upon the stagnant pool.

Allowing that the spirit of misrule had reared itself aloft and was preparing to do its certain work of ruin in the communions in which they ministered, what then? Surely it was for them to have attempted to correct and chastise it—and standing boldly in the lot in which they were assigned, to have labored in sturdy resistance against every one of its inroads. If disorders did threaten to abound, it was for them to have endeavored to check and cure them, to have used the superior light with which God had illuminated their vision, and the strength with which he had clothed their arm, to repress their luxuriance, and direct to a more useful and fairer growth the inward vigor which was so dangerously exuberant. It were more benevolent rather than to leave a church to certain destruction which was so numerous, so strong in its mental and religious resources, and interwoven as it is into all the habits and associations of the people; to have at least made one effort to guide it aright and to have inspired it with a better spirit. Surely it had been more in accordance with the line of duty, which is always calling us to labors more or less self denying and painful, to have concluded, that if God had imparted to them a conservative spirit, it was for the good of their brethren at home, and not to be carried like coals to Newcastle, to their brethren abroad, who are known as superabounding in conservative zeal. It were a more *hopeful* enterprise, also, according to all the Doctors of Conservative Law, to save a church under its present forms, and with its strong hold upon the affections of the people, than first to enter upon the work of its *destruction* in order to build upon its ruins another, strange to the habits and foreign to the history of a community, and this after that community had been so hopelessly corrupted by the licentiousness of the Congregational and Presbyterian forms. It were more *apostolic* even, earnestly to have labored and prayed, and if need had been, steadfastly to have “withstood” their brethren “to the face,” than to flee from the very scene of contention and to seek refuge from the devouring spirit of the times, in some secure retreat, under the affectionate care of “the only apostolic church.”

But this is not the first instance in which conservatives (of themselves, rather than their cause) have come to the conclu-

sion that "discretion is the better part of valor," and have taken to their heels under the very "healthful" march,

"He that fights and runs away,  
Will live to fight another day."

Nor is this all—we have never thought these individuals so degenerate from the more *catholic spirit* in which they were nurtured in the days of their non-conformity, and so slow to learn a lesson of liberality from the worthies of the English church whom they profess most to revere, as to have been ready to deny at the moment when they left the communion of which they had been members, that it was not a true church of Christ. We have rather supposed, that they first became Episcopalians for the alledged reason to which we have already alluded, and afterwards put themselves to the study of its claims to divine authority, of the truth of which in due time they doubtless became well assured.

Our views of such matters may be somewhat narrow, owing to the conservative spirit with which we cherish certain old-fashioned notions of self-respect, but we both think and are prepared to say, that the man who with a full belief or a general persuasion that the communion from which he goes is indeed a church, goes to the altars of prelacy and tamely suffers himself to be treated there as not a member of any christian church, does an act for which he should blush as a freeman and as a christian. Further, we add, that the christian minister solemnly set apart to the office of preaching the gospel, by the laying on of the hands of his fellow elders, who appears before a prelate and in his presence confesses himself, either by word of mouth, or by suffering himself to be treated as such, to be but a layman, who in the days of his ignorance had mistaken himself for a minister of Christ, but wishes now to be constituted such by right of apostolic succession, has forgotten some very important lessons which it would have been better if he had preserved fresh in his memory.\* The individual under the circumstances supposed, believes himself to be a member and a minister of the church, or he does not. If he does, we wonder that he can suffer the fact to be denied to his face in the formalities by which he is received. If he does not, we fear

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\* It is well known, that after the restoration the non-conformists of the largest and noblest souls, who held with Cudworth and More, that the form of church government was not *de jure divino*, were willing to have conformed, and even to have become ministers of the English church, but that the condition of being *re-ordained*, was one among others to which they could not yield. See Calamy's Life of Howe in the Works of Howe, p. 9.

that his reverence for authority has gotten the better of his nobler spirit and his sounder judgment. In either case, we cannot trust the lessons in conservative doctrine which are read to us from such masters.

But we pass from the men who are the chief apostles of this new species of conservatism, to its principles and spirit. Its tone is essentially foreign : and its aspect convinces us at once, that it is not a natural growth, the offspring of a sound understanding and an earnest heart, but only an exotic, forced into a short-lived existence by artificial influences. These influences are to be traced to the increased attention which has of late been paid to English literature, and the ready facility with which English works, both old and new, enduring and ephemeral, are procured and read. Especially have the writings of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and the scholars and theologians of their school, been perverted to uphold the pretensions of our Episcopal conservatives, and misinterpreted in their favor.

We estimate the influence of the poetical philosopher, and the philosophic poet, as highly as we ought, and yet with the good which they have accomplished in the way of exciting the efforts and enlarging the minds of many of the scholars of our country, we think not a little evil has been commingled. They have made a few genuine philosophers, and more pretenders to philosophy. They have quickened the industry and widened the sphere of investigations of some few thorough students, and with high sounding and empty phrases, have confused the heads of hundreds of others, who had rather talk than think, and who can better assume airs of scholarship than sustain them in the close contact of a thorough discussion. They have guarded a few minds against sciolism and pretension in philosophy, and they have given a new and more imposing air to sciolism itself, and placed in the hands of the charlatan enchantments and magical arts, which hold fast its victims with a potency never granted to an inferior spell. There is no sciolism now which is more dangerous than that which is so very careful to inform us of its entire freedom from all that is superficial,—no charlatanry which will do greater mischief than that which inflates its subjects with a sovereign contempt for all that is *native* and *homebred* and not of its own school in literature and philosophy.

Those who understand the strong influence of literary associations and the pliancy with which the minds of men yield themselves to their sway, will not wonder, that the English church, as it sounds largely across the water, in the writings



alluded to; with the state and splendor of its forms, its cathedral worship, its array of universities, and above all with its well-earned and worthiest praise from the long line of its learned and pious functionaries, should have led some to think, that the same glory does by virtue of Episcopacy attach itself to the same forms here, however foreign they may be to our early associations, and however meager and starveling the favor which they have gained from the piety and worth of our population; and yet they must have been but superficial students of their masters, to gather from them the bias which their conservative predilections have taken. Coleridge and Wordsworth are of the conservative party in England it is true, and as such are ardent friends of the Establishment, but not because of its Episcopacy, so much as that they are determined to uphold what is itself upholden by the affections and early love of so many of the English people. The thorough student of their principles would easily gather a lesson as to what from the same reasons are the churches of the American people. To attempt to press Coleridge into the service of the divine right of one form of church government, and to give the sanction of his name to doctrines which only fall short of the monstrous dogmas of Dodwell, is grossly to misinterpret his opinions.\*

We say with all freedom, that we utterly disapprove of this imported and sickly conservatism, which has led any to renounce their faith in our native institutions, and to prate with an accent so foreign, of the benignant and gracious influences which are only to be found beneath a hierarchy and perhaps a throne. We do not hail the advance of a spirit which counts it better to run away from our appropriate field of action,—endeavoring to rally the people around the institutions which they love, and to guide them to a well-regulated religious and patriotic zeal,—and to spend our days and our energies in dreaming, that we can introduce new one foreign to their habits; which seems also to breed a taste for the desultory life of literary observers and of speculators upon the times, rather than the excellent union of the cheering and elevating influences of literary studies, with the activity of a life really conservative.

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\* Vide Coleridge's "Church and State," pp. 152-3. "In the primitive times, and as long as the churches retained the form given them by the apostles and apostolic men, every community, or in the words of a father of the second century, every altar had its own bishop, every flock its own pastor, who derived his authority immediately from Christ, the universal Shepherd, and acknowledged no other superior than the same Christ, speaking by his Spirit in the unanimous decision of any number of bishops or elders, according to his promise when two or three are gathered together," &c.

We have little sympathy with those periodical publications, whatever may be their literary merit, that seem studiously to model themselves after the *Quarterly Review*, or the *Church of England Magazine*, and aim to catch the tone of a tory pamphleteer. There is a vigor and earnestness in the writings of the *English Conservative*, which we cannot but admire, however false are its pretensions and intolerant its spirit, for he contends for something which he would save ; but we care not to read the imitations of his American copyists, whose conservatism aims not to save, but first to destroy, and then to re-construct.

To attempt to gain the people of this country over to the forms of Episcopacy, is a hopeless effort ; and if any conservatives expect in this way to save our piety from fanaticism, and our orthodoxy from destructive error, they greatly mistake the importance of their own efforts. Those nurtured in the "looser forms" of religion and their free spirit of christian activity, will never exchange them for the more constrained and inactive habits to which Episcopacy trains the private christian. Those whom the old and weighty argument will influence, that Episcopacy is the only religion fit for a gentleman, afford to such operators a fair field for effort, and some prospect of success, but the stubborn good sense of the New England spirit, spread out as it is over this wide land, will prove an overmatch for all their stately pretensions and inappreciable arguments.

Besides, even to make such an attempt, is opposed to every principle of conservative doctrine, and to its very name, which signifies of preservation and of imparting a better life to institutions already in being, and in no respect of a new creation, and least of all a new creation of forms. The great master of such principles, Edmund Burke, has taught, that the people are made up of the habits, the local attachments and associations and the religious forms in which the men of such a nation have been nurtured, and that if your object is simply to infuse into a people not a new but a healthier spirit, you must not attempt to break up theories, but to attach yourself to them all, and move in the direction in which they would lead you.

But this is not the object at which these conservatives aim. They aim to make every thing new ; they would give us new church officers, and new forms, and their religion is to flourish, we ask how prosperously ? we hope more so than it has done in the English church for the century past. They aim not to give the men wiser heads or sounder hearts, but the form, the body, the clothes are out of order, and must be set right. These conservatives may safely argue in the distance ; we

should like to see them in the field. We will freely open to them our pulpits, and assemble our congregations. Their declamation about the looseness of the Congregational form, will fall harmless upon the ears of those who experience the substantial benefits of Congregational religion. Their decrying of such religious revivals as have blest our land, will excite only the pity of those who believe in their divine origin, and perhaps give occasion to sundry extemporary prayers, that they may know more of the power of religion.

Nor can the Episcopal church in this country exert a leavening influence in favor of order and sound piety, by acting indirectly on the other branches of the church, until she descends from the lonely height which she chooses to occupy, and abates somewhat of her lofty and mysterious pretensions above her sister churches. She must first take us by the hand, before her kind advice and her better example will exert any important influence. She must demean herself in the family of Christ, less like a spoiled younger sister than she does, who, because she has been at a boarding school, takes the liberty to give herself airs, from her more fashionable attire and her cracked French pronunciation.

We had hoped better things of that church, than we now see to exist; we had hoped, that with the advance of serious piety and of sound doctrine in that communion, there would have been a corresponding advance in catholicity of sentiment, and in the reciprocation of the friendly advances made to them by other churches. But the contrary tendency has rather prevailed. The controversy on this subject, within their own borders, seems to have been suspended, and with its cessation, there has been we fear a compromise of principle. We wonder, that it should have been ever given over, especially as we know from eminent authority in that church, that it was deemed a contest between Religion and Irreligion; between the spirit of this world, and the spirit of Christ. The result has proved as was to have been expected. We now hear but one sentiment uttered from that communion, in answer to the earnest questionings of other denominations, and that voice acknowledges no other christian society in this country to be a church, except the church, "the body of Christ," as it was left by the reforming hand of Elizabeth, and imported into our country from the consecrated hands of the nonjuring bishops. Certain of the more serious ministers of that denomination, also, who formerly would almost give their right hands in fellowship to their Congregational and Presbyterian brethren, no sooner feel the miter

on their heads, than they assume a haughtier air, and speak in a loftier tone. Those, too, who have passed from our ministry to theirs, are the soonest to speak the great swelling words which the canons bid them utter. Even some of our own college companions, whom we loved as friends and christians, meet us with a little of the superior air, which a divinely authorized minister ought to wear, and can even hint their suspicions of such seasons of interest in religion, as gave them all the fitness which they possess to be either ministers or members of the church of Christ.

In the very sectarian periodicals published by Episcopalians in this country, no mention is made of the progress of religion, except among the few congregations which they dignify with the name of The Church. A marvelous ado is made in their missionary publications, because some half dozen foreign missionaries are abroad, to set up the banners of the church in heathen lands, and no allusion is made to the hundreds which have been sent forth by a society instituted before the time when Bishop Hobart was opposing, with all his might, the formation of the American Bible Society. We are called upon to sing praises to God, because they sustain some fifty or sixty domestic missionaries, here and there throughout our land, as if the Home Missionary Society had done nothing *pro Christo et ecclesia* by the five or six hundred which it has annually supported.

In Germany, which though not the highest authority in matters of sound theology, is yet of some estimation as to facts in ecclesiastical history, the doctrine of the original constitution of the ministry in three orders and of the apostolic succession of bishops is exploded by all, and yet in this country more and more is made of it, as the light is more abundant before which it should flee away.\*

Surely we ought to expect, if in the seventeenth century such men as Leighton, and Cudworth, and More,† could hold

\* We commend to Bishop Doane and others, the following sentiments from Spiritual Despotism: "Every man of sense and right feeling, who cares for the Established Church and desires its welfare, must be penetrated with sorrow and humiliation in hearing the insufferable language and doctrines of Charles II. repeated, up to the present hour, by some of the clergy. It is more than can well be expected from human nature, that the dissenters should listen to this outrageous bigotry in magnanimous silence. \* \* \* \* It is not a day too soon for the Established Church to put away from herself a mode of behavior which she cannot maintain, and hold at the same time the hearts and reverence of the better portion of the English people." If this is true of the Establishment in England, is it not doubly so of the Episcopal church in this country?

† See Burnet's Own Times.—Pearson's Life of Leighton.

the enlightened views they did of church government, that in this republic there might be found at least one "churchman" who would have sense and liberality enough to hold opinions such as theirs, or, if he held such opinions, would dare boldly and distinctly to uphold them. But far otherwise is the fact. So far as we know, there is not a single individual on this side the ocean, who would risk his reputation in "the church," by saying distinctly by words or by actions, that he deemed other bodies of christians, true churches of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We say, then, that the Episcopal church, maintaining the stand occupied by her at present, cannot expect to exert a conservative influence over other religious denominations. Certainly it cannot, if while it professes to be much concerned for the advancement of spiritual religion, it will sanction such sneers at religious revivals as dishonor the prospectus and pages of the *New York Review*. Revivals of religion, purified and made generally to be what they often are, we regard as the great conservative influence of our country, and we predict to that branch of the church, which attempts to further its conservative aims by bringing such seasons into contempt, but little success in advancing the cause of true religion.

It would seem, also, that in England, the same tendencies are to be seen in the Established church, which make themselves so apparent in the Episcopal church in this country. The distance between the better portion of the Establishment and the dissenters, which at the commencement, and during the progress of their united and strenuous efforts for the revival of truth and piety, promised rapidly to diminish, is now as rapidly widening. The cause of this is not, that the dissenters speak freely and act boldly for their own freedom from the disabilities under which they have so long labored, but that as in this country, the stronger the evangelical party becomes, the bolder is their tone towards their brethren without the Establishment, and their anxiety not to appear a whit behind the party in the church with which they have so long been at odds, in their zeal for its divine authority. Not only is this true, but as we learn, the same spirit which has led certain of our young men to turn bigots for a bishop, and against democracy in general, and to be gratified with the stare of wonder at such notions from the plain republicanism around them, has led some very learned and in some sense very pious men of Oxford, to advance to the very outworks of popery, if not to embrace some of the leading principles of Romish error. A century since, and Oxford was the birth-place of the Methodism of Wesley and Whitefield,

and now, forsooth, we behold from the same university the conservative infatuation of Professors Newman and Pusey, in "the Oxford Tracts." Truly, if all advancement is to be found in retrocession, as some of our conservatives seem to hold, the prospects in this direction are bright for a highly healthful state of retrogradation!

Nor are the Breckenridge party in the Presbyterian church, "the True Conservatives." The vital interests of religion and of civil and ecclesiastical order, in our country, do not hang upon the strictest construction of the Westminster Confession, nor does the preservation in its utmost purity of the faith once delivered to the saints, at all depend upon the transmission in their utmost extremity, of the dogmas of Triangular theology. The greatness of our social and ecclesiastical edifice, will not fall asunder, because a searching and microscopic eye can detect here and there, some misplacing of "the pins of the tabernacle," copied as it is after the model of theological system-makers, rather than after the pattern which was seen in the mount.

This class of men are not even the True Conservatives of the Presbyterian church. Their spirit is not the spirit which has breathed into that church its life and vigor and generous growth. The conservation of all of it that has been industriously kept alive, has been but the preservation of a destructive and internal fire, and its recent terrific outburst, has been to it, like an overwhelming conflagration, or the uncapping of a volcano. The foundations of the American Presbyterian church were not *all* laid according to the exactest model of the Scottish kirk, nor were they cemented with that untempered mortar of Scotch bigotry and self-will, which possesses the strange properties to bind for a while, and afterwards to rend asunder with the violence of an explosive mixture.\* There were largely mingled in its mass, materials of a more conformable shape than those awkward triangular blocks, never "good to the use of *edifying*," and it was strengthened by the more tenacious cement of a noble-minded and christian liberality. The doctrinal views of Witherspoon, of Davies, and the Tennents, and the catholic spirit of their charity, which did not "suspect all things," (a new pattern discovered since the days of Paul,) have had far the largest share, and the most important influence, in the enlargement and wondrous growth of the Presbyterian church.

Those men, who are now upon the stage, claiming to be the only conservatives of order and orthodoxy within its bounds,

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\* For proof, see the history of the divisions of that church for the last century.

rather deserve the name of *the destructives*, at least quite as much so, as the disorganizing spirits who, as we are told, made such wild work in certain western synods, as to make it necessary to discover, that they were never constitutionally synods at all. Their works testify of them, for they are works of destruction; and had the church been under their control before this, it would have been shivered asunder by their fulminating orthodoxy. Men who will excommunicate their brethren because they define faith to be an act and not a principle, and because they do not invariably translate the Greek *δικαιοσύνη*, by the English *righteousness*, so that the doctrine of imputation may be unimpaired, can do little in the way of conservation. The utmost that they may hope for, if indeed it is not more than they have a right to expect, is to preserve the ears of their present hearers, and to fill as well as they do now, their own houses of worship. They need not expect to be employed in the great work of furthering the general interests of the church in this our land. The spirit which they breathe, is too repulsive and uncongenial to the mind that has imbibed one that is better and more heavenly. The doctrines which they put forth, are couched in language so scholastic, their distinctions are so ideal and shadowy, their arguments so far from being plain expressions of the language of the scriptures, their *ultimo ratio* of setting down their opponents as infected with the "Arminian or Socinian taint" so *odious*, that they will find the practical operation of all their conservative plans to be unsuccessful. They cannot gain a reading, even, from the people, for the plainer expositions of their systems, much less a warm and hearty reception of their peculiar articles of belief; and they ought not to expect it; for if Paul, or Baxter, or Whitefield had *so* preached the gospel, as they *write it*, it would never have drawn a listening audience, or have commended itself to the convicted consciences of their hearers.

The doctrine of the divine right of the ruling elder, alas! its days are numbered, and it is even now hastening to the same abyss with the divine right of kings. Elders, it is true, may continue to sit in session, as kings will always reign; but neither of them by the exclusive sanction of a divine commission. Excising orthodoxy of doctrine, and high church claims in church government, can neither of them save the church from destruction. They cannot even preserve themselves alive. Let them not hope to exert a conservative influence on others.

There is in Congregational New England, also, and in the Congregational church in New England, a class of men, (we dis-

like the word party among ourselves,) who lay claim to our notice, as zealous to preserve the cause of truth in this land of the puritans, from a threatened destruction. We would speak fairly and yet freely, of those who are supposed to be at variance with ourselves, and who openly contend against the views of theological science, and the spirit of investigation, maintained in our pages.

By this class it seems to be insisted in *fact*, at least, if not in words, that the Congregational ministers of New England should never dream of making a single advance upon the views of Belamy and Edwards,—that nothing shall be deemed not heretical, except the exact phraseology adopted by these divines ; so that we may present no statement, and urge home no truth, except in the same theological technics which they would have used.

This was not the spirit of Edwards. Not at all. He went back to no earthly master, not even to Augustine or Calvin, but employed his days and nights, his months and his successive years, in diligent thought and arduous efforts, to throw a *new* light upon the principles of man's agency, and of the moral government of God. The *Edwardeans* of our day, are content to go back to his treatises, and if they but use his language, they have of course the beginning and the end of all truth. Witness a recent history of New Haven theology, the great argument of which is to prove the essential heresy of the New Haven school, by a simple reference to the works of certain New England divines.

Edwards expected, that during his own life-time even, there might arise certain *New School men*, who would vary from his conclusions, whose opinions might nevertheless be true ; and he guarded himself, by a solemn resolution, not to indulge in that prejudice against what is new, which he had observed to be so common to older men. But now, an improvement in theology is pronounced a misnomer, a very contradiction in terms, and we are gravely asked, if we expect to improve on the bible.

Such conservatives as these, are not true conservatives of the New England spirit, for they manifestly do not possess it in its purity themselves. That spirit, among the best New England theologians, has been one, that has favored investigation, expecting something new to come out of investigation, and that has enjoined the toleration of minuter differences. To its prevalence has it been owing, that New England theology has become what it is, in certain departments, the teacher of



the world. Hence has it received that bold and scrutinizing character, which is its distinctive feature. It is a spirit as different from the tame reception, and handing down of "the tradition of the elders," almost universal in the English church, as the closely studied and pungent preaching of New England has been from the purchased or copied sermonizing of the rural parishes of the mother country, or as is her thorough-going piety from the laxness of the Establishment. It has also been the root from which has sprung the fearless independence of the Congregationalist, so unlike the timid time-serving of the Episcopalian.

The man, that does not favor theological discussion,—discussion, which aims to elicit truth and to add to the stores of sacred science,—should not claim to be a New England man in the spirit of his theology. He who will not tolerate *new inquiries* as to "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," cannot be a conservative, or one who desires to keep alive the old New England spirit. The man who complains in such doleful language, as a thing monstrous and unheard of among christians, that his opinions have, in the course of discussion, been charged with leading, "if carried out into" their "legitimate consequences, to universalism, to infidelity, and to atheism,"\* should read in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, the discussion between Dr. Smalley and Gov. Treadwell, and refresh his memory by looking over some of the sharp contests carried on in the Theological Magazine. He will there learn, that no New England man ever differed from another without discerning in the "legitimate consequences" to which his opinions might be carried out, nothing less startling than the entire destruction of the government of Jehovah.

There are tokens more decisive, that these men are not to be deemed True Conservatives of New England theology. The more opportunity we have to observe the movements of these minds, the farther do they appear to us to be receding from certain doctrines which used to be considered the very corner stones of the theology of New England. We should not at any moment be surprised to hear, that some of these had become Presbyterians of the straightest sect, in their triangular views of christian doctrine. Dr. Smalley, rightly esteemed the father of the doctrine of the natural ability of the sinner, has already been charged with opening the door to the Pelagian

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\* We observe this very dreadful sentence again brought up to serve its purpose, in Dr. Tyler's review of Day on the Will, as also in Dr. Woodbridge's review of the same.

heresy, which door, by consequence, can only be shut, by denying, that the said doctrine is true. We do not urge this as a matter of reproach, but rather as redounding to the praise of the individual who has ventured upon the charge, for his greater consistency; but we do say, that no one with such views, should set up the claim of being a New England theologian. We hear, also, from authority equally high, that the doctrine of the imputation of the sin of Adam, is one, that is essential to orthodoxy, *which Edwards did not hold*; and we stand ready next to be bidden so far to modify our creed as to say, that Christ died for the elect alone. We shall, doubtless, soon see the publications of the American Doctrinal Tract Society superseded by the stronger meat of Philadelphia orthodoxy.

Let us here be understood. We do not complain. For if these opinions are advanced, or any other, we stand ready for the discussion. We are on the soil of New England and we have our bibles in our hand. But let not those who are moving away from the principles which have made New England theology an offense far and near, claim to be its conservatives, but rather the setters forth of strange things to our ears; and let them be shown up to the public in the next edition of Mr. Dow's "New Theology *alias* Neology."

Nor is this all. Voluntary associations for benevolent purposes, nourished in the soil of Congregationalism and strengthened by its free and bracing atmosphere,—these are next to be attacked and destroyed. As soon as the necessary logic can be invented, by which the Pastoral Association of Connecticut can be proved *not* to be a voluntary society and the General Association to possess the powers of a Presbyterian synod, then shall we hear the doctrine put forth, in all its maturity, and it will *then*, doubtless, do great execution, *but not till then*.

These institutions are, in a sense, peculiar to New England; for though she did not originate them, but rather copied them from like societies in the mother country, yet it is with her sons in this land, and her kinsmen in that, that they have found the greatest favor. They are a legitimate result of her system of church government, and of her noble reliance on the true hearts and sound understandings of individual men and individual churches, rather than upon extended creeds and a cumbrous ecclesiastical machinery, of which that form of government is the appropriate symbol.\* The New England people

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\* For proof of this, see a sermon by F. S. Mines, entitled, *The Church, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth*.

have been ever distinguished for such reliance upon individual men, and they are slow to question the integrity and wisdom of those whom they have counted worthy of their confidence. They have therefore wisely judged, that the various operations of benevolence would be sustained with greater zeal and success by a few men permanently, and from an inward love of the work, devoted to their prosecution, than if intrusted to a committee, liable at any time to be displaced and necessarily selected with less reference to their fitness for the work which they have to do. As they have not presumed beforehand, that their confidence would be abused, they have not cared to provide against such abuse, by a multitude of checks and counter balances. Against such abuse they have one simple provision,—a provision entirely effectual, that of retaining the power of the purse. In this way it is, that the commons of England, check, control and regulate the otherwise almost unlimited prerogative of the occupant of the throne. The monarch of the Imperial Nation may declare war with any nation, against whom the peevishness of a weak old man, or the caprice of a silly young woman, may chance to take offense ; but the commons can refuse the supplies and make the act entirely harmless.

Those men who in New England, and in those portions of the United States which are inhabited by the descendants of New England and retain its genuine spirit, seek to destroy those voluntary associations which are the very symbols of the New England character, are not conservatives, however sincere and ardent their desire may be, that her institutions may survive. They seek to destroy associations which are dear to the hearts of New England christians, and to which they are bound by strong bonds,—associations which have shaken the world by their efficiency, while the wheels of the complicated machinery of ecclesiastical courts are but just beginning to revolve, and with a ponderous and groaning movement,—a motion so slow, that the by-stander asks, whether they are now beginning to move, or are just about to rest ?

The opinions advanced in the Literary and Theological Review and the spirit which it breathes, are a fair representative of the opinions and spirit of the more ultra and fanatical of this class of men. Of that journal we might say much, but we shall say nothing except to remark, that there ought to be arguments as well as the reiteration of the terms Pelagians and Perfectionists, (which, by endless use, lose their first charm for the reader)—there is that charity which hopeth all things, as well as denunciation by the wholesale and abuse poured upon the

head "by torrents ;"—that there is also the application of the appropriate remedy to disorders which are seen to exist, in the true spirit of christian patience and with confidence in the government of God, "from seeming evil still educing good," as well as a determination to be vexed and dissatisfied with the whole order of things as at present conducted, under the fair name of conservatism. If the community is to be convinced, as well as to be told by the editor,

'We have no doubt that there exists aside from these a very numerous and disciplined party, decidedly hostile to the fundamental principles of the gospel; who have been acting with concert and consummate skill; who are now maturing the plans which they have been forming for years, and who, should they succeed; will very shortly place almost every literary and theological seminary in the hands of those unfriendly to evangelical religion. It is a party which idolizes philosophy, and looks on the doctrines of the gospel with the most perfect scorn; it is perfectly hostile to those who hold them, and is reckless of the means employed to crush them.'—Vol. v, p. 161.

a task has been undertaken, which it will be wearisome to perform. If the black flag which he has nailed to the mast and the array of threatening artillery which he has displayed, are to be the death of the New Haven Theology and of voluntary associations, or orthodoxy and the church cannot survive, then it is death and not life, and the editor and his associates had far better compose the dirge to be sung over the body of "Truth fallen in the streets," than to sound to the conflict for her rescue. We commend to the consideration of the conductors of that periodical, the following sentences from Baxter. "Some ministers, by their bitter opprobrious speeches of others, have more effectually done the devil's service, under the name of orthodoxy and zeal for the truth, than the malignant scorers of godliness could possibly have done. The matter is come to that pass, that there are few men of note, of any party, but who are so publicly reproached by the other parties, that the ignorant and wicked rabble, who should be converted by them, have learned to be orthodox, and to vilify and scorn them. \* \*

"I know that many of these reverend calumniators think that they laudably discover that soundness in the faith, and that zeal for the truth, which others want; but I will resolve the case in the words of the Holy Ghost. 'Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not

from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.'—*Reformed Pastor. Part II, Chap. IX.*

We have sketched certain features of the three professedly conservative parties, who figure most prominently in the religious world at the present day. Besides the individual characteristics of each, as they are produced by their distinctive opinions and aims, there are also certain *general* features, which they hold in common with one another and with all who *claim* to be, but are not, true conservatives in politics, literature and religion. The observations we now subjoin, are applicable to all such, in whichever of these departments of action they are employed :

The professed conservative is *bigotedly attached* to "*the olden times.*" Every thing in the present, is by him referred to, and judged by the past, without due and often without any regard to the differing circumstances of the present. To love and reverence the past, is indeed well and wise. To be familiar with its history, to dwell upon the noble qualities and the high deeds of our fathers with reverence and affection, and lightly to pass over, or entirely to forget their frailties, elevates the soul and diffuses a reverential spirit through ourselves into the minds of the whole community. To be conversant with the stores of its collected wisdom and to live and move again in its old scenes newly revived, is also to gain a light to our own opinions and actions, which otherwise might never have beamed on us, or only late, and after painful stumbling and errors for lack of its earlier presence. The man who loves olden books and the society of olden men, is not only possessed of the spirit of love, but also of the spirit of wisdom.

But to judge and condemn the present for no other reason, except that it is not the past over again, is not only to betray a stupid ignorance, but it is to contend directly against the providence of God, who never intended that it should be. To insist that every opinion in theological and metaphysical science, shall be stated in the unaltered phraseology of an ancient scholasticism, or if that phraseology is improved or explained, or anything thereto is added, to raise the cry of innovation or heresy, and only because it was not known in former days, is to possess a *spirit* which under the name of conservatism has, in every age of the world, made void the law of God, through "the tra-

dition of the elders." However fair its professions, or reverential its air, or well-framed the periods in which it extols the ancients with indiscriminating praise, it is bigotry—blind, self-willed bigotry, and deserves no better name. To appear, therefore, in the defence of truth at the present day, clad only in the antiquated armor of unused phraseology and wielding for weapons only certain favorite quotations from the olden writers, and to hurl them at the heads of one's opponents, as if they were the only thunderbolts of Jove—or, in other words, to refuse to leave the question to a fresh investigation, or a new discussion, because, as it is said, the point has once been decisively settled, is to be so very reverential for antiquity, as to lose that respect which every one owes to himself, as made by God to be responsible for his own opinions. It is, also, to warrant the conclusion on the part of others, that what is claimed to be true, would not stand, if stated in the words, or if attacked and defended by the principles and modes of reasoning which are recognized at the present day. To refuse to re-state a proposition, which it is said that Augustine, or Edwards, or Hooker, or Burnet have stated satisfactorily, and for reasonings to repeat their words, is to lose your cause, and, in the judgment of men of sound minds to deserve to lose it, for failing to uphold the truth with the calm self-possession of one whose reason is convinced, and choosing to display the prejudiced and determined conservatism of every fiery old woman. So, also, to condemn every modern theologian as a speculating divine, who spoils the mind through vain philosophy, and meanwhile to swallow, without hesitation, all the crudities that theological speculators of former days have seen fit to put forth, and even anxiously to hunt in Latin folios for new impossibilities, with which to "pose" your faith, is to be deceived not a little, and this in face of the fact, that every man, who has thrown new light upon the scriptures has been assailed with the same abuse, by the same conservatives of the day. To fail to note and to feel the weight of the fact, that every age distinguished by religious activity and enterprise has also been marked by "improvements in theology," and by the shedding of new light upon the scriptures, is to sin against the very lessons to be drawn from antiquity itself. So, also, to condemn every mode of preaching the gospel and every measure to give it effect, because it has never been known before, is to love the past better than the truth and the days and doings of antiquity better than the progress of the kingdom of Christ.

The past is gone, and we cannot see it as it really presented itself to the eyes of those familiar with the actors in its scenes and with the events in which they were busy. But the imagination of its unreflecting worshiper can construct it anew and frame it in the fair proportions, and clothe it with the bright coloring which his own ideal of perfection furnishes, and then it becomes a temple into which he retires to muse and to worship. If we believe all that he thinks and says, we should suppose, that the millenium itself had passed already, and certainly should not in the least doubt, that Satan has in these days been let loose again with a new commission of evil, and with ample leave to delude and destroy. As he looks backward, the splendid age of Elizabeth is an age in which all was heroic, learned and saintly, deformed by nothing that was vicious and degraded, and not, as was actually the case, a period marked by the strongest contrasts between the surpassing excellence of the few and the deepest degradation of the multitude. The days of the non-conformists in the seventeenth, and of Edwards and others in the eighteenth century, in his view, were periods in which orthodoxy of sentiment, a thorough acquaintance with the scriptures and an unfeigned and humble piety, prevailed without exception, among all ranks of professed christians ; whereas, then, as now, even under the preaching of a Baxter and an Edwards, there was error in doctrine, shallow religionism and sanctimonious hypocrisy. Perhaps if the truth were known, there were, even in the best and purest portions of the religious world, faults as widely spread, and as threatening in their apparent tendencies, as any which now fill the watchmen of the day with the most fearful alarm. So too, to bring the case still nearer to ourselves, the revivals of religion of fifty or even twenty years since, were marred by no extravagance, and disappointed no fond expectations, as viewed by some, who pronounce with the utmost assurance, that those of the last ten years are all spurious excitements ; whereas written records and personal recollections, both furnish the testimony, that, in the best portions of New England, the later have been as pure as the earlier scenes.\*

But all this the fond worshiper of the past will not consider ; nay, he counts it almost profanity to admit, for a moment, that it may be so. No, he will not be turned aside a moment from the devotional frenzy of his *retrospections*. He turns his

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\* In confirmation and illustration of these views, see some admirable remarks of Coleridge.—“The Friend,” American edition, pp. 342—344.

eye backward, he looks upon by-gone times, as they rise before his ardent fancy bright and radiant in their perfection. When his views are questioned, and the high claims which he advances are challenged, he appeals with assured confidence to the bright monuments of its noblest minds; he points you to a Howe, a Hooker and a Calvin. He forgets, that the question is not at all, whether there have been, here and there, greater men than now appear; but whether, even when these men thought and spake and wrote, there were, among the men whom they influenced, more excellences and fewer faults than we now behold, and whether, taking it all in all, their days presented a brighter and a more hopeful prospect than do ours. Thus admiring, and thus believing, the devotee to the better old times becomes dissatisfied with the present, and nourishes a more determined disposition to be displeased with all the men and the doings of the days in which he lives. Of course, he can have but little sympathy with the ardor and hope which animate the men on the stage. He is disgusted with the coarse reality which the present brings to view, and is shocked with the foibles and imperfections of the best of the men who are now living. The more he sees of them, the less is he pleased with them; and, forgetting to consider his own sins and the lesson of christian charity to the sins of others which they should teach him, he leaves the scene of action, and retires, to nurse and keep warm his discontent with all that is now going on, and to satisfy his longings after perfection in his ideal retrospections.

The True Conservative, on the other hand, though he often retires into the past, does not there make his dwelling-place, but lives and acts in the present. From the past, he derives instructions that are most important, and catches nobler and brighter views of the truths which never die; but these permanent principles are made each to read its appropriate lesson under the varying circumstances of present scenes, to strengthen and guide him the more efficiently to act his part in his own generation. There he gathers instruction and humility for himself, and not merely weapons with which to perplex and confound the men of his own day; there he learns steadiness and wisdom, amid the excitements in which he is conversant, not to condemn, of course, every movement that is attempted in a new direction. He does not deem the past to comprehend all perfection, nor does he think the whole circle of possible knowledge to have in fact been traversed; but he thinks the lists still to be open, and firmly holds, *that he who aims not to im-*



*prove upon the past, is a traitor to the cause of humanity, and a high-handed rebel against the course of God's providence.* He opens therefore his heart to the men who now live and act ; he joins in his hand with theirs, in all that is great and good which is now in progress. Their eager haste he checks indeed, and their ill-advised and unreflecting rashness, but by the wise suggestion of sufficient reasons, and not with the irritated consequence of overwhelming degradation, nor with the gloomy bitterness of a soured ascetic. He thus, by the silent influence of his own calmer and more steady spirit, as well as by the candid reference of every question to a severe and impartial scrutiny, infuses unconsciously the more reflecting and patient character of the elder times into the headstrong and denouncing spirit of the present age of motion. The True Conservative does this. Would that all who profess to be such were so in fact. If, instead of praising the old and denouncing the new, the number of those, now quite respectable, who possess right principles in the main and might use them for the good of their own times, would but set themselves with all humility and patience to act their part as common men, there would soon be less occasion to complain of the present. If the star-gazers, the prognosticators of evil and the declaimers about the old writers, would but imitate the men from whom they quote,—if they would but practice some of the humbler virtues and cultivate meekness of spirit, and go about the every-day business for which God has sent them into the world with a cheering confidence in his providence, there would be greater good accomplished in the world, even if the world should hear less of themselves. Truly not without an object was it written, " Say not thou, What is the cause, that the former days were better than these ? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."

Another feature of modern conservatism, nearly akin to the one just noticed, and closely resembling it in the effects which it produces, is its *subserviency to influences merely literary, rather than its mastery over the same* by the unbiased and independent exercise of an honest judgment. The scholar loves his favorite authors and the man of letters retires to his beloved library, as to his most loved retreat and his chosen dwelling-place ; for there he converses with the noblest minds, as they soared highest in thought and attained to the most rapturous inspiration. There are the best and wisest thoughts that the mind of man has ever conceived, and there too are the divinest and the most ennobling sentiments that ever bore that mind upward towards its ideal of purity and perfection. The mind

that longs for perfection in all things, here finds it, not as having ever been actually realized, but as often imagined and pictured forth, by the spirit ennobled by the possession of true genius. Here, in the writings of poets and divines, is an ideal of a perfect man. Here, before his delighted vision, "a perfect state," "a christian commonwealth," illustrious in arts and arms, and fulfilling within itself, by the harmonious action of its conspiring energies, the highest perfection and well-being of man, is made, by the divine art of a Milton, to rise like

"an exhalation with the sound  
Of dulcet symphonies, and voices sweet."

Here, the church is adorned with the graces of learning and of zeal, of humility and of meekness. In every one of its officers, there is uprightness and truth, and in the heart of each one of its members an altar on which the Divine Spirit has kindled a pure and holy flame, which bears upward, evermore, fragrant incense and a pure offering. In short, all that concerns man and his well-being, every domestic and social institution, is here presented in unimpaired perfection, moving rightly of its own accord, having within itself the springs of a perpetual youth and the seeds of a vigorous and manly growth.

The influence of this ideal of perfection, as dwelling constantly in the mind of the true scholar, is according to the use to which it is turned. If it becomes within him a standard towards which he himself is ever bearing upward and carrying with him those over whom he exerts an influence; if it animates him to more ardent and self-denying labors for his kind and breathes into all his words a sweeter as well as a loftier and more vigorous tone, its influence is healthful and happy. The cultivation of letters, when these are its results, exerts throughout society an influence in the highest degree conservative.

But when, on the other hand, it inflates the student with vanity,—when with the ideal of perfection in his mind, and the divine music of poesy ever on his tongue, he is cherishing a heart that never feels, an eye that never weeps and a hand that never acts, for his fellow,—when instead of animating him with a more humble and self-denying zeal to imitate the heroes of old, who traveled "on life's common way in cheerful godliness," laying on themselves "the lowliest duties," this divine ideal is used only to nurture an inward disgust with the men of one's own day, its fruits are the very apples of Sodom. When literature indisposes a man for his *duties*, when it dries up or poisons his sympathies, and when it fills him with disgust and contempt for the healthful activity for which he is fitted and

the noble deeds for which he is trained, then it takes place on the side of corrupting and destructive influences, and becomes an instrument in the hands of God to carry society downward, even while it professes to advance it upward, and to curse that nation which it promises to bless. Whether there is not a sickly conservatism of this species gaining rapid favor among many of our gifted men, we leave for the observers of the times to judge.

This is not all. The scholar too often tamely yields his opinions to those of his favorite authors, and is strangely biased by the opinions advanced in the works of permanent or ephemeral interest, which receive his often-repeated perusal. The reader of Taylor and Hooker, of Coleridge and of Wordsworth, of the *London Quarterly* and the *British Critic*, finds his sympathies easy to inlist themselves in favor of the "high and the comfortable doctrines of the tory creed," and his most plain associations to cluster themselves around a throne and a hierarchy. Especially is the American scholar liable to be farther influenced by his very pardonable reverence for whatever comes across the Atlantic. An opinion or course of argument presented in the grateful form of a London octavo, or clothed with the mysterious charm of the German language, assumes at once a mysterious authority. Cousin and Schleiermacher must, of course, be more eminent for acuteness than Edwards or Emmons, the residents of secluded New England villages, and Tholuck and D'Aubigne, in theological acumen, cannot but surpass an American divine. We are sorry to offend our literary conservatives, but we suggest, that it ill becomes men of their elevated ideas of literary independence and their very considerable pretensions to literary excellence, to render themselves liable to be proved the passive creatures or the subservient copyists of English Reviews and German Mystics. We are also a little jealous for the opinions of our countrymen, whom we should be very sorry to see as enthusiastic admirers of Laud, as bigoted decriers of the Puritans and as whole-hearted despisers of republican America, as they may become, if works or essays struck off in the heat of party strife in Great Britain, are to be esteemed by them as true and as sacred as relics from the Holy Land, or the very articles of their Confession of Faith. Nor are we better pleased, if our theologians are taught, that a mystical, indiscriminating statement of christian doctrine is, of course, to be sound, because it has been picked up by some German theologian of the evangelical school more learned than

judicious, from the works of the Reformers or the ancient Fathers.

The false conservative is proverbially timid. He has no well-grounded and cheering confidence in the truth, nor in the adaptation of the truth, sooner or later, to win its way, nor in God who has sworn to speed it onward in its triumphant course. He is afraid of the excitement and the noise of necessary controversy—of the struggling resistance of those who are put to shame by its light and are boldly summoned to relinquish their errors. He would rather leave all things to remain as they have been, than risk an attempt to set them right. He is as afraid of letting out upon the world a *principle*, to employ the illustration of another, as he would be to cut loose a tiger.

He is often, also, indolent and inactive. He would leave all men to repose in their old prejudices and habits, even if they are attended with wrong and injury, if he himself may be at ease, in the quiet of his own study, and be indulged with his regular mid-day slumbers. He does not like to be summoned forth to bear the burden and heat of the day, in order that he may serve with faithfulness his generation. He had rather dream and read, observe and speculate, than to think and act, to accomplish a given object. Indeed, he sometimes thinks it impious to act at all, and will not do any thing, lest he should interfere in the machinery which God sets in motion, and rob him of the undivided honor of executing the counsel of his own will.

He is fond of paradoxes. He loves nothing so much as to differ from the men with whom he lives, and to make them open their eyes for wonder at the strangeness of his opinions. "There are some birds," says Fuller, "who cannot rise except it be by flying against the wind, as some hope to achieve their advancement by being contrary and paradoxical in judgment to all," in order, if we may carry out the figure, to be blown upward into a temporary notoriety by a violent gust of opposition. If he lives in a republic, there is nothing so fine as to appear zealous for a monarchy, for it gives one an air of superior wisdom, to appear to have reasons that have escaped the more superficial observation of common men. If he has been trained in the rites of a simple form of church government, he stoutly pleads for an hierarchy and an establishment; or if he has been taught the gospel as it commends itself to the conscience and common sense of men, he sets himself up among his brethren for a defender of the faith and a bulwark of orthodoxy, and becomes more Calvinistic than Calvin himself.

He is harsh in his judgments of the failings and foibles of the men who are upon the stage of action. Having no sympathy with them, nor with any thing which is done in the age in which he lives, he chooses to forget that they are mortal, and judges of them as if they professed to have attained angelic perfection. He never palliates a foible, but expands it into a damning sin ; he is unforgiving, and oftentimes brutal in his treatment of those whom he ought to love and cherish as his brethren, and whom he cannot deny that he expects to meet in heaven.

To sum up the whole matter, he employs himself in discovering the faults of his fellow men, and ought to be denominated a Professor in general of fault-finding. He uses all his energy in holding back the onward efforts of his compeers, and in steadily setting his face against every advancing movement. Meanwhile, there is no movement onward, in which his own heart is inlisted, and to which all his powers are devotedly consecrated. There is no object on which he fastens his eager desire and his ardent expectations. There is no bright goal to which his eye is directed and to which he is ever bearing up, in spite of the obstacles which oppose themselves ; as a swimmer stems the strongly running tide and contends with the breasting wave. If there were, his powers would be too healthfully employed, and his heart too strongly interested in his own efforts, to leave him a disposition to watch the movements of others. The sense of his own deficiencies, also, and of the excess and ultraism to which he himself is liable in the ardor of an onward movement, would dispose him to be more lenient to faults in others, which spring from a like origin. He has given up all faith in activity, and in consequence, the fires of his own ardor are either wholly quenched, or they keep up a troubled existence, as they sigh and complain amid their own embers. The healthful action of his own system has ceased. A man who has nothing to do and who believes in doing nothing, is, proverbially, a trouble to himself and a thorn in the side of his neighbor. If the aims of another, through excess of youthful hope or the warmth of youthful imagination, are not framed according to the exact dimensions which his own distorted vision would make out, he overwhelms him with the contemptuous laugh of his ridicule, or frightens him with the cold sneer of his own bitterness. If he commits a fault in his movements,—if he is indiscreet through an ill-regulated zeal,—if he for once uses harsh or denunciatory language towards those who do not think with himself,—or even if some

of his associates in a cause greatly err, the cause itself is attacked,—its intrinsic merits are forgotten in the errors of the men, who, right or wrong, may be identified with its advancement. The conservative magnifies all their faults, forgetting, that they are the faults of the man and not of his opinions,—the errors of the actors upon the stage and not of the movement which God through them is conducting forward, and forthwith sets himself against the opinions which they advance, and makes their wheels heavy by hanging backward upon them with all his weight. Now, as there is no cause which cannot furnish faults enough for the eye of the jealous observer, and as all that is done in this day is marred with many indiscretions and follies, our conservative sets up for a critic in general upon the badness of the enterprises and the men of his age, and standing idly by the road-side, points out the defects which he can discern in every passer-by.

To say nothing of the evil influence of this spirit upon the individual who possesses it, it is most obvious to every observer, that very little conservative influence can be exerted in the method which he pursues. The great mass of men believe in doing something in every department, and unless they can be presented with some definite object to be attained, and some course of action in which to be employed, they fall at once into a deadly slumber.

The *Conservative Preacher*, therefore, who, instead of proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ, the hope of immortal glory and the life of the self-sacrificing christian, and exciting his hearers to labor and self-denial, rather chooses to complain of this bustling and self-sufficient age, who put action for communion with God and a reliance on the amount of money which they give for faith in the only Savior,—will be greeted indeed by those of his hearers who love to be bolstered up in their own slothfulness, and to be flattered in the opinion of their own superior wisdom, but will be deserted by all those who are the most self-denying and laborious christians. So, also, if he occupies his pulpit as a theater, in which he may denounce error rather than impress truth, and excite to a jealousy of prevailing methods of presenting the doctrines of christianity, rather than call forth their hearty interest in the truth which he himself presents,—he will soon find, that orthodoxy itself, will be a powerless instrument in his hands in promoting the great and practical ends of the christian faith. It is not difficult at all to account for the fact, that the strictest orthodoxy brings forth as its fruits only slothfulness and pride; and,

that the wealthy and luxurious hearer, who is as unlike the divine Savior as it is possible for a christian to be, is so fond of rolling in his stately chariot to the place where all the energies of the preacher are employed in finding fault with the preaching of others. It is true, he may sleep under the discourse of his reverend instructor and may strive in vain to follow him, as he by attenuated and shadowy abstractions, separates the truth from the faintest tinge of error; but he goes away satisfied with two practical inferences which, whether asleep or awake, he is sure to derive from the sermon, namely, that he himself is one of the few who, in evil times, are true to the old ways of soundness in the faith, and, that it is not to be expected, that a conservative christian will do very much in the service of his master.

Such a preacher was not Paul,—such a preacher was not Baxter; and our modern conservative preaching, is not the gospel according to Baxter and Paul. If they had lived in our day, even granting, that they would have preached what is believed by the self-styled conservative to be the truth, they would not so have divided the truth as forever to have declaimed against the heresies and faults of the age. They aimed directly at the object of propagating the gospel of their Master, and to imbue the hearts of its professors more entirely with its spirit, and though they both lived in days as disorderly as these, they were both of the movement party, in urging men to higher activity and holiness. Said Leighton, when publicly reprimanded for not preaching up the times, “if all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach up Christ Jesus and eternity.”

While we deplore the disorderly and unreasonable spirit of the times, in every one of its manifestations, it is but fair to notice the causes from which these evils have sprung, and the prospect there is, that they will easily and naturally work their own cure, if indeed they are not exasperated and rendered more violent, by the harsh medicines of their pretended physicians. Sixty years since, and how low was the cause of religion, and how dark the prospects of the church in our country! How feeble then was the ardor of individual christians, and how weak their faith in any hopeful prospect for the future! Infidelity had then corrupted the ranks of our professional men, while intemperance was making annually a total wreck of hundreds of their fairest ornaments. Throughout the church, a lifeless torpor reigned, decorated without by the fair forms of decent and orderly observances, and supported within by some

species of practical error. Inadequate and false views of the government and character of God have done the secret work, which afterwards broke out in the fatal defection of scores out of the few hundreds of our churches.

But since that period, how much of substantial good has been accomplished. The church has in some measure been aroused from her slumbers—her converts have been multiplied by myriads—her watchmen stand thickly on her walls and she has sent forth her heralds, with her message of love, to the end of the earth. The current of intemperance has been arrested in its scorching and desolating progress. A spirit of inquiry has been directed to the fields of sacred science and of biblical study. Where there was now and then a solitary student in theology, with few incitements and meager opportunities, there are at this moment hundreds; and to aid and stimulate their efforts, edifices, funds, libraries and teachers have been provided, by the munificent benevolence of the day. All this and much more has not been accomplished without the most strenuous efforts, and the most laborious advances, in a ground beset with active enemies, and infested with the enchanting spells of worldliness and error. During this contest, the elder soldiers stood shoulder to shoulder, forgetting minor differences, with their eye fixed on the enemy, and every nerve strained to gain a single foot in advance. The younger, as fast as they issued from the school of their training, eagerly took their places for action, and the eyes of all were raised upward to the heavenly leader of the sacramental host.

But disorders, we are told, have arisen. And what if they have? Was this not to have been anticipated? When was there an age distinguished by ardent religious zeal and vigorous religious activity, in which there were none? Was the age of the Reformation such a period? Were the days of Baxter, of Leighton, or Howe, marred by no imperfections, where fanatical sects might be told by the score? Did the impulse communicated to the church through Wesley and Whitefield, send no individuals aside from the golden circle of wisdom and truth? Or are we to be told, that the disorders and errors which have attended the revival of religion and morality in the present century, are far beyond the deviations of these former periods? Not certainly by any man who has the most superficial acquaintance with the history of those periods, or has bestowed upon it the reading of a day. The evils which we now behold are not great, if we consider all that has been accomplished of good, so far beyond what the world has ever before seen or dreamed



of, since apostolic days. When also we reflect, that to counterbalance them all, we hold such an amount of sound piety and elevated religious sentiment, that society in so many parts of our land is animated by a tone of moral feeling so high and a disposition so prevailing, to appeal to the right and the wrong in conduct and character, even though this disposition sometimes carries them too far, we ought rather to wonder in the light of past history, that human nature being what it is, these evils are not tenfold more numerous and threatening. There issued forth from the church in other days, bands of fanatics, party-colored and various, by thousands; now we are frightened at a few scores of perfectionists, who have appeared but for a week, to sink into forgetfulness and contempt. The subject should also be viewed in another light. To take one example: Nations, for ages past, have wrought wholesale folly with navies and armies and garments rolled in blood, and it is to be feared will still continue so to do. On the other hand, a few hundred men and women become fanatics for peace, renounce their allegiance to human governments, and are embodied in a "Non-Resistance Society."

But whence is our greatest danger? Is it from disorganizers alone, and from those who in their thoughtless and fierce folly, are in fact destroying the stability of the church and the foundations of society? We answer, No. As there is a fanaticism in a misjudged zeal, so also is there a fanaticism in a lifeless formality. As there is a disorganizing spirit among those rightly termed the Destructives, so is there one equally fatal in its tendencies in that conservatism, which severs the unity of the spirit and breaks the bond of peace.

What says history? Century after century it tells us of religion revived and morality renewed, then of a reaction from a too forward zeal in the form of a fearful and proud conservatism, which has chilled the church with the spiritual coldness of an Antinomian orthodoxy, or stopped the circulation of the warm current of her life by the slow creeping poison of a fair but hollow formality. So it was after Luther lived and preached. The next century tells the same tale. In our own country, at least, there was a hundred years a similar reaction from a too exuberant religious life to a more dreadful spiritual death. Shall it be so in the century which is now rolling over our heads? Let the conservatives of the church, in this our day, see well to that.

Had not the church extended her borders widely, and planted deeply her roots, she could not maintain so many idlers

among her sons, who, professing to be conservatives of her estate, are yet wanting its substance. Had she not accumulated wealth in flourishing societies and thousands of professed followers, there would be no object for which to contend. Were there no care for the hundreds who swerve from the school of the prophets, the teachers of these schools would not be at odds. Were there no missionaries abroad, no societies organized for their maintenance and no funds annually collected, there would be graver questions discussed, than whether the Assembly Board or that at Boston, were the more honest and trust-worthy agent. The very facts, therefore, that there is power and place and reputation for which to contend, shows that there is beneath this ruffled surface a deep substratum of high religious interest and strongly moving religious activity. If there are indeed so many of the servants of the church who can be suffered to cease their appropriate work, that they may prosecute and excise one another, and so many more who do little but shake the head and sound the note of alarm and frame resolutions and establish newspapers and magazines under the fair names of Conservatives, it is quite sure, that the church is not entirely given over, nor has she altogether ceased to exist. Would that this kingdom of God could be rid of her ecclesiastical politics !

In the days of her weakness and of her struggles with the foe, when her friends are few in number and feeble in strength, they are then all in the field and their business is with the enemy. But when this enemy begins to retreat and her own host gains by thousands, then the battle begins to pause a little, and the victors allow themselves a breathing time. You will then observe the leaders in her cause begin to exchange suspicious looks. Perhaps they cross their weapons in a contest designed to be friendly and even to prepare them the better for their attacks upon the common enemy. A wound is inflicted, not altogether of design, and not entirely by accident, but it is not deep, and in the ardor of engagement with the opposite party it would hardly have been noticed. In an instant, the host, the host of God's elect, is at war within itself. You can hear the tumult, you can mark the commotion of the multitude. The cry is no longer the foe ! the foe ! but the church ! the church ! Her bulwarks are betrayed ! her weapons are faithless ! her friends are but secret enemies !

Such is the scene that now presents itself. Numbers there are who sound to the onset, but though they cry loud and long and brandish their weapons with a fierce display, yet their onsets make but little impression, from their hot blood and their ill-regulated zeal. There are numbers more, whose weapons

are suffered to rust, or who brighten them only in intestine conflict. They call themselves conservatives.

But these are not all. Were it so, hope would sink, for we should look to see the spirit which animates and guides the church taking its upward flight, and leaving the sons of the church to put off their garlands of victory and to give place to a new and successful inroad of error and of sin.

These are not all. There are those whom we regard as the true conservatives of the church. And who are they? They are men who, with enlightened views of the scriptures and in the exercise of sound sense in regard to the great questions of the day, vigorously prosecute the great work of propagating the gospel, and with a catholic spirit aim to arouse the public mind to a higher tone of religious feeling and a nobler spirit of religious activity.

The gospel of Christ is the grand conservative influence, for it is opposed to every influence that is *destructive*, whether it be pride, worldliness, a furiousness and unteachable fanaticism, or an uncharitable and slothful attachment to a self-styled orthodoxy. Where the spirit of Christ is, there is a healthful spirit, for if the heart be right in the main, it will work itself free from the mistakes and excesses, that are incident to the successive periods of the development of its inward principle. If, in its earlier and unchastened zeal, it calls down fire from heaven, or denounces its opposers with an indecent and unmeasured freedom, the Master is near, and gently whispers, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." If it regards with an averted and misjudging eye, the high cultivation of the intellectual man and the more refined graces of cultivated society, it by and by learns to esteem both as the fair flowers, that crown and beautify the perfected christian character, and seeks to possess itself of these its most becoming ornaments. In short, if it does wrong, it is willing to repent, and as it waits before God in the simple spirit of christian docility, it unlearns its errors, and adds to its stores of truth. As a matter of fact, some of the most valuable conservatives whom the church at this day possesses, were made such by their own experience of the destructive tendencies of their own misjudging zeal.

The motto of our conservatism is expressed in the following words of Baxter, who lived in an age when the need of a true conservative was quite as pressing as at present, and when pretended conservatives did, as now, more harm than healing. "As for all the sects and heresies that are creeping in daily and troubling us, I doubt not but the free gospel, managed by *an able, self-denying ministry*, will effectually disperse and shame them all."

But to accomplish this end, the gospel must be preached with an apostolic spirit and with apostolic expectations of success. It must be preached in its freedom, and with all the large invitations of its beseeching mercy and the earnest entreaties of a God reconciling the world unto himself. It must be preached in simplicity, as it always has been proclaimed, by those whose labors God has abundantly blessed, and with the adaptation which it carries with itself to win and overcome the heart of man. Above all it must be preached by men of a catholic spirit, a spirit that hopeth the best rather than one which is irritated and alarmed at the slightest tidings of *constructive heresy*. "We may talk of peace as long as we live, but we shall never obtain it till we return to the apostolical simplicity. We must abhor the arrogance of them that frame new engines to rack and tear the church of God, under pretence of obviating errors and maintaining the truth." This is the great lesson which Christ is teaching his church in these days, and those who learn it soonest and learn it best will exert in the church the most of a conservative influence.

It must be preached by *men of sense*, by men who, whether they call themselves conservatives or not, will exert a really conservative influence, making it to appear, that true religion is not raving, nor senseless declamation, nor a trick of excitement; that it commends itself to the conscience of the reasoning man, and enters gracefully into every apartment of the inmost soul; that it summons its active energies to the highest and holiest enterprises and imbues it with a loftier and more heavenly spirit. It must also be shown, that it is not straitened to creeds constructed after the exactest model and amplified into the network of manifold technicalities, and that of all things it is most abhorrent of a slothful inactivity, and a caution against error so timid, that it will not act boldly for the truth; but that its great law is, to inculcate the truth with all the might, and it will certainly be blessed of God to the displacing and the putting to shame of every error.

They, then, are the True Conservatives, who have strong confidence in the healthful influence of the gospel, and are firmly convinced of its adaptation to the highest well-being of man and the only perfect development of his powers. Such have not renounced the faith in its onward progress, that they may spend their energies in looking out for the evils of the times, and detecting, in their embryo, *incipient tendencies* to heresy.

We have *hope* for our own country and hope for the church, for we believe, that there are thousands and tens of thousands

of *such true conservatives* among the ministers of religion and the lay members of our churches—men sound at heart, with native good sense and unsuspecting spirit. Some such there are in all the religious parties of the day ; we know there are not a few in this our own State, even among those who count themselves arrayed against us.

We wish that the number was greater than it is. We would, that there were among them all those older men, who, after doing much for the cause of truth and religion, have almost given it over in hopeless despair, for the degeneracy of the times, and also those younger men, who, instead of solemnly girding themselves to the contest for Christ and his cause, in the old-fashioned way, have at once assumed the "care of all the churches," and are almost infatuated with the splendid idea of their own conservative wisdom.

To these last, let us at parting, suggest the way to become a conservative indeed. Seek out some sphere of activity, where religion is low and infidelity is prevailing, and aim, whether you are a layman or a preacher, with the blessing of God, so to present the gospel, that men by it may be converted to God—and perhaps you will find, that the gospel was never made to be presented to man exactly as you now "divide the truth," and that its conservative influence cannot be extended, however it may be upheld, except as it commends itself to the conscience and common sense of the men who hear it. Banish, for a time, from your library systems of divinity, and take the bible in the original languages, and honestly and faithfully and independently study its import ; cease to busy yourself with the newspapers and pamphlets and reviews of this fermenting age, that you may neither be excited or vexed by the movement party, nor allow your heart to burn with the jealousy and bitterness of the opposite, but let your soul go out in ardent prayer and hearty and earnest efforts for the success of your labors. Lay out your plans for literary acquisition and thorough investigation in a large and liberal spirit, and with ardent hope and prayer to God, that you may complete them. If you are a minister of Christ, lay upon your table an old conservative book, entitled "the Reformed Pastor," and while you read, do not forget, that it was written by the ardent, apostolic and *ancient* Baxter, and not by some recent *New School* divine. If this discipline be prosecuted steadily for a six months or a year, you may become a TRUE CONSERVATIVE, and what is far better, you will deserve the far higher honor of being among those men, who, having turned many to righteousness, "shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

## ART. IX.—FISK'S TRAVELS IN EUROPE.

*Travels on the Continent of Europe, viz: In England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands*: by WILBUR FISK, D. D., President of the Wesleyan Institute at Middletown, Conn.: with Engravings. Third edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1838.

THE formidable size of this volume is certainly the characteristic that first strikes the eye, if not the one that will longest dwell in the mind of the reader. In a book of "Travels on the Continent of Europe,"\* containing nearly seven hundred pages well filled, one might expect to find the results of years of diligent observation, with an infinite variety of novel incidents, a world of speculation, criticism, fancy-work and sage reflection, besides a due share of description and narrative. Yet Dr. Fisk spent only fifteen months from home, and met with less than an ordinary share of novel incidents. He has too much good sense to load a book of travels designed for the use of common readers with much labored speculation, profound philosophical criticism, or to scatter too profusely the products of a luxuriant fancy. His work is almost entirely description and narrative, as it should be; although by no means wanting in the other common ingredients of such a work. Neither is there any apparent effort to make a short story long; or to describe every thing, however minute and trivial, which was actually observed. Where to cut out and curtail, it might be difficult to tell; that the book is susceptible of great compression, however, none can doubt.

The engravings which ornament the work, are not its least recommendation. In this respect, a good example has been set in the getting up of this volume, which it is to be hoped, will be followed by other publishers of travels. Indeed, it is a matter of wonder that travelers have not generally sent to the engravers a selection from their repository of sketches, maps, costumes, &c., of which every one must have laid in a plentiful stock from the numerous and cheap picture-shops in Europe,

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\* We quote from the title page of the third edition. The ridiculous blunder in the title, "Travels on the continent of Europe, viz: in England, Ireland, Scotland, &c." which had escaped the strictness of editorial scrutiny in three successive editions, is, we perceive, corrected in the fourth. Was the title page designed to be a fair index to the contents of the work, the character as well as matter?

and thus, at a very moderate expense, added greatly to the attractiveness of their volumes.

The external character of the work, in other respects, is worthy of the Harpers.

Dr. Fisk commences his tour in the fall of 1835. His route was by way of Liverpool, Dover and Boulogne to Paris; over Mont Cenis to Turin; thence to Rome and Naples by way of Genoa, Florence, Leghorn and Civita Vecchia; and on his return, by Florence, Venice and Milan, into Switzerland; thence on the German side of the Rhine and down the river into Holland, and thence back to Great Britain. This is a common route with American travelers in Europe; and as Dr. F. seems not to have made any special effort to discover new objects or scenes, his journal is like most other journals: containing much the same information and description, the narrative differing only in those respects in which the narratives of different persons traveling over the same ground would naturally be expected to differ. Education and Methodism are the topics which most interested his mind; and it is on these subjects that most of what is new and peculiar is found. On other points no important information that is new is furnished in the volume.

The plan of the work is the simple and natural one of recording the incidents and observations in the order of time. It is interspersed, however, with letters addressed to different individuals and written during the tour. These will probably be read with deeper interest than most of the other portions of the work. One letter gives a brief compend of the history of modern Italy, which some readers will be glad to see.

As an observer, Dr. F. is hasty and superficial. He seems to lack very much the most important attribute of a writer of travels, an ardent curiosity. He appears to have been contented with seeing just such things as a common guide-book or a lazy cicerone would point out, and no others. Even those objects which lie under the eye of every passing traveler are only glanced over and left. There is nothing, apparently, of the generous and enlightened enthusiasm of the scholar, the antiquarian, the man of science, or the amateur of the fine arts. Hence his travels are very common place.

His style is popular but careless. The letters and the first portion of the volume are spirited and lively. As to the remaining part, the reader will not hesitate to believe, what is intimated at the close of the volume, that the composition of it was a burden.

Dr. F. seems to imagine, that a sufficient justification for the haste and carelessness apparent in the preparation of the work, may be found in the fact, that such works must of necessity be short lived. Under this impression, he has suffered a book to go forth to the four corners of the earth, marked with faults and blemishes, that must inevitably prove fatal to the reputation of any ordinary writer. Even were this impression just, it might be a question worthy of serious consideration, whether regard to his own reputation as a man of science and of letters would not require more pains and attention than seems to have been bestowed on this work. However, if the injury thus done was confined to the author, the public would not have so much occasion perhaps to complain. But it is not so. The effects of such carelessness and haste in getting up works for the press, are felt on the influence of literature generally. President Fisk has given all the countenance of his own example, and the influence of his name and station, in recommendation and support of abortive authorship. He has lent his sanction to the practice, now unhappily so prevalent, of imposing crude and half-digested works on the reading public; and has done so much towards enervating and dissipating the public mind, vitiating taste, and lowering the standard of letters. The reputation of American literature, moreover, is at stake. A book like this will not stay at home. Whatever its merits in a literary point of view, other obvious causes will send it abroad. It will be read or looked at across the Atlantic. The judgment there formed of this book, will extend to the generality of American publications. If such be the character of a work from the hands of a man whose name is adorned with one of the highest honors in the gift of the republic of letters, of one, too, who has been raised to the high station of head of a university, what must be the character of the common ranks of publications from the American press? If such a book can pass through repeated editions in a single year, what must be the standard of taste among the American people? Such questions, doubtless, will be put; and they will be answered in feelings if not words of contempt or pity for the low standard of literature in America.

That there is reason to apprehend such a result, and that our remarks are not too severe nor unjust, will appear from a glance at some of the many blemishes in the work. We shall here group together some exemplifications of the character of the work not only as it regards style, but also as to its merits generally.



There is certainly a show, not perhaps affected, of learning in the work. One would infer from some things, that the author was thoroughly versed in the Latin language, and in the French and the Italian tongues; as well as in English literature and science generally. Yet he would have doubts on this point raised, when he finds the Doctor speaking of beholding "a phenomenon of sound," (p. 35,) and a "domestic domicil" (p. 209;) making Latin after the style of "*naves natantes rari*," (p. 340;) in French, using expressions like *champs d'Elysées*, (p. 21 and al. ;) riding "outside of" his "*voiturier*" (coachman, p. 135,) or taking a passage in a "*voiturier*" (p. 394;) and in Italian, giving French terminations, as in the almost universal use of "Marie" for Maria.

In classical learning, some things he will notice, will lead him to suspect a like deficiency. For instance, Virgil is spoken of (p. 216) as consulting the elder of the Cumaean Sibyls some four hundred years and more before the building of Rome. Again, while in the temple of Neptune, a magnificent ruin in Paestum, once called Posidonia, the classical imagination of our author is inspired with such extatic force, that he is borne back on her swift wings to the time when, among those identical columns "hung round with garlands," and in those open courts, Jason and Ulysses and Hercules worshiped the god of the sea! Posidonia, we are taught by our hitherto accredited historians, was built only about seven centuries after the earliest of these heroes, and six after the latest of them died. Our classical dictionaries, it seems, too, are at fault in representing Jupiter as the son of Saturn and Rhea. For Dr. F. speaking of Venice, (p. 360,) says: "Like Jupiter, it sprung up self-creative from the froth of the sea, and like him, it subsequently ruled both the sea (!) and the land."

The learned antiquarian will no doubt be agreeably surprised to find, that the pile of ruins in Rome which is vulgarly known by the name of the Temple of Peace, but by the better informed as the Basilica of Constantine, is not the remnant of a single structure. For Dr. F. speaks of visiting the ruins of both buildings. He will in his gratification, however, regret, that a more minute description was not given of their localities and appearance, so that they may hereafter be discovered and distinguished. He will, also, be amazed to find, that the three beautiful columns now standing on the Roman Forum, which antiquarian research had settled to be remains of the ancient Graecostasis, are, after all, but some remaining columns of the Temple

of Jupiter Stator, as the loose traditions of the vulgar had represented them.

Geological science, also, will require some emendations. For the Apennines are now discovered to be volcanic, although possessing but one solitary volcanic feature,—that, indeed, rather a decisive one, since it is none other than an actual volcano in eruption. “We passed,” says Dr. F., (p. 353,) “the *Monte di Fo*, a small volcano, which constantly sends forth, it is said, a clear flame, spreading out a number of feet.” Whether the learned President saw the volcano or not, we are not informed; but we infer, that he did not see the flame; why, we cannot imagine. If he passed an active volcano on the Apennines, one would suppose, that as a man of science he would have made almost any sacrifice of time, money and personal comfort, to have examined it. But probably he took this, as seemingly many things else, on the authority of his *veturino*, or guide-book. If he had gone half a mile from the road, he would probably have discovered, that his fancied volcano was nothing more or less than an exhalation of inflammable gas, which, by some accident, had become ignited, and now burns in an irregular flame of from six inches to two feet in height, over a surface of some twenty feet square.

It has been already intimated, that the work indicates great carelessness in the author as an observer. Some instances, confirmatory of this, now occur to us. The column of Phocas in the Roman Forum, is represented as having been seen where, we have the best reason to believe, it is not; and the Capitol is certainly not west of the ancient Forum. It is very difficult to conceive how the *North Loch* in Edinburgh could ever have “formed the eastern boundary of the city;” and the college buildings are, by no means, “on the west side of the great gulf.” His description of the ringing of bells and the firing of the cannon of St. Angelo at Rome amid the solemnities of the Holy Week, (p. 241,) would shock every pious feeling in a good Catholic. The ceremonies of Holy Thursday and of Easter Sunday are evidently confounded.

It is in the notes on Geneva, that are found the most frequent instances of hasty observation. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a book containing so many errors in so small a compass as are found within a few pages in this part of the volume.

He speaks (pp. 411, 413) of the “Evangelical Society of Switzerland,” made up of evangelical christians “in different cantons and of different churches.” Certainly all this will be

new to those who have deemed themselves conversant with the religious state of Switzerland. There is an Evangelical Society in Geneva, formed by individuals originally members of the Established Church of Geneva ; but now mostly or entirely excluded for their evangelical sentiments. There is a similar society in the Canton of Vaud, consisting of members of the Vaudois church ; and there may be others in other cantons. But they are distinct from one another ; as much so, to say the least, as the Wesleyan Missionary Society of Great Britain and the Methodist Missionary Society in this country. Certainly no such general society, extending over different cantons, "had its origin in the almost total apostacy of the Swiss churches." The history of these Evangelical Societies in different cantons, and especially in Geneva, is most interesting and instructive. It is a just cause of surprise and regret, that Dr. F., who professes to have taken so deep an interest in the religious state of Geneva and Switzerland, has not communicated some facts connected with it.

It will doubtless surprise most readers familiar with the events, that transpired on the continent of Europe during the last of the eighteenth, and the first of the present century, to find the learned Doctor ascribing the origin of the apostacy of the Swiss churches to two causes : "first, the connexion of the church with the state," and, secondly, "the *ultra Calvinism* of these churches." One would think, that he had never heard of the terrors of the French Revolution, or visited the residence of Voltaire, at Ferney, or the statue of Jean Jacques Rousseau in Geneva. It is a little remarkable, too,—a fact which does not seem to have engaged the attention of Dr. F.,—that the leaders of the present reformation in Switzerland are, if for any thing, distinguished for their attachment to the doctrines of Calvin.

It would be inferred from the statements on page 414, that Dr. Malan was the only minister deposed from the Geneva church for his evangelical sentiments. This is not the case. The ministers engaged in founding the Evangelical Society of Geneva, were partners with him in this honor. Neither did Dr. Malan's congregation build the church "called the *Ora-toir*," (*Oratoire* ; ) nor is he the pastor of this church. He has no church in the city ; but his congregation worships in a house constructed with his own funds and those obtained from English and American christians, and located in the quarter *Pré d'Evêque*, out of the city. Neither, again, has he, as Dr. Fisk represents, anything to do with the Theological Seminary. Both the *Oratoire* and the Seminary belong to the Evangelical

Society. Moreover, Dr. Malan and the members of this Society, belong to different denominations of christians; Dr. Malan's church being Presbyterian and connected with the Secession church of Scotland, while the Evangelical Society adhere to the original constitution of the Geneva church. Dr. Fisk is likewise mistaken in supposing, that there is a distinct "*sect*" among the evangelical reformers in Switzerland "*called Momiens or Methodists;*" unless Dr. Malan with his congregation, the members of the Independent Baptist Church, worshipping in the *Bourg de Four*, those of the church *de l'Oratoire*, and, indeed, the great body of the evangelical christians in Switzerland belong to, and constitute this "*sect.*" For to all have these epithets of derision been freely applied.

We notice only one point more in this connexion. It is the assertion in the note, (p. 415,) that the Evangelical Theological School has been "*almost broken up*" by the Irving heresy. We know not what authority Dr. F. has for making this assertion. The last Annual Report of this Institution alludes to the efforts of the Irvingite teachers, and mentions the defection of Prof. Preisswerck, and his consequent removal from his professorship; but speaks very favorably of the prosperity of the Institution, and particularly in regard to the number of its pupils as being greater than in any preceding year. After having met with so many inaccuracies of statement in the accompanying text, we are constrained to receive this assertion with some abatement.

In sound common sense and practical sagacity Dr. F. excels. We find many instances of this in his Travels, and should be glad to transfer some of his judicious suggestions and just practical conclusions to our pages. But we must content ourselves with referring to his remarks on the moral effects of the exhibitions of fine arts in Europe. They confirm the sentiments we have taken occasion in a former volume to express on this subject:

'I frankly confess, that I deem it next to impossible for a youth to visit Italy, and the continent of Europe generally, without suffering loss in the discriminating power and purity of his moral feelings. It must be a miracle of grace alone that can preserve him. But in addition to this,—for I should hope there never would be so great a number corrupted among the tourists of our countrymen as to affect materially the morals of the nation,—there is to be dreaded more than any thing else, the introduction into our country, through the medium of wealthy travellers and travelling artists, the corrupting causes themselves of moral principle. Already, through the medium of artists and amateurs, paint-

ings, engravings, and statuary, of a character that will contribute nothing to the purity of our youth, are finding their way into our country; and as wealth increases among us, these works of art will be multiplied. They will not be openly and publicly exhibited at first; but gradually as that nice delicacy which now characterizes public taste with us shall become blunted, we shall see, I fear, naked Loves and Venuses as frequent in our galleries and public gardens as they are now in Europe; we shall have our groups of Leda and the Eagle, [the Swan?] of Love and Psyche, and all the rest, rendered more tolerable, because they are either the original or the copies of the most splendid works of art, and are consecrated by the incense of their classical associations. Nay, there are many now, very many, of our travelling and *untravellerd* countrymen who, if these remarks ever meet their eye, will doubtless sneer at the *squeamishness*, and *superstition*, and vulgar *destitution* of *taste*, which could object to these exhibitions. It is becoming fashionable with us to affect the European taste; and there are many who would not dare be so uncourtly and vulgar as to manifest any scruples of delicacy or moral feeling on this subject. Be it so. I must do my duty in the case, whether it effect little or much; and I therefore am constrained to raise my feeble voice against this fascinating manner of sapping the principles of public virtue, and would especially warn and entreat the rising generation against this influence.' pp. 365, 366.

The volume contains some interesting intelligence concerning the state of education in different countries of Europe; but this has been for the most part, presented to the American public in other forms. We do not recollect to have seen in any other book of travels in Italy so full and complete a description of the ceremonies of Holy Week at Rome. This will be read with much interest by those who are not very familiar with Romish superstition and the pageantry of its religious worship. But the chapter which will probably be read with the deepest interest by all readers, whether of the same denomination of christians with Dr. F. or not, is the one which relates to the condition of Methodism in Great Britain.

Dr. Fisk was the delegate of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of England; and it is in connection with his account of the annual meeting of the conference, that he communicates most of what we find in the volume on that subject.

The meeting which Dr. F. attended was held at Birmingham, and was the ninety third annual meeting of the British Conference. By "the poll-deed" of John Wesley, the *magna charta* of the Wesleyan Church, the Conference consists of one hundred members; and is the body in which the power of the church is concentrated. The power intrusted to this Confer-

ence is great. Indeed, it is hardly credible, that in this age of the world and in the Protestant church, there could possibly be sustained for any length of time a religious organization in which such absolute power should be concentrated in the hands of a few irresponsible men. Certainly, the features of this scheme of ecclesiastical government, as imperfectly developed in the volume before us, will surprise most readers out of the Methodist church.

From the statements of Dr. F. it appears, that on February 28, 1784, Mr. Wesley executed a poll-deed, which in the following month was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, by which he gave legal existence to the Conference. This instrument prescribed the number of its members and designated the mode of election. It also conferred on this body the exclusive power of appointing "the preachers and expounders of God's word," and also of maintaining and enforcing moral discipline in the church. It would be inferred, also, from Dr. F.'s language, that this instrument required, that all the trust deeds of all the chapels should contain a provision to this effect: that no person or persons whatsoever should "be permitted to preach or expound God's holy word" in such chapels who maintained any doctrine contrary to what is found in the first four volumes of Mr. Wesley's sermons and his notes on the New Testament. By a recent decision of the Court of Chancery, this instrument of Mr. Wesley is established and ratified as the charter of the Wesleyan Conference. This decision confirms their legal power over all the chapels and other church property of "the connexion."

It will, at once, appear from this statement, that the creed of the Methodist church is forever fixed. It is not a creed, be it remarked, expressing in a few general terms, the common fundamental truths and doctrines of christianity. The Wesleyan Conference has no right to appoint a preacher to any chapel unless satisfied, that he receives all the doctrines set forth in some half dozen volumes of sermons and scriptural annotations. If they themselves, by the appointment of such a preacher, knowingly sanction a departure from any of these doctrines, it is difficult to see how they can retain their legal control over their church property, or even maintain their legal existence. At all events, Mr. Wesley is, in this, clearly recognized as a person qualified to fix the doctrinal belief of a denomination of christians for the whole period of its existence. Certainly, we need not travel to Rome to find the doctrine of papal infallibility avowed and acted upon. What shackles, too, are bound

upon the spirit of free investigation? What earnest aspirant for usefulness in the Wesleyan church would ever dare to trust himself in a single opinion for which he could not find a clear warrant in Wesley's notes or sermons, lest the doors of all the Wesleyan chapels in Britain should be closed against him? It is of no avail to reply, that in point of fact the shackles do not press thus heavily; that Clarke and Watson and others have differed from Wesley in material points; that even the church generally have in divers respects changed their creed since the death of their founder. This only proves the folly of binding the faith of a whole denomination of christians to the opinions of an individual.

The burden of the yoke already begins to be felt. It seems, that many of the leading preachers are tired of that mutability in the pastoral relation which the poll-deed of Mr. Wesley has made essential to legalized Wesleyanism. Dr. F. thus alludes to the fact. "Make the best of an itinerant life, there is something in it so unpleasant to *flesh* and *blood*, that there is a constant tendency to a more permanent system; and the idea was decidedly expressed by several of the leading preachers, that a longer stay than three years would be, in some cases, important; but the poll-deed will not allow of it. Thus has Mr. Wesley's forethought perpetuated a traveling ministry." (p. 595.) Let the whole Methodist church, to a man, be convinced, that permanence in the relations of a pastor to a people is preferable to perpetual mutation, yet they cannot give up this feature of itinerancy in their clergy, so essential is it, without, at the same time, exposing themselves to a forfeiture of all their interest in their chapels and other ecclesiastical property, as well as of their legal existence. This circumstance will illustrate very well the bearings of Mr. Wesley's poll-deed on the character of British Methodism. It is very easy to see, that as certainly as mind is active, human opinions, and especially opinions in religious doctrine and discipline, are changing, and theological science advancing to perfection, the Wesleyan church must be agitated with contentions which the strong arm of the law alone will settle.

It further appears from the statement given above, that all the power of every kind is concentrated in the Conference, which is always to consist of one hundred members, the vacancies being supplied according to the directions of the "poll-deed." They have exclusive control of all the chapels and other ecclesiastical property belonging to "the connexion." They have the sole right to station the preachers. Neither

the individual churches have liberty of choice as to whom they shall have for their pastor; nor the preachers as to the place where they shall be stationed. They, too, have all the power of disciplining their members in their own hands. By the Chancellor's decision confirming Mr. Wesley's deed, "the power to maintain and enforce moral discipline in the church is confirmed to the Conference and their official organs and members." (p. 586.) Here is as perfect a system of ecclesiastical aristocracy as can well be conceived of. Dr. F. himself seems to be aware of its liability to objection on the ground of its possessing and wielding too great power. In endeavoring to vindicate the system from such objection, he uses the following remarkable language. "From the nature of the case there always must be a marked distinction between ecclesiastical and civil government; and the safety of the people, in ecclesiastical government, consists in this, that it is armed by [with?] no secular power. The extent of its authority is moral discipline by moral means, with no other power but that of withdrawing fellowship from the incorrigible offender." (p. 585.) But is not that government armed with secular power which has absolute and exclusive control over all the chapels and ecclesiastical property of its subjects?

This is not, however, the whole of the case as it is exhibited by Dr. Fisk. It appears, that the Conference have various sources of income denominated "*funds*," as *the school-fund, contingent fund, chapel-fund, &c.* Leaving out the funds for the erection and repair of chapels, probably not less than half a million is placed annually at the disposal of the Conference, besides what goes for the regular support of the clergy. What a vast amount of "secular power" must attend the power of distributing these funds, although to some degree limited as to their general object, may be better imagined than formally set forth.

It will not appear at all surprising, that a people who can submit to such unlimited and irresponsible control, should easily be led a step farther and yield themselves submissively to the dictation of an individual. In point of fact, the usurpation of authority by a single individual has given occasion recently to a violent agitation which has resulted in a large secession. In the proceedings of the Conference itself we have an instance of this. The president seems to have had the direction of every measure in his own hands. "When he said let it be so, the voice of the elders said let it be so, and so it was." (p. 596.)



It will not appear at all strange either, that there should have been "frequent defections" from a body so constituted, among a people, politically, intellectually and spiritually free; nor, that in every case of schism "the principal complaint should have been 'clerical domination,' 'ecclesiastical oppression.'" Beyond all question, the more "the Connexion" advances in knowledge and in spiritual freedom, the more frequent will these defections become. It has recently lost from twelve to twenty thousand members from a schism growing out of this very cause, "clerical domination."

Such are some features of British Methodism as presented in the volume before us. It differs, according to Dr. Fisk, from American Methodism only in being somewhat more systematic,—more matured,—more perfect in its operation. Does one in a hundred of American Methodists understand the beauty and excellences of their religious system?

The present condition of this denomination of christians is represented as flourishing. It is remarkable, that they are very loath to consider themselves as dissenting. Many of their most intelligent men deny, that they are dissenters. In England, however, the breach seems to be widening between them and the Establishment. Dr. Fisk seems to consider as indicative of this, the fact, that at the meeting of the Conference which he attended for the first time, they set apart their young ministers with the imposition of hands. In Ireland the attachment to the Established church is very strong; so much so, that the children of the most wealthy and respectable Methodists frequently forsake the religion of their fathers, and, that "with the approbation and often with the high gratification of their parents."

The character of the British Wesleyan ministry, Dr. F. considers as more elevated than that of the Methodist clergy in America; and they will continue to improve under the influence of their new theological school in London. He does not rank them higher in the scale of spirituality and devoutness. They are a very cheerful set of men; and, says Dr. F., "the best fed and happiest countenanced class of men I ever saw."

We have dwelt longer than we thought on this work. It will probably meet the expectations and accomplish the object of the author in publishing it. Numbers to whom "the author, by his calling, holds an interesting relation," will doubtless "receive some favorable impressions and gain some additional knowledge" from it, who would not be likely to read other books of travels. We might say better, perhaps, that

this object has been accomplished ; for, we perceive, the work has already passed through four editions, or shall we more correctly say, four different impressions in less than a year. The author, at least, will not be disappointed if it "fall into the great mass of transient literature, that passes into oblivion with the age that gave it birth."

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#### ART. X.—KINGSLEY'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

*A Historical Discourse, delivered by request before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25, 1838, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Town and Colony:* by JAMES L. KINGSLEY. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes. 1838.

"THERE is something essentially bad," says one of our ablest writers, "in a people who despise or do not honor their originals. A State torn from its beginnings, is fragmentary, incapable of public love, or of any real nationality. No such people were ever known to develop a great character. Rome was not ashamed to own, that she sprung of refugees and robbers, and boasted, in every age, her old seer Numa, who gave her laws and a religion. Athens could glory in the fiction, that her ancestors were grasshoppers, sprung out of the earth as an original race. England has never blushed to name her noble families from the Danish or Saxon pirates who descended on her coast. Piety to God, and piety to ancestors, are the only force that can impart an organic unity and vitality to a state. Torn from the past and from God, government is but a dead and brute machine. Its laws take hold of nothing in man which responds." "Law is uttered by the National Life,—not by some monarch, magistrate, or legislature, of to-day, or of any day, but by the State, by that organic force of which kings, magistrates, legislatures, of all times, have been but the hands and feet and living instruments,—that force which has grown up from small and perilous beginnings, strengthened itself in battles, spoken in the voices of orators and poets, and been hallowed at the altars of religion. Glorious and auspicious distinction it is, therefore, that we have an ancestry who, after every possible deduction, stand high above the originals of every nation of

mankind,—men fit to be honored and sung while the continent endures.”\*

Everything then, which tends to awaken the historical sentiment in the public mind, to connect the present and the future with the past, and to make us feel as a people, that we are descended from a noble ancestry, is of importance to the commonwealth. The labors and collections of our Historical Societies, among which, that of Massachusetts is *facile princeps*,—the more stately performances of our historians, both the elder, like Hutchinson, Trumbull and Belknap, and the new, like Bancroft, (in whose great work now in progress the lesser fault of a somewhat exaggerated democracy, and the greater one of a mysticism which verges too near to mere pantheism, are “the worse for what they stain,”)—and not least, the numerous historical discourses and orations of a popular cast, each having some special interest, local or occasional,—have no slight value in their political and moral influence.

The discourse before us is of a class which can hardly be said to exist in the literature of England. Where among our kindred on the other side of the Atlantic shall we find the models of such discourses as the centennial orations by Webster, Story and Quincy? The sermons preached on the day which is there called the anniversary of the death of the blessed king Charles the martyr, but which some sarcastic old whig denominated the “general madding day,” are the only English performances which we can now recollect as at all analogous to the various anniversary discourses of a historical nature, which occupy so large and so honorable a place in American literature. The English anniversaries are all ecclesiastical, and nearly all exclusively so. They have a calendar of “holy days,” days dedicated to the memory of saints; but what anniversaries have they of a civil character, glorious with patriotic associations? Their great battles of Agincourt and Cressy, of Blenheim, Trafalgar, and Waterloo, they have never chosen to commemorate in such a fashion; and why should they? The anniversary of the execution of Charles I, would be more readily celebrated by the better half of the English people, if instead of being set apart as a day of national humiliation and shame, it were made a sacred memorial of the responsibility of kings. The anniversary of the restoration of the Stuarts is in the calendar of the English church a day of solemn thanksgiving; but what true Englishman can think of that event,

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\* Bushnell, Oration before the *Φ. Β. Κ.*, p. 20.

either in its causes or in its results, without blushing for his country? The fifth of November commemorates a great national deliverance; but the tendency of the celebration is rather to exasperate the people against the Pope and the papists, than to any better end. England was indeed delivered on that day from the accomplishment of a treason as cowardly as it was gigantic; but how? Not by the wisdom of her statesmen, nor by the virtue or the valor of her people. The revolution of 1680 is of all events in the annals of England most worthy of a national commemoration. It was the event which established the liberty of the English people and the supremacy of their laws over their hereditary sovereigns, and made it, wherever English laws prevail, a self-evident truth, that the end of government is the welfare of the governed. But we have yet to learn, that the anniversary of that event is celebrated in England, from year to year, or at more distant intervals, with civic pomp. The fashion of commemorating by orations and public discourses does not seem to exist there, as it does with us.

The customary celebration of the fourth of July, gives birth to something like a thousand orations annually, which as they commonly proceed not only from inexperienced orators but from those who have no higher ambition than to be political "slang-whangers," are as commonly of little use. But if the fourth of July were always devoted to a sober review of the causes and ends, the principles and measures of the revolution, and to the duty of a just tribute to the men of the revolution, instead of being devoted to mere noise and uproar, and the combined intoxication of drink and party rage,—and if in each town or city one of the wisest and most judicious should be selected, without reference to faction, to address his fellow citizens, instead of some volunteer youngster who leaps at the opportunity of showing how he can abuse or eulogize the administration, and charge one half of his countrymen with treason,—the effect on the common mind in promoting all the affections of good neighborhood and all the virtues of patriotism, might be incalculable. Something of this kind is seen, when on an occasion like that on which the discourse before us was delivered, the people of some local community unite in commemorating the virtues and achievements of their ancestors, and some one in whom they all confide as competent to instruct them, gives them such lessons as the occasion demands. He who has seen the salutary enthusiasm excited by such an occasion,—how sectarian and party feelings were mitigated by the awakening of better feelings,—and how all were made to feel the responsi-

bility of standing between the past and the future, and of transmitting to the unborn the honors and inheritance of the glorious dead,—needs no argument to convince him of the value of a just commemoration of great historical events.

The arrangements for celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven were in many respects fortunate. The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences proposed the celebration, elected one of their most learned members to the duty of preparing a historical discourse, and, by a committee appointed for the purpose, determined the day which was to be considered as marking the commencement of civilization on the soil of Quinnipiack. At a proper time, they introduced the subject to the notice of the municipal authorities of the town and city, by whom the proposal was taken up with great spirit. On the 25th of April, the morning was greeted with the ringing of bells and the discharge of cannon. At an early hour, some thousands of citizens assembled in the public square around the State House. The children from the schools, to the number of fifteen hundred or two thousand, appeared in holiday dress, and, with their centennial badges, under the direction of their teachers—a sight, that drew tears of pride and affection from thousands of eyes. A procession of citizens, followed by the schools, was formed from the State House to the spot where, just two hundred years before, the founders of New Haven kept their first sabbath around an aged oak which has long since perished, but of which tradition has preserved the locality.\* There, in the presence of a vast multitude, filling the street, covering the roofs of the houses, and standing in the branches of the trees, prayer was offered—in a strain of sentiment and language worthy of the occasion, and with a voice every word of which went distinctly to every ear—by a venerable man, a native of the town, a descendant in the sixth generation from Theophilus Eaton, who, after having sustained the pastoral office in the ancient church of Saybrook for more than half a century, has only since that day received an assistant. Four stanzas from the 84th Psalm, in the version used by the fathers, were then sung, with voices as of many waters, to the puritanical old tune of St. Martin's.

O take us, Lord, unto thy grace,  
convert our mindes to thee ;  
Shew forth to us thy joyful face  
and wee full safe shall be.

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\* Dr. Beecher was born, not indeed under the tree, but in the house nearest to where the tree stood. It is said, that his father's anvil stood for many years upon the stump of the old oak.

From Egypt, where it grew not well,  
 thou brought'st a vine full deare ;  
 The heathen folke thou didst expell,  
 and thou didst plant it here.

Thou didst prepare for it a place,  
 and set her rootes full fast ;  
 That it did grow, and spring apace,  
 and filled the land at last.

O Lord of Hoasts, through thy good grace,  
 convert us unto thee ;  
 Behold us with a pleasant face,  
 and then full safe are wee.

The procession, returning to the public square, having passed the place where Eaton and Davenport had their dwellings together, on opposite sides of the street, entered the spacious and beautiful temple which covers the remains of the fathers, and is occupied by the same church which the fathers organized. There, religious exercises, appropriate to the occasion, were performed by ministers of the Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist churches,\* and the learned discourse before us

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\* One of the hymns prepared for the occasion is so happy in the conception and execution, that we give it a place here.

Lo ! we are gathering here  
 Now in the young green year,  
 And welcoming  
 Th' days which the ocean o'er  
 Did, to New England's shore,  
 Those noble souls of yore,  
 Our fathers, bring.

Here where now temples rise,  
 Knelt they 'neath these same skies,  
 The woods among ;  
 And to the murmuring sea,  
 And to the forest free,  
 The home of liberty,  
 Echoed their song.

Lives not then in our veins—  
 Speak not our battle plains—  
 A blood like theirs ?  
 Ay ! and from this same sod,  
 Fearing no tyrant's rod,  
 To the same Father, God,  
 Ascend *our* prayers.

Make theirs, O God, *our* fame ;  
 Worthy to bear their name,  
 O may we be !  
 Thus, while each gladsome spring  
 Comes with its blossoming,  
 Loud shall our anthems ring  
 For them and thee !

was delivered. And it is not unworthy to be put upon record, that the remainder of the day passed off in perfect quietness, without the "discomfort" and noise of a public dinner, in a population of perhaps fourteen thousand souls, to all of whom it was a holiday.

The idea has been studiously inculcated, that of all the fanatical settlers of New England, those who came to Connecticut were the most fanatical; and that of all the settlements of Connecticut, the old New Haven colony was the most insane with all sorts of enthusiasm and bigotry. This calumny does not seem to be of modern origin. We believe it to be considerably older than the revolution. It is an old tradition in Massachusetts, that when the country was planted, if any of the comers were too good to be endured, they were sent to Connecticut; if any were too bad, they were sent to Rhode Island; and such only as were of what we should now call the *juste milieu* sort were retained in the Bay colony. The origin of such representations is probably, in part, the fact, that as Boston early became a commercial town, and was from 1691 the seat of a royal governor and his court, the primitive Puritan manners became obsolete there earlier than in Connecticut; and strangers visiting Boston, and inquiring after Blue Laws and other things of that kind, the supposed originals of English caricatures, were referred of course to Connecticut. So in Connecticut, after the charter had been obtained, and the simple theocratic government, that originated in a religious covenant, had become extinct, it was natural to refer to the times of the old New Haven colony as the times when Puritan regulation was carried to the highest pitch. The Episcopalian missionaries too, of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, early made a vigorous assault upon Connecticut; and besides the natural influence of their sectarian and political prejudices, it was for their interest, and

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Theirs was the godlike part—  
Theirs were the hand and heart—  
Trust-tried, though few :  
Grant that our souls be led,  
Thinking of our great dead,  
And by their spirit fed,  
To deeds as true.

So doth the eaglet, nursed  
High where the thunders burst,  
Gaze with fixed eye,  
Till, gained its parent's form,  
With the same instinct warm,  
It breasts the same loud storm,  
And cleaves the sky.

for the interest of their sect and of the society that employed them, to give a dark picture of Connecticut fanaticism, and sometimes to set off their subjective ideas of the actual state of things, by references to the still more dreadful times before the charter.

These ancient and still current misrepresentations, Professor Kingsley's Discourse is well calculated to correct. While the well-known character of the author secures for it a respectful attention in all quarters, its own clear, cool statements carry conviction with them. Never was there a community which could trace its beginning to names more worthy of perpetual veneration than Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport. Never has any community owed to its founders a greater debt of gratitude, than this community owes to the two men who gave it being, and stamped upon it, ineffaceably, not their names, but the impress of their wisdom and their virtues. The beautiful city, with its streets and squares, with its churches, schools and university, is itself their monument. Whether New England renders them due honors or not, we say, accommodating to our use one of the quaint lines which Davenport probably caused to be inscribed over the grave of Eaton,—

These names forget New Haven never must.

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#### ART. XI.—ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY.—THE BIBLE.—MANETHO.— THE PTOLEMAIC CANON.

In the June number of this Journal, for 1837, we attempted to rescue the fragments of the *Universal History of Egypt*, by MANETHO, from the suspicion and contempt which had been thrown upon them;—to restore the true reading of his text, which is disfigured and mutilated as it now stands, in *all* his copyists;—and to show, that when so restored, it harmonizes to an astonishing degree with the chronology of the Bible. In the course of the article, (Vol. 9, p. 198, n.) we took occasion to say, in a note, that the whole of the first fifteen of the Egyptian dynasties, as set down by Manetho, are entirely *fabulous*. We now propose to show, that Manetho himself considered that portion of his history fabulous, that he has in effect so described it, and that when corrected and restored, his chronology harmonizes, to a still greater extent, with the scriptural chronology,



than we even intimated in that article. We have added, also, to the ancient chronologies to be compared with Manetho and the Bible, the ancient Assyrian chronology, as preserved in the *Ptolemaic Canon*. We have done this, on account of the close agreement of its dates with those under consideration; and because the course we have pointed out, seems to bid fair to open a door for A HARMONY OF ALL THE ANCIENT CHRONOLOGIES. If this can be done, (of which there now seems no reasonable doubt,) it will furnish an external argument in favor of the truth of the history of the Bible, which has no parallel in any other work. Our reasons for supposing, that Manetho intended to divide his history into the fabulous and historical portions, are five-fold.

1. We infer this *from the dynasties themselves*. The *Old Chronicle*, which is generally believed to be a synopsis of Manetho,\* gives to the reign of SOL, 30,000 years; to SATURN and other gods, 3,984 years; to the DEMI-GODS, 217 years; and then fifteen generations of men, *after* the commencement of the *Cynic cycle*,—(the Egyptian, astronomical, and historical cycle of 1460 astronomical, or 1461 common years,) 443 years. The bare statement of the facts, in reference to this early period,—of 34,201 years—is sufficient to prove it *entirely fabulous*. And as to the 443 years of the Cynic cycle, it can at most be reckoned of no higher authority than *traditionary*. Now the whole extent of time, from the beginning of the reign of Sol, to the destruction of the Empire by Ochus of Persia, was only 36,525 years. Deducting the fabulous portion of the Egyptian history, to wit 34,644, from 36,525 years, and we shall have only 1,881 years, for the extent of the historical period.

2. We draw the same inference *from the account which Manetho gives of the materials from which he compiled his history*. In a letter addressed to Ptolemy Philadelphus, at whose command the work was composed, he says:—"I shall lay before you what I have gathered from the sacred books, written by Hermes Trismegistus, our forefather.† But this letter seems to have reference only to the first portion of his work. That

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\* Scaliger, Euseb. Chron. p. 6; Prideaux, Con. Par. 1, b. 7, vol. 2, p. 131 (3 vols. 8vo. N. Y. 1823,) seem to have no doubt of this fact. But Shuckford, Con. b. 10, Vol. 2, p. 131, (2 Vols. 8vo. Phil. 1824,) supposes the first part of the *Old Chronicle* to have been drawn from other sources. But that Manetho himself, distinguished his history into fabulous as well as historic, to which Shuckford in effect objects, is clear from what is said by Castor, who professes to *copy* from Manetho. Cory, An. Frag. p. 91, (Lond. 8vo. 1832.)

† Syncellus, p. 40, Par. Ed. Scal. Euseb. p. 6.

he gave a further account of the sources of his history, we learn from Eusebius. In describing the history of the dynasties of Egypt, Eusebius says: "These, he, [Manetho,] according to his own account, *copied from the inscriptions which were engraven in the sacred dialect and hieroglyphic characters, upon the columns set up in the Seriadic land, by Thoth, the first Hermes;* and after the deluge, translated from the sacred dialect in hieroglyphic characters, into the Greek tongue."\* This it will be borne in mind, is not the language of Manetho, but a summary of his language, made by Eusebius; and evidently contains a confused statement, of two distinct and independent facts. The first part of the above quotation, declares, that Manetho *himself* copied his history from *hieroglyphic inscriptions* on columns, of course, then existing in the Seriadic, or Egyptian land. But the second part would *seem* to intimate, that he only copied from the translations of Hermes. The truth seems to be, that for the early portion of his history, for all that preceded some "deluge," Manetho copied from books *purporting* to be such translations, and that for the last, he copied from the columns themselves. If this be the fact, then this circumstance of itself, makes the truth of our supposition probable.

3. We infer the existence of such a division, *from facts detailed by Manetho himself*. Thus he informs us, that "in the reign of Timæus, elsewhere called Concharis, a rugged, robust people from the east, made an inroad upon the country, and conquered it;—that they put the Egyptian princes in chains, burnt their cities, demolished their temples, and cruelly oppressed the inhabitants."† Now we learn from Herodotus, that the columns or pillars, containing historical inscriptions, were mostly set up in the Egyptian temples:‡ and hence it follows, that the destruction of the temples would also cause the destruction of all the monuments contained within them. Now as the *credibility* of the history of Manetho depends upon the certainty of his possessing authentic monuments; it follows necessarily, that he could not have monuments of this description previous to the irruption of those foreigners, who were the *shepherd kings*, composing the seventeenth of Manetho's dynasties. These facts authorize the conclusion, that before this period, all Egyptian history must be entirely *traditional*, and mostly *fabulous*.

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\* Syncellus, p. 40. Scal. Euseb. p. 6.

† Jos. Adv. Ap., B. I, pp. 457-8. (4to, Boston, 1823.)

‡ B. II, c. 143.

4. The same conclusion is sustained *by the labors of those engaged in the study of hieroglyphics*. From their researches it appears, that there is not now in existence any monument of older date than the eighteenth dynasty, and, that no legend has been found, tending to illustrate the history of the sixteenth, or any preceding dynasty.\* It also appears, that the temples of the eighteenth dynasty, contain mutilated fragments of former temples and columns of an older date, but which from their paucity and fragmentary character, furnish no historical data. This is in exact correspondence with the evidence furnished by Manetho, and all taken together, may be regarded as conclusive.

5. This conclusion is also rendered probable, *by the existence of a similar division in other ancient histories*. Thus VARRO, as we learn from *Censorinus*,† divided time into three parts;—that before the former deluge, which he called *fabulous*;—from the former deluge to the building of Rome, which he called *Mythic*; and from thence he denominated it *historic*. The period which Varro called *Mythic*, commenced according to his chronology B. C. 2353 years. So the Chinese historians divide the history of that nation into the *fabulous*, the *traditionary*, and the *historic* periods, and make the historic period begin B. C. 2356 years.‡ Following the chronology of Manetho, to the end of the dynasties, and from thence the *Ptolemaic Canon*, and the sixteenth dynasty began to reign in Egypt, and the *historic period* commenced B. C. 2338. Now the birth of Peleg, according to Dr. Hales, was B. C. 2754; according to Calmet, B. C. 2230; but according to the chronology given in the *text* of our common Hebrew Bibles, B. C. 2456 years. Comparing these different chronologies, and the *Chinese* history begins, and the nation, in all probability was planted, in the one hundredth year of Peleg; the history of Varro begins with the one hundred and third year of Peleg; and the Egyptian history and nation, date from the one hundred and eighteenth year of the same man. Truly, such coincidences are most astonishing! It is impossible that they should be the result of either fraud or accident. Every probability is against such a supposition,—the very idea is absurd.

Having satisfactorily disposed of by far the larger portion of time ascribed to the existence of the Egyptian nation, we shall

\* Wiseman's Lectures, pp. 267–9. (8vo, Andover, 1837.)

† De Natali Die. c. 21. Cory, An. Frag. p. 324.

‡ Medhurst's China, pp. 15–18, and *Appendix*.

proceed to add some further reasons in favor of the credibility of Manetho, and detail some other remarkable coincidences in the ancient chronologies. In our former article (Vol. ix.) we proved by a comparison of the biblical and Egyptian histories (1.) that *the Exodus took place in the last year of Menophes, the last king of the 18th dynasty*; and (2.) that the death of Josiah happened in the 1st or 2d year of Necho II, of Egypt. In reference to this last point we observe, that Nebuchodnezzar began to reign four years after the death of Josiah, (Jer. 25 : 1, 46 : 2,) and that in the first year of his reign he slew Necho in battle. Consequently *the fourth year of Jehoakim, the last of Necho, and the first of Nebuchodnezzar, correspond.* To the above points of comparison we add (3.) that the end of the seventy years' captivity, or rather the seventy years of the *desolation of Jerusalem*, (Dan. 9 : 2,) ended in the sixth year of Darius I, (Ez. 4 : 15,) when the new temple was completed. Hence, *the end of "the seventy years," corresponds with the sixth year of Darius I, of Persia.* Again, another (4.) point of comparison between the biblical and Assyrian chronologies, is furnished by the scripture account, at the time of the completion of the walls of Jerusalem. We learn from Daniel (9 : 25,) that from the completion of the walls of the holy city to the birth of Christ, should be sixty two prophetic weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty four years. And in other places we read, that Nehemiah left the court of the Assyrian monarch in the 20th year of Artaxerxes I, (Neh. 2 : 1,) and went to Jerusalem to superintend the building of the walls;—that he staid there twelve years, (Neh. 5 : 14,) and returned to Shushan in the 32d year of the same king, (Neh. 13 : 6,) immediately after the completion of the walls of Jerusalem. Consequently, *the completion of the walls of Jerusalem, corresponds with the 32d year of Artaxerxes.*

To enable our readers to make comparisons with greater readiness, and to furnish them with a basis of a chronological table, which shall harmonize all the authentic monuments of ancient chronology, we give below a *Canon of the Judges of Israel and Kings of Judah*, based on the *literal* reading of the present Hebrew Bible;\* a *Canon of the Kings of Egypt*, accord-

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\* We have in no instance deviated from this, unless preferring the sum of the years occupied by the Judges, as obtained by footing the several items given by the text, to the sum total given in 1 K. 6 : 1, should be so considered. The difference is, it is said in 1 K. 6 : 1, that it was four hundred and eighty years from the Exodus to the building of the temple; whereas the footing of the text as it now stands is five hundred and ninety two. We prefer the latter sum; (1.) because

ing to the *restored* text of Manetho;\* and a *canon of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman kings*, according to the *Ptolemaic Canon*, as preserved and continued by Theon, down to the end of the second Sothic Cycle, which terminated A. D. 138 of the common era, or A. D. 135 of the true era. To the first of these we add the year from the Exodus: to the second, the year of the Egyptian empire; to the third, the year of the era of Nabonassar; and to all the corresponding years B. C.

JUDGES OF ISRAEL AND KINGS OF JUDAH.			B. C.
Exodus,			1620
Death of Moses, Ex. 7 : 7, Deut. 34 : 7,	40	40	1580
Joshua and elders,†	17	57	1563
First Servitude, in Mesopotamia, Judg. 3 : 8,	8	65	1555
Othniel, 3 : 11,	40	105	1515
Second Servitude, to Moab, 3 : 14,	18	123	1497
Ehud, 3 : 30,	80	203	1417
Third Servitude, to Moab, 4 : 3,	20	223	1397
Deborah and Barak, 5 : 31,	40	263	1357
Fourth Servitude, to Midian, 6 : 1,	7	270	1350
Gideon, 8 : 28,	40	310	1310
Abimelech, 9 : 22,	3	313	1307
Tola, 10 : 2,	23	336	1284
Jair, 10 : 3,	22	358	1262
Fifth Servitude, to Philistines, 10 : 8,	18	376	1244
Jephtha, 12 : 7,	6	382	1238
Ibzan, 12 : 9,	7	389	1231
Elon, 12 : 11,	10	399	1221
Abdon, 12 : 14,	8	407	1213
Sixth Servitude, to Philistines, 13 : 1,	40	447	1173

the chronology of St. Paul, Acts xiii, gives to the wanderings in the wilderness, forty years, to the judges four hundred and fifty years, to Saul forty, to David forty, and to Solomon four years; that is, five hundred and seventy years from the Exodus, to the building of the temple, *exclusive* of the time which Samuel judged Israel after the death of Eli, before the accession of Saul, which is generally reckoned twenty or twenty two years; making the whole period five hundred and ninety two years. (2.) The chronology which Josephus followed gave five hundred and ninety two years. (Ant. 8 : 3. 1.) (3.) The Jews in China, who separated from their brethren in the first century of the christian era also read five hundred and ninety two years. Jahn, *Heb. Com.* c. 4. §33. N. 1; on authority of Michaelis, *Alt. Orient. Bibl. Th.* V. No. 71, S. 81, etc.

\* The correction, or *restoration* of the text of Manetho, was made in Vol. 9, pp. 198—210. The principle of correction was deduced from the history and present state of the text of Manetho, and consisted in comparing all the copies of his lists of kings, as preserved in the various historians, and assuming the *highest* number of years given to the reign of each king, as the *probable* original number of Manetho.

† This number is no where definitely settled in Scripture. The best chronologists assign to it 17 years.

			B. C.
Eli, 1 Sam. 4 : 18, . . . . .	40	487	1133
Samuel,* . . . . .	20	507	1113
Saul, Acts 13 : 21, . . . . .	40	547	1073
David, 1 Kings 2 : 11, . . . . .	40	587	1033
Solomon, 11 : 42, . . . . .	40	627	993
Rehoboam, 14 : 21, . . . . .	17	644	976
Abijam, 15 : 2, . . . . .	3	647	973
Asa, 15 : 10, . . . . .	41	688	932
Jehoshaphat, 22 : 42, . . . . .	25	713	907
Jehoram, 2 Kings 8 : 17, . . . . .	8	721	899
Ahaziah, 8 : 26, . . . . .	1	722	898
Athaliah, 11 : 3, . . . . .	6	728	892
Joash, 12 : 1, . . . . .	40	768	852
Amaziah, 14 : 2, . . . . .	29	797	823
Interregnum,† . . . . .	11	808	812
Azariah, 15 : 2, . . . . .	52	860	760
Jotham, 15 : 33, . . . . .	16	876	744
Ahas, 16 : 2, . . . . .	16	892	728
Hezekiah, 18 : 2, . . . . .	29	921	699
Mannasseh, 21 : 1, . . . . .	55	976	644
Ammon, 21 : 19, . . . . .	2	978	642
Josiah, 22 : 1, . . . . .	31	1009	611
Jehoakim, 23 : 36, . . . . .	11	1020	600
Zedekiah, 24 : 18, . . . . .	11	1031	589

## KINGS OF EGYPT.

	SIXTEENTH DYNASTY.	Y. E. E.	
No names are given by Manetho in this dynasty, but its extent is limited by dates in the Cynic		1	2338
Cycle to 257 years, . . . . .		257	2081
SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY, 284, ( <i>alone</i> 160.)			
1. Salatis, . . . . .	19	276	2062
2. Beon, . . . . .	44	320	2018
3. Pachman, . . . . .	61	381	1957
4. Staan, . . . . .	50	431	1907

\* The same may be said here, as in the preceding note.

† The *interregnum* is rejected by Calmet, but retained by Usher and Hales. But the principles upon which *we* proceed, that of taking the chronology of the Bible according to the *literal* reading of the text, compels *us* to admit it. The proof is made out thus :—Jehoash of Israel, reigned *sixteen* years, (2 K. 13 : 10.) Amaziah of Judah began to reign in the 2d year of Jehoash, and reigned twenty nine years, (2 K. 14 : 1, 2.) ; that is, *fifteen* years after the death of Jehoash, (2 K. 14 : 16.) Jehoash was succeeded by Jereboam, who was cotemporary with Amaziah *fifteen* years. Amaziah was slain by conspirators, and was subsequently succeeded by his son Azariah, in the 27th year of Jeroboam, (2 K. 15 : 1.) ; that is, eleven years after his father's death.

(with) EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, 124.*			Y. E. E.	B. C.
	1. Amosis,	. . . 25	442	1896
	2. Chebron,	. . . 13	455	1883
	3. Amenophis,	. . . 24	479	1858
5. Archles,	. . . . .	49	480	1859
	4. Amersis,	. . . 22	501	1837
	5. Mephres,	. . . 13	514	1824
	6. Mephramuthosis,	. . . 26	540	1798
	7. Tethmosis,	. . . 1	541	1797
6. Aphobis,	. . . . .	61	541	1797

## EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, (alone) 178.

	7. Tethmosis (alone),	. . . 7	548	1790
	8. Amenophis,	. . . 31	579	1759
	9. Horus,	. . . 37	616	1722
	10. Acherres, <i>Pithom</i> ?	. . . 32	648	1690
	11. Rathos,	. . . 12	660	1678
	12. Acencheres I, <i>Raamses</i> ?	. . . 18	678	1660
	13. Acencheres II,	. . . 15	693	1645
	14. Armais,	. . . 5	698	1640
	15. Ramesses,	. . . 1	699	1639
	16. Menophes,	. . . 19	718	1620

## NINETEENTH DYNASTY, 264 years.

	1. Sethos, <i>Sesostris</i> ,†	. . . 55	774	1565
	2. Rhapsis,	. . . 66	840	1499
	3. Amenophis,	. . . 40	880	1459
	4. Ramses,	. . . 60	940	1399
	5. Ammemnes,	. . . 26	966	1373
	6. Thouris,	. . . 7	973	1366

## TWENTIETH DYNASTY, 228.†

No names are given in this dynasty. The old chronicle gives 228—Afric. 135—Euseb. Gr. text, 178—Arm. 172.

1201 1138

## TWENTY FIRST DYNASTY, 135.

1. Smendes,	. . . . .	26	1227	1112
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\* See Vol. 9, pp. 204—206, for the reasons of this classification.

† For the authority for making *Sethos* and *Sesostris* identical, see ante pp. 281—285, *Sesostris the Hornet of Exodus*, 23 : 28, Deut. 7 : 20, Josh. 24 : 12. Comp. also Ker. B. 2 : cc. 102—210.

‡ This dynasty covers the era of the *Trojan war*; and hence it is in vain to seek the PROTEUS of the Greeks, or any of his immediate predecessors or successors, in any of Manetho's lists. This dynasty, according to the chronology of Manetho, extended from B. C. 1366 to B. C. 1138; and Troy was taken, according to Eratosthenes, Dionysius Argivus, P. Cato, Dionysius Halicar., Diod. Sic., Tatian and Eusebius, B. C. 1183; according to Apollodorus Solinus, and the Greek chronologists referred to by Eusebius, 1184; but Timæus says, 1193; Parian Chronicle, 1209; Diæarchus, 1212; the life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, 1270; and Duris Samis, 1335. Of these *fifteen* historians, it will be seen that all place the Trojan war within the period covered by this dynasty.

		Y. E. E.	B. C.
2. Psousenes I, . . . . .	46	1273	1066
3. Nephcereres, . . . . .	4	1277	1062
4. Amenophes, . . . . .	9	1286	1053
5. Osochor, . . . . .	6	1292	1047
6. Psinaches, . . . . .	9	1301	1038
7. Psousenes II, . . . . .	35	1336	1003

## TWENTY SECOND DYNASTY, 116.

1. Sesonchis or <i>Shishak</i> , . . . . .	21	1357	982
2. Osorthon or <i>Zerah</i> , . . . . .	15	1372	967
3. 4. 5, . . . . .	25	1397	942
6. Tacellothis, . . . . .	13	1410	929
7. 8. 9, . . . . .	42	1452	887

## TWENTY THIRD DYNASTY, 90.

1. Petubastes, . . . . .	40	1492	847
2. Osorthon, . . . . .	9	1501	838
3. Psammis, . . . . .	10	1511	828
4. Zeet, . . . . .	31	1542	797

## TWENTY FOURTH DYNASTY, 46.

Bocchoris [ <i>Bocchoris</i> , Diod. S. 1 : 5.], . . . . .	46	1588	751
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## TWENTY FIFTH DYNASTY, 46.

1. Sabacon, [ <i>Saback</i> . Diod. S. 1 : 5.], . . . . .	12	1600	739
2. Sevechus, <i>So</i> [ <i>Sethos</i> . Her. 2: 141.], . . . . .	14	1614	725
3. Taracus, <i>Tirhakah</i> , . . . . .	20	1634	705

## TWENTY SIXTH DYNASTY, 185.

1. Ammeris, . . . . .	18	1652	687
2. Stephanathis, . . . . .	7	1659	680
3. Nechepsus, . . . . .	6	1665	674
4. Necho I, . . . . .	8	1673	666
5. Psammetichus, . . . . .	54	1727	612
6. Necho II, . . . . .	6	1733	606
7. Psammuthis, . . . . .	17	1750	589
8. Vaphres, <i>Hophrah</i> , . . . . .	25	1775	564
9. Amasis, . . . . .	44	1819	520

## TWENTY SEVENTH DYNASTY, 117.

1. Darius I, <i>Hystaspes</i> , . . . . .	36	1855	484
2. Xerxes, <i>Ahasuerus</i> , . . . . .	21	1876	463
3. Artaxerxes, <i>Longiamus</i> , . . . . .	41	1917	422
4. Darius II, <i>Nothus</i> , . . . . .	19	1936	403

## TWENTY EIGHTH DYNASTY, 6.

Amyrtæus, . . . . .	6	1942	397
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## TWENTY NINTH DYNASTY, 21.

	Y. E. E.	B. C.
1. Nephertites, . . . . .	1948	391
2. Achoris, . . . . .	1961	378
3. Psammuthis, . . . . .	1962	377
4. Muthes, . . . . .	1963	376

## THIRTIETH DYNASTY, 38.

1. Nectanebus I, . . . . .	1981	358
2. Teos, . . . . .	1983	356
3. Nectanebus II, . . . . .	2001	338
Ochus of Persia, . . . . .	2003	336

## PTOLEMIAC CANON.

## ASSYRIANS AND MEDES.

	E. N.	B. C.
1 Nabonassar, from 746 B. C. . . . .	14	732
2. Nadius, . . . . .	2	730
3. Chinzius and Porus, <i>Shalmanasar</i> , . . . . .	5	725
4. Jugæus, . . . . .	5	720
5. Mardocempadus, <i>Senacherib</i> , . . . . .	12	708
6. Archianus, . . . . .	5	703
7. Interregnum, . . . . .	2	701
8. Belibus, . . . . .	3	698
9. Apronadius, . . . . .	6	692
10. Rigebelus, . . . . .	1	691
11. Messessimordachus, . . . . .	4	687
12. Interregnum, . . . . .	8	679
13. Assaradinus, . . . . .	13	666
14. Saosduchæus, . . . . .	20	646
15. Chunilidanus, . . . . .	22	624
16. Nabocolassarus, . . . . .	21	603
17. Nabocolassarus, or <i>Nebuchodnezzar</i> , . . . . .	43	560
18. Iluorodamus, or <i>Evil-Merodach</i> , . . . . .	2	558
19. Niricassolassarus, or <i>Belshazzar</i> , . . . . .	4	554
20. Nabonadius, or <i>Darius Astyages</i> . . . . .	17	537

## PERSIANS.

21. Cyrus, . . . . .	9	528
22. Cambyzes, . . . . .	8	520
23. Darius I, <i>Hystaspes</i> , . . . . .	36	484
24. Xerxes, <i>Ahasuerus</i> , . . . . .	21	463
25. Artaxerxes I, <i>Longiamus</i> , . . . . .	41	422
26. Darius II, <i>Nothus</i> , . . . . .	19	403
27. Artaxerxes II, <i>Mnemon</i> , . . . . .	46	357
28. Ochus, . . . . .	21	336
29. Arostes . . . . .	2	334
30. Darius III, <i>Codamus</i> , . . . . .	4	330

	GREEKS.	E. N.	B. C.
Alexander the Great, . . . . .	8	424	322
Philip Aridæus, . . . . .	7	431	315
Alexander Ægus, . . . . .	12	443	303

## GREEK KINGS OF EGYPT.

Ptolemy Lagus, . . . . .	20	463	283
Pt. Philadelphus, . . . . .	38	501	245
Pt. Eurgetes I, . . . . .	25	526	220
Pt. Philopater, . . . . .	17	543	203
Pt. Epiphanes, . . . . .	24	567	179
Pt. Philometer, . . . . .	35	602	144
Pt. Eurgetes II, . . . . .	29	631	115
Pt. Soter, . . . . .	36	667	99
Pt. Dionysius, . . . . .	29	697	50
Cleopatra, . . . . .	22	718	28

## ROMANS.

Augustus, . . . . .	43	761	15
Tiberius, . . . . .	22	783	37
Caius, . . . . .	4	787	41
Claudius, . . . . .	14	801	55
Nero, . . . . .	14	815	69
Vespasian, . . . . .	10	825	79
Titus, . . . . .	3	828	82
Domitian, . . . . .	15	843	97
Nerva, . . . . .	1	844	98
Trajan, . . . . .	19	863	117
Adrian, <i>end of the 2d Sothic cycle,</i> . . . . .	21	884	138

Bare inspection of the foregoing tables, will be sufficient to satisfy any person that they must all be essentially correct. But we cannot forbear calling the attention of our readers to a few points which have struck us as truly astonishing. We have remarked above, that the seventy years of "the desolation of Jerusalem," commenced with the destruction of the first temple, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchodnezzar, and ended with the completion of the second temple, in the sixth year of Darius I. By turning to the Pt. Canon, it will be seen, that according to the Chaldean chronology, precisely seventy years elapsed between those two points. So, according to the prophecy of Daniel, (9 : 25,) four hundred and thirty four years were to transpire, between the thirty second year of Artaxerxes I, when the walls of the city were to be completed, and the birth of Christ. Now by the Pt. Canon, from the thirty second of Artaxerxes I, to the twenty eighth of Augustus, the place of the common era of the birth of Christ was four hundred and thirty one years; but from the thirty first of Augustus, which is supposed by many to be the

date of the *true* era, it was precisely four hundred and thirty four years. Again ; we learn from the prophecy of Daniel, (9 : 25,) that "from the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem," to the completion of the walls, should be forty nine years. But who issued this command, or when it was given, has always been a matter of doubt. But if we have ascertained the true date of the completion of the walls, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, then the command must have been issued B. C. (434 + 49 =) four hundred and eighty three years ; which corresponds with the first year of Xerxes, according to the Pt. Canon. There is, however, no distinct evidence that Xerxes ever issued such a command. Yet there are circumstances detailed, which raise a strong presumption in favor of such an opinion. In Ezra, chap. 4, *Ahasuerus*, צְחָשְׁוֹרֶשׁ, is placed between Darius and Artaxerxes, the place occupied by Xerxes in the Pt. Canon. It is not easy to see any similarity between these two names in their present form ; but it has recently been brought to light from the cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis ; and confirmed by the Egyptian hieroglyphics, that the ancient orthography was *Khshhershe*, or *Khshvershe*, which seems to be a more ancient and harsher form of شېرشاه *Shyrshe*. After the analogy of this earlier form the Greeks constructed their *Xerxes* ; and the Hebrews by prefixing their prosthetic Aleph made *Akhashverosh* or *Ahasuerus*, \* צְחָשְׁוֹרֶשׁ. The apparent difference in the two names, therefore, furnishes no argument against their supposed identity.

By comparing the history of the Jews, as detailed in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, we learn, that some of the Jews were in favor at the Assyrian court from the very accession of Ahasuerus ; that as early as the third year of his reign, Mordecai was resident in the royal palace, (Esth. 1 : 3, 2 : 5.) And in the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, the enemies of the Jews wrote an accusation against them, (Ez. 4 : 6 ;) but, as would seem, without effect. It is not, therefore, improbable, that Ahasuerus issued a command to rebuild the walls of the city, as the temple had been completed in the reign of his predecessor. Every probability is in favor of this supposition ; and this also furnishes a double motive for the vindictive conduct of Haman, by supposing that he had resolved to put an end to building the city, by procuring the destruction of the whole nation.

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\* Gesenius, Heb. Lex. *in loco* ; authorities there referred to.

In this place we ought to mention the *Parian Chronicle*, which furnishes two points of comparison with Ptolemaic canon, covering the only break in the biblical chronology, from the beginning of time to the birth of Christ; to wit, from the completion of the second temple to the completion of the walls of the city; or from the sixth of Darius I, to the thirty second of Artaxerxes I, being eighty three years. According to the *Parian Chronicle*, Darius I, began to reign two hundred and fifty six years before the compiling of the *Chronicle*, and Alexander the Great was born ninety one years before the same time. The latter part of the *Chronicle* is lost, so that it does not reach down to the death of Alexander; but all history places it in his thirty third year, that is, fifty eight years before the end of the *Chronicle*. Between these two points, according to the *Parian Chronicle*, was one hundred and ninety eight years, the precise time given to this period by the Ptolemaic canon, and by the corrected list of Manetho. We have, therefore, for the only period where the chronology of the Bible fails us, no less than three distinct and independent chronologies, of as many different nations, all exactly agreeing as to the length of that period. And what makes this still more singular, is the fact, that this is the only period where the *Parian Chronicle* can be compared with certainty in any other veritable ancient chronology.

We shall now bring together the various points of comparison and coincidence, mentioned in this and the former article, that our readers may be able to see how *strong* the probabilities, in favor of the truth of this supposition, are.

1. We have the beginning of the Sothic or Cynic cycle, four hundred and forty three years before the commencement of Egyptian history, on the authority of Manetho.

2. The end of a second cycle, in the last year of Adrian of Rome, the eight hundred and eighty fourth year of the era of Nabonassar, on the authority of Censorinus.

This period includes two thousand nine hundred and twenty years. To fill it up we have,

3. On the authority of Manetho, four hundred and forty three years of the Cynic cycle, and from thence to the death of Necho II, one thousand seven hundred and thirty three years; and,

4. On the authority of Theon of Alexandria, in the Ptolemaic canon, from the first year of Nebuchodnezzar, which we have seen, corresponded with the death of Necho, to the death of Adrian, seven hundred and forty one years, which, added to

the preceding,  $(1733 + 443 =)$  two thousand one hundred and seventy six years, gives the interval two thousand nine hundred and seventeen years, *falling only THREE YEARS SHORT of the time given to the whole period!!*

5. The death of Menophes, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, corresponded with the year of the Exodus. Comparing the biblical with the Egyptian chronology, and we have ;

6. The victory of Shishak, king of Egypt, over Rehoboam, in the fifth year of his reign, (2 Chron. 12 : 2—7,) in the fifteenth year of Shishak.

7. A comparison of the tables gives also the accession of Asa to the throne of Judah, in the ninth year of Zerah, king of Egypt, making the two kings cotemporary six years ; in which time the invasion of Judah by Zerah (2 Chron. 14 : 9,) took place.

8. In 2 Kings 17 : 4, So, king of Egypt, is mentioned as cotemporary with Ahaz, king of Judah. By a comparison of the tables it will be seen, that they were cotemporaneous kings *eleven years*.

9. In 2 Kings 18 and 19, Tirhakah, king of Egypt, is mentioned as an ally of Hezekiah. Our tables make them cotemporaries *twenty years*.

10. The same tables make the death of Josiah (2 Kings 23, 2 Chron. 35,) take place in the second year of Necho II. If we proceed to compare the biblical with the Chaldean chronology, we have—

11. The accession of Nebuchodnezzar, in the fourth year of Jehoakim.

12. The destruction of the temple in the nineteenth year of Nebuchodnezzar, the last year of Zedekiah.

13. The end of the seventy years, at the completion of the new temple, in the sixth year of Darius I, just seventy years from the destruction of the old.

14. The beginning of the four hundred and thirty four years mentioned by the prophet Daniel, in the thirty second year of Artaxerxes I.

15. And the exact harmony of the prophecy with the Chaldean chronology, at the time of the birth of Christ. By proceeding to compare the Chaldean and Egyptian chronologies, we have—

16. The last year of Necho I, corresponding with the first of Nebuchodnezzar.

17. A perfect agreement in the time which elapsed from thence to the first year of Darius I.

18. The same agreement as to the time from the death of Darius II, to the death of Ochus.

19. The exact harmony of the Parian chronicle with the Egyptian and Chaldean chronologies, as to the time from Darius I, to Artaxerxes I.

We have here, therefore, a period of  $(2338 + 138 =)$  2476 years, for the whole of which we have at least four different modes of computation, made by different persons, or different nations; with nineteen points of comparison, made by authors of at least four different nations, and the largest variation is less than three years.

#### MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

*An Address, delivered before the Senior Class, in Divinity College, Cambridge, Sunday evening, July 15, 1838.* By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1838. pp. 31, 8vo.

THERE is such an obscurity in the style of this performance, that its drift and meaning are not easily perceived. On entering this labyrinth of dark words, we hoped that we possessed a clue to conduct us safely through its windings, in the fact, that this address was delivered in a Divinity College. As the audience was composed of young men about entering on the christian ministry, it seemed not unnatural to presume, that in a discourse by one, who had himself borne, and, as we understand, still bears the name of a christian preacher, some possible form of christianity was shadowed forth. As we proceeded, however, the clue, on which we relied, failed us; and if in this misty sojourn we have attained to any light, it appears rather like darkness visible. It will not be expected, therefore, that a regular analysis of this pamphlet should be here attempted. A few passages only will be noticed, where the author speaks with a little less than his usual unintelligibleness, respecting several topics of morals and religion.

"The sentiment of virtue," says Mr. Emerson, "is a reverence and delight in the presence of certain divine laws." What these laws are, which give rise to this "sentiment of virtue," he probably means to intimate, where he soon after remarks, that "the child amidst his baubles, is learning the action of light, motion, gravity, muscular force; and in the game of life, love, fear, justice, appetite, man and God interact. These *laws* refuse to be adequately stated." It is in the presence, therefore, of the laws of gravity, motion, and muscular force, if we have arrived at the meaning of the author, and which laws, we are told, refuse to be adequately stated, that the reverence and delight are excited, or

exist in us, which constitute virtue. According to our notions, reverence and delight must have some object; yet no object of reverence is here presented, except these same laws. But how such reverence can be distinguished from mere wonder or admiration, is far from being apparent. It is at least certain, that such affections as respect, love, confidence, and gratitude, as usually understood, can have no place here; and the author would probably not include them in his notion of "reverence and delight,"—that is, in his notion of virtue. We find it afterwards announced, that this "sentiment of virtue," that is, this reverence in the presence of the laws of gravity, motion, muscular force, and the like, whatever else it may be, is "the essence of all religion." The religion, therefore, or the essence of the religion, which Mr. Emerson would recommend and inculcate, has, so far as we can perceive, no direct relation to God, or, indeed, any relation to him whatever. This religion, then, at least practically, must be the religion of atheism; for though the name of God is found in this address, it is so used, and apparently with especial care, as to indicate a mere abstraction;—it is a word only. We would not designedly do the author injustice; but so far as we have been able to understand his representation, the God of this discourse sinks far below the God of Epicurus.

In such a religion as this, the founder of christianity cannot be expected to hold a very high place. "Jesus Christ," we are, however, told, "belonged to the true race of prophets. He saw with open eye, the mystery of the soul." And again,—he is "the only soul in history, who has appreciated the worth of man." This looks a little like respect. But that this old-fashioned feeling towards superior excellence may not rise too high, we are soon assured that "to aim to convert a man by miracles, is a profanation of the soul." It would seem, then, that this same Jesus of Nazareth, who "belonged to the true race of prophets," who "saw with open eye the mystery of the soul," and who is "the only soul in history, who has appreciated the worth of man," and necessarily, therefore, with a full knowledge of what he was doing, has been guilty of "a profanation of the soul;" a crime which ought to subject him, according to the doctrines of this address, to the highest censure and reprobation. His guilt, in this respect, can hardly be estimated. For if any one fact is clearly stated in his history, it is this; that he professed to perform acts which were supernatural; and with an openness, distinctness and frequency, to which no parallel exists. The author has, indeed, said, what seems to amount to a denial, that the miracles of Jesus were real miracles. "He," Jesus, "spoke of miracles," observes Mr. Emerson, "for he felt that man's life was a miracle, and all that man doth, and he knew, that this daily miracle shines, as the man is divine. But the very word miracle, as pronounced by christian churches, gives a false impression; it is a monster. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain."

But does Mr. Emerson suppose, that the world, with the narratives of the evangelists in full view, can be persuaded into the belief, that Christ did not pretend to perform miracles out of the ordinary course of events? that he did not appeal to such miracles as proofs of his mission? and

that converts were not made to his doctrines, and with his full knowledge, on the ground of the supernatural character of these miracles? Nothing can be made plainer by words, than that the miracles of the four Gospels, are not represented as "one with the blowing clover and the falling rain." The fact, that this address was delivered in a Divinity College, is not more clearly or unambiguously expressed on the title-page of the pamphlet which contains it, than is the fact in the Gospels, that the miracles there recorded, are described as real miracles, what Mr. Emerson calls "monsters," that is, events out of the common course of nature. If the miracles of Jesus, as to the manner of their performance, are to be classed with "the blowing clover and the falling rain," he who is said to have wrought them, will be viewed, by the great body of mankind, as an intentional deceiver.

But Mr. Emerson probably cares little how this question is settled. Historical christianity, that is, christianity as derived from the scriptures, he makes no account of. As actually preached, he considers it positively injurious. One great defect of historical christianity, as he represents it, is, that "it has dwelt, it dwells, with noxious exaggeration about the *person* of Jesus." "The soul," he boldly announces to his auditors, "knows no person;" that is, if we understand him, no personal God, no personal Savior, with whom we have any concern, to whom we owe any reverence, or of whose protection, guidance, or favor, we stand in any need. Still the author speaks of the "calamity of a decaying church and a wasting unbelief, which are casting malignant influences around us, and making the hearts of good men sad." Unbelief, we would ask, in what? Certainly not in the laws of gravity, motion, or muscular force. These laws, and others like them, so far as understood, are, we believe, universally admitted to exist. Who has any doubt, for instance, that action and reaction are equal? that bodies, which are said to have weight, tend towards the surface of the earth? and that in a mature and healthy body, when unrestrained, the muscles act in obedience to the will? And the same question may be asked of innumerable other truths of the same general character. Not only are the laws in question believed in, that is, believed really to exist, but they are viewed by all who have any knowledge of them, as furnishing subjects of interesting contemplation, as wonderful, and inviting the closest and most diligent investigation and inquiry. And what more than this, would Mr. Emerson include in his idea of reverence? On this scheme, an irreligious man can hardly be found; and the author, instead of mourning over a "wasting unbelief," ought, so far as we can see, to raise his voice to the highest tones of joy and gladness, for the universal prevalence of faith.

The speaker again asks, "what greater calamity can fall upon a nation than the loss of worship?" We would ask, also, the worship of what? It is here perhaps more easy to answer negatively, than positively. Certainly he cannot mean, the worship of a personal God, for "the soul knows no persons." The loss of such a worship he ought to rejoice in. Such a loss would be a real advance towards true religion. If the worship of a personal God is a delusion, the sooner it ceases the better; nor



do we find any thing in this address, which would lead us to surmise, that Mr. Emerson is not of this opinion. Yet notwithstanding all this, he announces the "sad conviction," which he shares with numbers, "of the universal decay and now almost death of faith in our churches."

And here, we cannot but inquire again, what this faith is which is so near its exit? Not surely faith in the Scriptures, as the source of correct religious knowledge; for in this sense Mr. Emerson does not appear to have any faith in them himself. Nor can it be faith in Jesus Christ as the teacher of a religion binding upon the consciences of men; for this is a part of historical religion, and, therefore, according to the author of the address, of no value. Is it faith in God, as a wise preserver, a kind father, and a righteous judge? Beyond the laws of nature, as they are called, it does not appear, that the speaker, who expresses his "sad conviction" of the decay of faith, entertains any belief of a God, except in name.

But perhaps this faith, which is dying, respects the soul. The author, indeed, complains that "the soul is not preached;" and among the means for awakening "the smouldering, nigh quenched fire on the altar," he would have his auditors, if we understand him, preach, "first, soul, and second, soul, and evermore, soul." But what he means by the soul; of what benefit this faith in something or other can be to the soul; whether the soul is immortal; and if so, whether in a future life it will be the subject of rewards and punishments for actions done here, we are unable to discover the slightest intimation. The language used on this subject is everywhere indistinct and indefinite. "In how many churches," says the speaker, "by how many prophets, tell me, is man made sensible that he is an infinite soul; that the earth and heavens are passing into his mind; that he is drinking forever the soul of God." In what respect he considers the soul infinite, we are unable, from any thing in the address, even to conjecture; and if any one can understand the concluding part of the quotation now made, we would congratulate him on his ability in interpreting dark sayings.

The author speaks, likewise, of the "laws of the soul;" and informs us, that these "laws execute themselves." These laws, however, he asserts, "are out of time, out of space, and not subject to circumstance." If all this is true of the laws of the soul, we are unable to free ourselves from the apprehension, that the soul itself, like its laws, must be also "out of time, out of space, and not subject to circumstance;" and where either the soul, or its laws are to be found, we are left entirely in the dark. Yet after this flight of the soul and its laws from time, place, and circumstance, we find, that it "invites every man to expand to the full circle of the universe." This invitation cannot certainly be made to the body; and if the soul itself actually swells to the proposed dimensions, as its laws must be co-extensive with it, these laws as they pervade the universe, must somewhere, it should seem, within the limits of time, place, and *circumstance*, have a residence. But it is no part of our intention to enter upon a discussion of any of the topics touched upon in this address. Mr. Emerson does not condescend to reason; he announces his dogmas in the manner of an oracle. His

description of the good and bad preacher, is at least novel. "The true preacher," we are told, "can always be known by this, that he deals out to the people his life—life passed through the fire of thought. But of the bad preacher, it could not be told from his sermon, what age of the world he fell in; whether he had a father or a child; whether he was a freeholder or a pauper; whether he was a citizen or a countryman; or any other fact in his biography." The author's notions of a sermon must differ materially from those which he entertains of an address; as from the address under consideration, we are unable to ascertain respecting himself any one of the particulars above enumerated; except perhaps the first. Or if he has here "dealt out his life;" in passing "through the fire of thought," it has been so sublimated, or transmuted, as to entirely elude our dull apprehension.

But we can proceed with this address no farther. In what we have said, we may have misapprehended its meaning; but we have honestly reported our real impressions of its import. We say without hesitation, however much it may be to the discredit of our sagacity, that with no prepossessions against the speaker, after a diligent examination of his performance, we have been able to discover in it, so far as respects opinion, little else than impiety and nonsense; and these, in about equal quantities. As to style, it is in the highest degree affected and obscure. This address is said to have been delivered before the senior class in Divinity College, Cambridge; but the public are not told, that it was either delivered or published at the request of any one. But whether it was pronounced, and whether it then assumed the pamphlet form, through the ordinary process, or whether it owes its existence exclusively to the operation of some hidden law of the soul; one thing may be regarded as certain, that those who heard it were greatly benefited, though not perhaps in the way intended by the orator. If an opinion may be formed from the effect which the reading of this address produces, the hearing of it actually spoken by a living man as his own production, must have operated as an effectual antidote to any future predilection for the philosophy which it inculcates. Just as in cases of actual insanity, we sometimes look at its ravings as detailed on paper, without being greatly moved; yet to hear them proceeding from the lips of a real victim of the most deplorable of all maladies, never fails to excite in a mind not steeled against the feelings of humanity, the strongest emotions of pity and grief, accompanied with an all-pervading horror of ever becoming the subject of the same calamity.

*Valley of the Upper Wabash, Indiana, with hints on its Agricultural advantages: plan of a dwelling, estimates of cultivation, and notices of labor-saving machines.* By Henry William Ellsworth. New York: published by Pratt, Robinson & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 175.

To those who are interested in the prosperity of the West, this small volume will afford a diversified collection of useful and desirable information. It is occupied mainly with a description of the soil and agri-

cultural improvements, as well as other advantages which promise to render the Wabash valley, in time to come, a scene of great enterprise. If one half of the calculations may be realized, it cannot be many years before the tide of wealth will flow in, as with an ocean fullness, upon that section of our wide spread country. We have no doubt, indeed, that a long period will not elapse before the mighty internal improvements now in successful beginning, will be completed, and distance will be shortened from the East to the West, almost to a miracle. We have seen nothing which on the whole seems a more valuable guide to the emigrant to Indiana, or its vicinity. It is eminently practical in its character, and the results of many an experiment in agriculture are given with apparent fairness, and facilities are pointed out, which must add essentially to the comfort of new settlers. A variety of implements which admit of an almost unlimited application in the extensive prairies of the West, are described, and the testimony which they bear to the inventive genius of our countrymen, is well worth the attention of the curious. Among other things is an attempt to furnish a cheap method of building framed houses, which will cost scarcely more than the common log huts which are so universally erected. The benefit of such an improvement, in point of taste and neatness, the influence thus indirectly on the morals of those communities which are springing up so rapidly, and dotting the whole unoccupied surface of the West, is, as we conceive, very important.

An interesting account is given of the new method of cultivating and preparing flax, so that it may be spun on the cotton gin at an expense considerably less than the cotton of the South. Should this enterprise be carried into operation on a large scale, in connection with beet-sugar, as seems now not improbable, the effect which it will have on the sale of these Southern staples, and consequently on the whole system of Slavery, will be very great.

We have not time to dwell upon this volume, but we are confident, that many will read it with wonder and delight. The whole work is evincive of research and industrious compilation. The style is plain and business like in the parts thus occupied, and the last chapters contain passages of eloquent and manly description. Perhaps the young author has been a little enthusiastic in some of the topics, but we do not dislike a mingling of this quality among others cherished by individuals for an adopted home. In estimating the resources of education and religion, it may be he has been too sanguine, and not sufficiently adverted to the fact, that magnificent appropriations cannot build up colleges and schools at once; that moral influences must operate gradually; but we are glad to see, that a fair proportion of even such a work is devoted to these subjects. So far as we can learn, the volume has been an acceptable offering to the reading public. For its object it is well arranged, and we should not be surprised to hear, that a new edition was demanded. Should this be the case, we should be pleased to see a few statistical tables subjoined as to the population, trade, schools, ministers and churches in the section which it embraces, which can easily be done at a trifling expense,

and would we believe enhance the value of the work. We forgot to mention, that a number of lithographic plates, as well as a large map, form part of the volume. We have room but for a short quotation, and we take it from the remarks on attention to health on the part of the emigrant, not because it is best written, but as combining with judicious and useful remarks a fair specimen of the author's style :

"But, again, in a majority of cases, the *imprudent conduct of the settler* is the cause of his diseases. No one who has witnessed the course pursued by many families, on their first arrival at their new home, could hesitate to believe, that to their own reckless braving of exposure must be attributed much of the suffering which they endure. It happens often, that the land which the emigrant has selected is unprovided with any tenement for his abode. To remedy this evil he removes at once to its vicinity. Spreading a temporary tent for the poor accommodation of his family, he commences the erection of a rude log cabin. After the severe toil of the day, he throws himself upon the damp ground, exposed to all the changes of the weather, and arises each successive morning to pursue the same imprudence. His own hardy constitution may at first resist the evils to which he is subjected, and possibly enable him to gain his object with his health uninjured. But he has those with him who are not thus vigorous. A few days pass away and symptoms of ill health surround him. Regarding these as hardly worth attention, he faithfully continues at his labor. The frame of his coarse habitation is completed; a rough and open roof is placed upon it; the walls are daubed with mud, to protect him from the storm or the changes of the weather; and he enters his new dwelling, calculating to increase his comforts at his leisure. To the flattering hopes of the settler, the evils which he dreaded at the commencement of his journey are over; and he settles down in fancied security, to dream of adding yearly to the land he now possesses, and of rivalling his neighbor in influence and wealth. But, from these fond reveries he is soon aroused to feel that all is not so prosperous and certain as it seemed. Weakened by hardships and exposure, one after another of his family sicken, and even if their lives are spared, remain for a long time enfeebled. Wearied out with watching and anxiety, he, too, becomes unwell, and in consequence disheartened. And who now, but himself, has the emigrant to blame for these misfortunes? Why, in his rashness, has he thus braved an exposure, in a new land, to evils which in no country and in no condition could he hope to pass through with impunity?

The attention of the western emigrant must be turned to this great matter. He must be made to feel that *health*, no less than riches, depend on prudence and exertion to secure their blessings. Much, nay, all of the suffering we have described, it is reasonable to suppose, he may avoid. Others, with more care and foresight, have passed by these dangers, whose circumstances were at first no brighter than his own. Let his dwelling be erected before his family is removed to the spot which he has purchased; and let it be, too, one neat in its appearance, and sufficiently capacious to contain its inmates. It is better to possess

but half the land he wishes, and be the owner of a comfortable dwelling, than to suffer his desire of wealth to lead him to the sad condition we have mentioned. It is better to expend his all at the commencement, than to keep it to be drained by the demands of suffering and sickness." pp. 114—116.

*Baptism by affusion and sprinkling ; or, a critical dissertation on the scriptural mode of Baptism, proving the exclusive divine authority of affusion and sprinkling.* By Leicester A. Sawyer. New Haven : 1838.

*The children of believers entitled to Baptism ; or, a critical dissertation on the ecclesiastical relations and privileges of children, clearly establishing their scriptural title to baptism.* By Leicester A. Sawyer. New Haven : 1838.

WE do not take so great interest in the controversy about the *mode* of Baptism, as many seem to do. The questions mooted seem to us of minor importance. We are satisfied with practicing as is done in our Congregational churches. It seems the most consonant to all our feelings of decorum and propriety, nor can we believe, that our Savior has instituted a rite so likely to shock the instinctive feelings, and so often inconvenient, and imposed it as solemnly upon us as our Baptist brethren claim. Still we are content they should practice according to their own views, nor wish to disturb them in their fancied superiority of adherence to the letter of the law. But when they, as it were, unchurch all others, we cannot consent to yield to their decisions without plainer proof of their right to do this than they have yet been able to furnish. It may be well occasionally for those whose taste so inclines them, to present to the public a view of the grounds on which they rest their belief of affusion and sprinkling as a true mode of baptism ; but we regret to see a position taken which considers any mode as the exclusively scriptural or proper one. In our view, this is to weaken the argument. In this respect Mr. Sawyer, we think, has erred. The relation of the children of believers to the church of Christ, is a more useful topic of discussion, and while we would not quarrel with anti-Pedobaptists, we feel a privilege to receive upon our offspring what we regard as the seal of the covenant, while we publicly dedicate them to God. Mr. Sawyer has discussed this question with candor, and stated the usual arguments in a simple style and arrangement. Indeed, in general, his pamphlets on the subjects of which they treat, are in the main satisfactory—containing the usual arguments, expressed in an intelligible manner, and adapted to the capacity of people in general. It was our intention to have noticed them more fully, but our final arrangements have rendered it necessary to content ourselves with simply recommending them to the notice of our readers.

It was our intention to have noticed sooner or later several works which lie on our table, but which we must now leave with a simple mention. Among these are "Spring's Fragments," "Abeel on Missions," "Medhurst's China," "Fireside Education," "Home Education," and "American Education," "Proverbs of Solomon," "Mitchell's New England Church,"—a new edition of his "Church Member's Guide." Several communications also from our correspondents still remain in our hands, which we are forced from a want of room to deny admittance on our pages.

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THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR, as a distinct periodical, closes with this volume. It is henceforth to be incorporated with the American Biblical Repository, to which the list of subscribers' names will be transferred, and we doubt not, that our friends will, after a candid hearing of our reasons for this arrangement, acquiesce in its propriety, and continue their patronage to that work; at least, make a fair trial of its adaptedness to their wants.

After this announcement of our approaching demise, it becomes us, to gather our robes about us as carefully as we can, and make our exit in the most decent manner possible. We are not about to write our autobiography. The history of the Christian Spectator is deeply interwoven with the history of religion in this country, with respect to a large branch at least of the church of Christ. It was established at first as a monthly, from a full conviction of its utility and necessity. In this form it continued ten years—(1819 to 1829.) It then became a quarterly, and in this form has just completed its tenth volume. Whatever may be the judgment of individuals as to its usefulness, no one, we presume, will deny, that it has exhibited talent of a high order. It could do no otherwise, for it has been the vehicle of communication to numerous well disciplined minds and truly elevated spirits. Its course has been open, manly and independent. Questions of difficulty and topics as to which even the wise for God may disagree, it has met with a frank avowal of opinion, and a ready array of argumentation. The tone of piety which it has inculcated in its practical essays, has been decided and high. A friend of revivals of religion, it has sought to bring a practical wisdom to bear upon the great principles which should regulate the conduct of both ministers and private christians; while its discussion of doctrinal truths, it is humbly hoped, has contributed in no slight degree, to prepare the way for yet richer seasons in after-

times of such glorious manifestations of heavenly grace. Subjects of stirring interest, in some measure peculiar to the times in which we live, it has aimed correctly to estimate, and ever according to the best judgment of its conductors, have its pages been made to advocate the cause of human liberty and happiness. Nor has it been unmindful of the claims of literature, but has endeavored to give a suitable direction to the minds of the reading community by characterizing and commending to their notice many works of sterling merit, on account of the information they contain and the principles they uphold.

Thus in its various departments of criticism, discussion, and miscellaneous essays, it has, it is believed, subserved a valuable purpose. It is still to the last a favorite with many, and no fears are entertained, that by its continuance its usual patronage would be withdrawn. In many respects, its position is a more important one than ever. And even, at the close of a year among the most disastrous known to periodicals in our country, it stands fair for an increased patronage.

Why then, our friends may ask, is it given up? Why this sudden announcement, that the *Quarterly Christian Spectator* will no longer greet us with its long-familiar face? It is for the purpose of meeting this natural inquiry of friends, (for we anticipate, that by those who have long wished for its discontinuance the true reason will be last admitted,) that we enter on our pages our reasons for the course we have deemed it best to adopt.

The peculiar position of the church of Christ in our land, and especially of those branches of it among which this work has chiefly circulated, requires combined energetic action, and the array of the most concentrated mental and moral strength in defense and exhibition of the truth. After a deliberate examination of the question, and frank conference among those friendly to the two works, it has been deemed advisable to unite the *Christian Spectator* and the *American Biblical Repository*, and this being decided, an arrangement has been made by which the former may be incorporated with the latter work. The leading characteristics of the *Christian Spectator*, it is believed, may be more easily blended with the *Repository* than those of the *Repository* grafted upon the *Spectator*. The writers who have hitherto contributed to the pages of either work may thus unite to enhance the value of the combined one. Discussion of the great truths of the bible, and of important questions of morals, with the usual subsidiary exhibitions of literary history, will still be continued. Men who have proved their

armor, with renewed vigor, will hold themselves ready both for the defense and the onset. Those who have dwelt with no common pleasure on the productions of some favorite contributor to our pages, will be gratified to follow the well-known pen as it traces the same great principles and truths under new forms of representation. The two works combined, it is thought, can have a wider circulation, and exert a more powerful influence in promoting the cause of Christ, than either or both have or do, separately. A spirit of brotherly feeling and harmonious action may be secured; the severed bands of disciples may more easily unite, and the great hope of the advancement of the kingdom of Christ be sooner attained.

These considerations have been deemed sufficient to prompt the Conductors and Editor as well as proprietor of the *Christian Spectator*, to forego any feelings of partiality for a work with which they have been so long associated, and by which they humbly trust they have been instrumental of good, and to suffer it to mingle its lights and shades along the stream of time with its sister periodical, and henceforth to have but one common soul, and one and the same presiding genius.—We part, indeed, with some regret, for it is natural; it is like giving up in marriage an only daughter, hereafter no longer to be the peculiar inmate of our own family circle,—but as in such a case though we lose the name, our spirit and our aims will yet live, nor will she, so far as she is ours under another title, forget the guardians of her infancy and maturer years. We part, too, with our *contributors* in our distinctive capacity, with the same feelings of mingling pain and pleasure. Our intercourse has been pleasant and we trust profitable. Many are the hours of agreeable converse and correspondence which we have enjoyed together, and which will long live in our recollection;—but we still hope with them occasionally to meet under auspices of renewed promise and sympathize together in a yet wider circle of usefulness.

Nor is it less painful at once to bid adieu to our *patrons* and the many *friends* who, we believe, have breathed out for our welfare their earnest prayers. They have stood by us in scenes of trial and when we needed their aid. They have lent us a willing ear, and with a candid heart we have been greeted to the embraces of their friendship. In this farewell, then, which we utter, there is pain,—for as identified with the *Christian Spectator* we shall meet their welcome no more. But we introduce to them, if a stranger, yet one in whom we trust they will soon recognize the most endeared lineaments of their old friend and monitor;—



it may be indeed calling for somewhat more of their self-denial, yet bringing them, we hope, an equivalent for any increased expenditure which may be demanded of them. We ask then, that in justice to our intentions, they will give the brother to whom we have intrusted our own much loved periodical to blend together with his valued Repository, a fair hearing, at least of one year, before they decide on a rejection of its claims.

In bidding farewell and closing our labors as Editor of the Christian Spectator, we may be pardoned a word or two of reflection and monition :

The responsibility under which we have acted both in conducting and in relinquishing the Spectator we have felt to be an important one. In both, we have endeavored to act prayerfully and aright. If we have mistaken our duty, we have at the least the consciousness, that we have aimed in all sincerity to fulfill our obligations ; and our humble trust is, that in the day of account, when the secrets of all hearts lie open to view, and the influences which have operated on man for good or for evil in this hour of his probation, are developed in their nearer or more remote bearings ; in that judgment, the work, the pages of which we are now closing, will be known as a part of our instrumentality in the cause of our divine Master and Redeemer.

One great aim of the Christian Spectator has been, to set the thinking minds of the intelligent in motion, and to give a direction to their investigations ; to furnish the right rules of examining truth, and to subject to the proper tests the great questions which bear upon human weal or wo. Of course it has always ranged itself on the side of entire *freedom of discussion*. This, with the liberty of the press, both religious and secular, it has regarded as of prime importance. We hope, that our former readers will not forget the lessons we have sought to inculcate, but feeling, that truth need fear no enemy when brought into fair conflict, they will never betray her cause by attempting to silence the full discussion, in a proper spirit, of every doctrine or precept proposed among men.

At the same time we thus urge an adherence to the cause of truth at all hazards, we would, that all over whom our pages may have exerted the least influence, should exercise a spirit of *extended christian charity* and *brotherly love*. The two things are not inconsistent ; and if in our zeal for what has appeared to us to be right we have forgotten the claims of love, we would express our sincere regret, and pray that we may be forgiven.

The great enterprises of benevolence on the Voluntary Association principle, are among the most important of the present day ; and had we continued our labors, it was our intention to have discussed them at length. But we trust our readers will feel the claims which this question enforces on them for their candid examination, and that they will so discriminate and judge, that their influence will ever be given according to the honest convictions of their consciences as to their duty. We know of scarcely any topic which more needs a thorough development of its extent or limitations, and its practical bearing on the welfare of the church of Christ demands, that the friends of true religion take sure ground, and maintain it by arguments not fallacious but well-prepared and rightly directed.

Numerous practices are springing up in various parts of our country, wholly at variance with the settled order and decorum of life, and their tendency is to work a worse havoc with the feelings unsettled and ready for any thing new and strange, than even the open proclamations of infidel advocates ; for they are set forth with much persuasive eloquence, and under the guise of a maintenance of the rights of a feeble class. There is need of wisdom, to win back the misguided and to expose the arrogant ; and we would urge, that, while a firm front shall be set against every violation of propriety, too sweeping a condemnation be not uttered against those who may transgress more innocently, and who, by gentler means, may be led to retrace their path.

The subject of Slavery is one which is to engross, in no slight measure, the thoughts of this nation. The experiment which is going on in the West Indies must be watched with intense interest by all classes of persons. We believe its death-knell has tolled ; but we are not so sanguine as many as to the *immediate* decision of the question in our own country. We feel, that forbearance must be mingled with the exhibition of truth ; and we would urge, that while the friends of liberty every where should feel determined to yield nothing to the demands of selfishness, they be ready to distinguish between the wilfully blind, and those who are in a sense involuntary retainers in bondage of their fellow men. Many other topics, too, such as common schools, and education in the higher branches, would have enlisted our attention, had we still continued our office. We trust our readers will not be unmindful of the hints we have thrown out on these subjects.

Congregationalism, and its influence in molding the character of New England, with its adaptations to such a country as

our own ; and the necessity of a more perfect development of its real elements would also have formed a topic of much interest in our pages. We are not sticklers for ecclesiastical arrangements ; but, without entering any *jure divino* claim, we hesitate not to declare our full conviction, that Congregationalism has been the organ through which the vital influence of piety has been most successfully diffused in this republican country ; and those who doubt, we hope will examine the history of the American church, and the benevolence of the present day, before they settle down on the contrary opinion.

We cannot but here express our regret, that the able article on Theological Science, which was to have been completed in this number and volume, through delay of the mail, has not reached us in time to have a place on these pages. We can assure our readers, that they have lost a gem ; and could we have borne the expense, we would have furnished it to them, even in extra sheets.

Some of the articles of the present number, as it may be perceived, were prepared before the transfer of the work. This may perhaps prevent any reply to the notice which, it is possible, will be made of our views expressed. But we must close. To our patrons then, and friends of every name, in our present capacity, we would bid farewell. "Finally,—whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—*think on these things.*"

EDITOR.

END OF THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.



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### OF THE

## QUARTERLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

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